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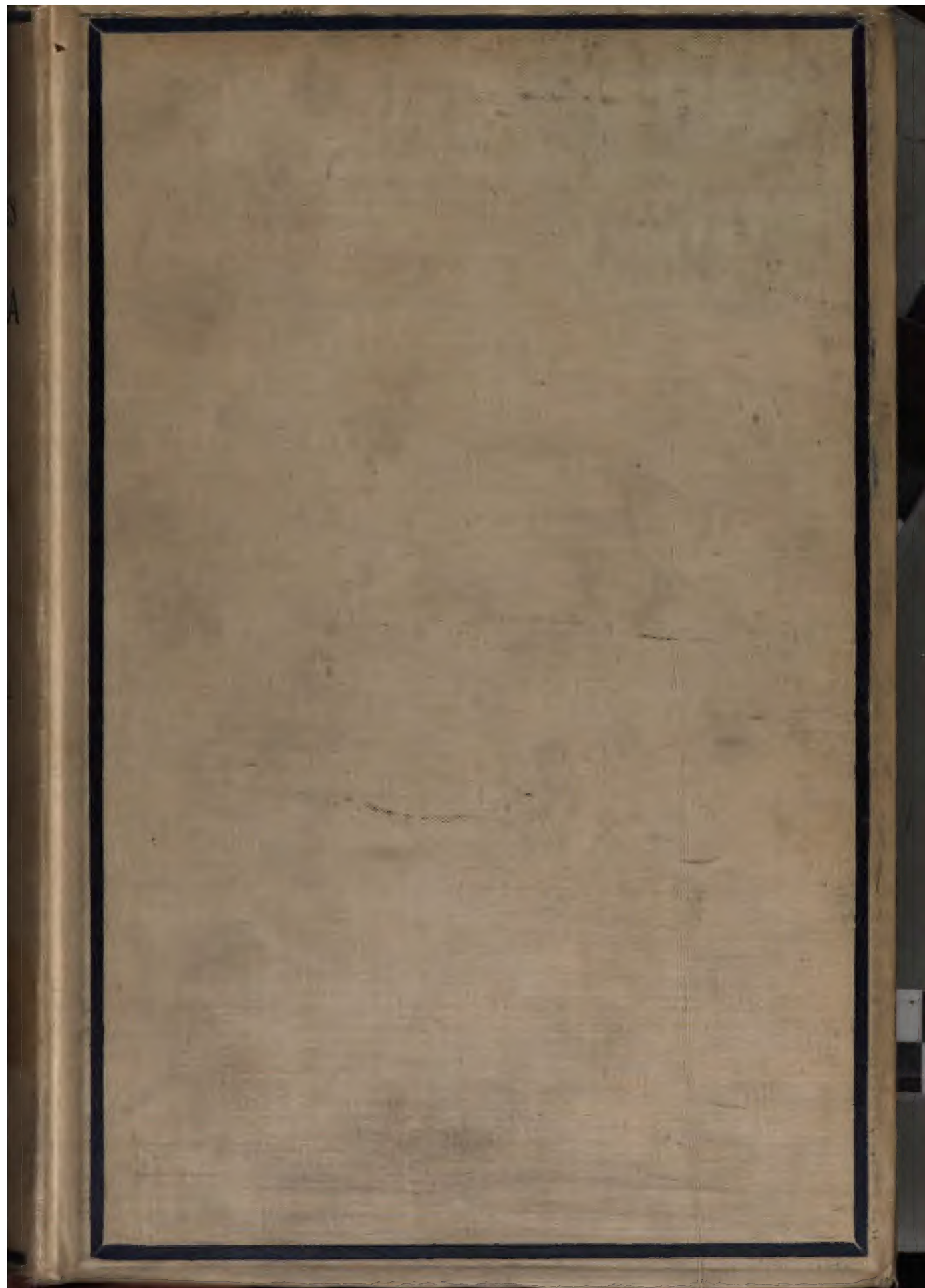
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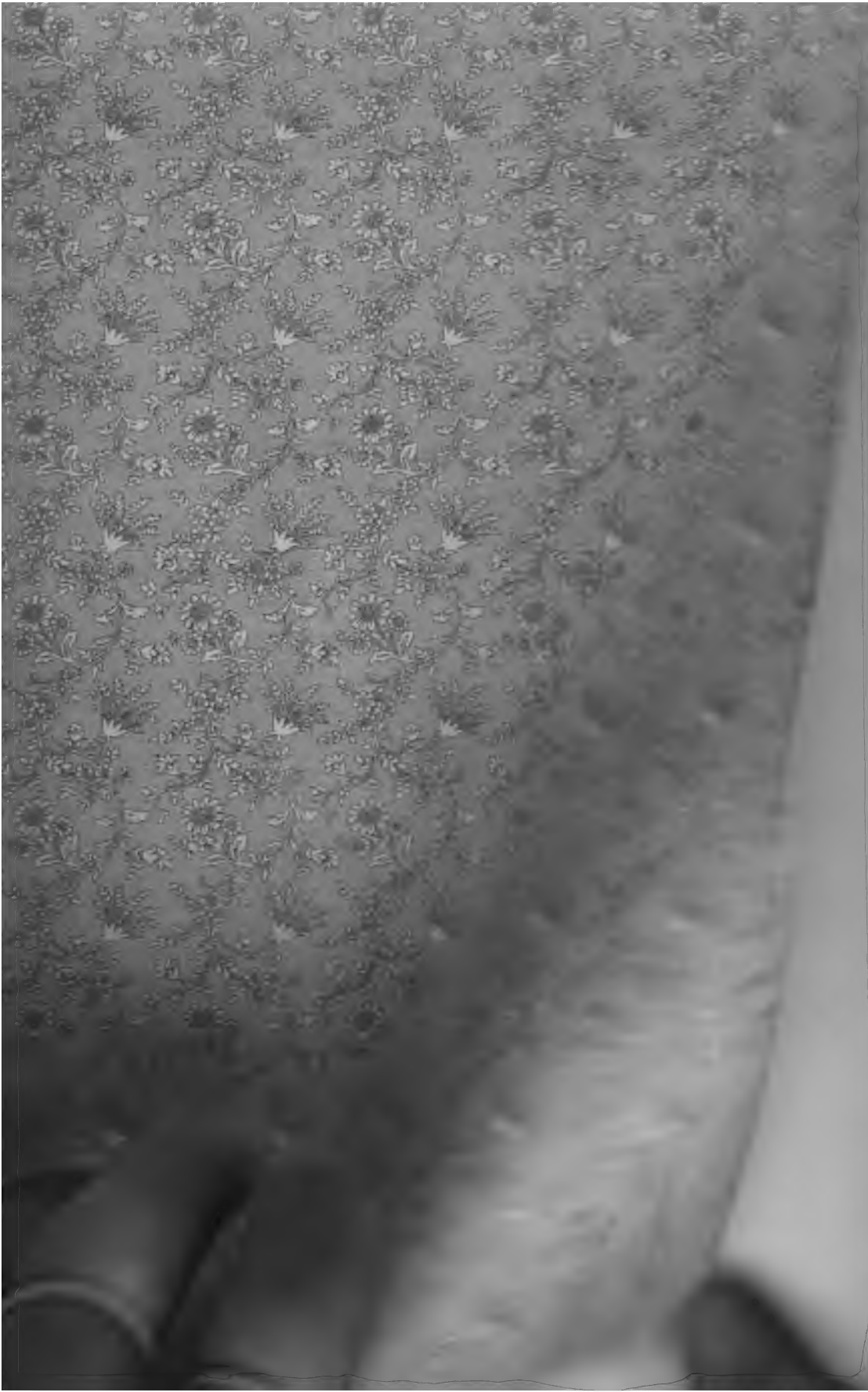
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THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS
OF
PHRYGIA

W. M. RAMSAY

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THE
CITIES AND BISHOPRICS
OF
PHRYGIA

BEING AN ESSAY OF
THE LOCAL HISTORY OF PHRYGIA
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST

BY
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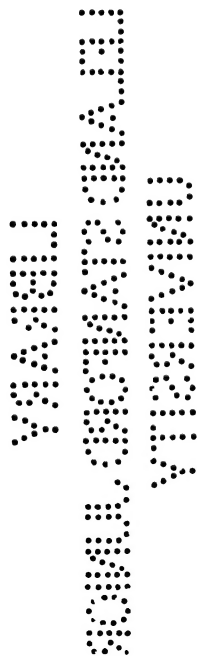
VOL. I. PART II
WEST AND WEST-CENTRAL PHRYGIA

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PREFACE

THE acknowledgement of indebtedness to many scholars and friends in the Preface to Part I applies equally to Part II. I have to add a special expression of gratitude (1) to Mr. Head and the other officials of the Numismatic Department in the British Museum, together with M. Imhoof-Blumer, whose help has often guided me to truth or saved me from error: (2) to M. S. Reinach's *Chroniques d'Orient* which I have used far more than the quotations would suggest (for he has very often guided me to obscure sources of knowledge): (3) to M. Radet, whose study *En Phrygie*, acute and ingenious like all his work, was published after Part I was out of my hands. I have learned more from M. Radet's essay than from any other book on Phrygia with the single exception of Hamilton's *Travels*; but Hamilton is the prince of travellers in Asia Minor. While M. Radet seems to me in several cases to reason on incorrect principles¹ in topography (in which department he appears to me less successful than in history), and while the subject often assumes under his treatment a show of simplicity, which is attained by leaving all the difficulties out of sight, yet in a number of cases I have had the pleasure of following his views, sometimes unreservedly, sometimes with modifications in details. If I have conjoined this acceptance of some views with absolute refusal of others, I hope that the reasoned and free-spoken criticism by which the refusal is justified will be taken by him as at least proving that I have deliberated carefully before dissenting².

¹ See pp. 580 n., 634 n., 635, &c.

² M. Radet's firm belief, reiterated in his review of my Part I (*Rev. Univ. Midi* II p. 115), that my sole motive for re-

jecting many of his older views lies in determined prejudice, is hardly worthy of him: see also his words quoted Part I p. xvi note.

The second part of this work is, I hope and believe, better than the first: it treats of more important subjects, e.g. Apameia and the Christian Antiquities, and it was written and printed in more favourable circumstances. Part I was set up from the MS. in pages, and hence improvement of the text was not possible except in a very limited degree: of Part II I had proofs in slips, so that additions and explanations could be incorporated. Part I was nearly completed before Oct. 1893, a whole year was spent in improving the ponderous MS., and the pages were corrected Dec. 1894 to Febr. 1895, when I had lost command of the subject during the long interval since writing, and was immersed in college duties. Every sentence of Part II has been written (or rewritten) since May 1, 1896; and the correction of the early chapters was contemporaneous with the composition of later chapters, so that the whole subject was fresh and complete before me. I have also had most valuable help from Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, Wilson Fellow, Aberdeen, and Craven Fellow, Oxford; and Mr. A. Souter, Caius College, Cambridge, has again aided me with many useful suggestions, and compiled the index.

The two parts do not cover nearly half the territory of Phrygia, but they form probably the larger half of the book. Few cities remain which will furnish much material for discussion (unless excavations are made before the book is concluded); and only one large subject awaits treatment, viz. the art and monuments of the old Phrygian kingdom. In Northern Phrygia I expect material aid from Dr. Körte and Dr. Preger, and in Western Phrygia from Dr. Buresch¹, if (as I hope) their explorations are published soon.

I take this opportunity of confessing a fault. In 1883 the plan of operations which had been agreed upon between M. Foucart, Director of the École Française d'Athènes, and myself, at his suggestion, was disturbed by the sudden illness of one of the two travellers sent out by M. Foucart; and the other followed the line which had been marked out for me. This was, as I am sure, done through pure inadvertence by the less experienced of the two French scholars. The result was that through considerable part of our first journey (beginning in May) we heard in many villages that a French traveller had come there a week or two before us; but I refused to believe that he

¹ His premature death is a great sorrow and loss.

was a travelling student of the École Française, until, when I reached Smyrna in July after a journey of ten weeks, I found the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* with an article containing the best set of inscriptions which we had found. I received the impression that my journey had been wasted, and that the Asia Minor Fund, which had been raised to enable me to travel, had been spent in vain. I can now smile at my own apprehensions; but at the time I thought that the Fund and I had been ruined. In the *Academy* of August, 1883, a letter from me was published, criticizing with unjustifiable asperity the article in the *Bulletin*. I have for many years regretted deeply that I wrote that letter; I had been received at the French School of Athens with kindness unusual at that time (though it is now customary, as I understand); and, at least, I ought to have first written privately to the Director. In extenuation I may plead that I had only a week in Smyrna to spend between two long journeys, and that the fever from which I suffered much weakens the system and sharpens the sense of injustice or neglect. I can now only record my regret and apology¹.

My punishment has lain in the writing of my *Historical Geography* and of the present work. The inadequacies and errors which are found in them as discovery progresses offend every one: and few will remember more than the faults. Through the newer maps, and in other ways, the results that are proved beyond dispute pass into the stock of common knowledge, whose origin none remember: the views which are less certain (some of which, as I know well, must prove erroneous) are the only ones that are associated with the author's name. I might mention many places where views first stated by me are adopted, but the only reference to me is to express dissent from some detail. That is the way of the world; and I mention it, not to complain, but merely in justification of this large work, which would grow to double the size, if I were guided by critics, who blame my omissions. Even this book overtaxes my unaided strength amid college duties.

Critics who add to or correct my work are true friends; but the value of their help is sometimes impaired. (1) Many blame me for not holding some view, which I advocated 6 or 12 years ago,

¹ In 1884, on the advice of M. Waddington, I wrote a letter, approved by him, which, it was hoped, might produce peace. It had the opposite effect.

and afterwards abandoned owing to the progress of knowledge. (2) Sometimes my views are combated and rejected for reasons which are entirely or partially erroneous, springing from insufficient knowledge of the country and the obscurity of this whole subject¹. Yet, when I point out the erroneousness of such statements, some of my foreign critics inveigh in no measured terms against my malignity in trying to belittle others, who write on the same subject. (3) After I have examined minutely almost every village and corner of a district, and concluded that the only ancient sites were at certain places, critics, who have seen the district either not at all or insufficiently, suggest in a casual way that the sites are at villages which I have rejected as purely modern. (4) The subject is in process of growth, and many of my views have rested on mere balancing of probabilities. In such cases the subjective element is marked by the use of the first person; but this personal form of expression, which is really a danger flag warning the reader not to take subjective estimate for objective scientific certainty, is blamed by many English critics as an egotistic piece of self-assertion. The present part contains less of this element, because certainty is oftener reached; and there would be still less of it, were it not that M. Radet's ingenious study *En Phrygie* warns me that some opinions, which I was inclined to treat as certain, were not so esteemed by all.

If the views stated in Ch. XII, XVII, are even approximately correct, the Christian Antiquities of Phrygia will no longer be a field for vague guessing: especially the 'North-Galatian Theory' of St. Paul's travels will be banished from scientific works, and the Christian origin of the 'Grabschrift des Aberkios' will cease to be a matter of controversy. Two additional notes, pp. 788, 790, mention newer discoveries in confirmation of the views in these two chapters.

In the chapters on Christian Antiquities my obligation to M. Le Blant is, I hope, clearly marked: I have often quoted from him opinions which I might have founded on the original documents published by De Rossi; but here and always I have preferred to quote, wherever possible, in proof that my opinions are not *a priori* theories, but the natural inferences which the facts demand. Caesar's

¹ An example from a review, otherwise well-informed and judicious, occurs on p. 787. I should be grateful for any

real additions to my lists of bishops, which are far from complete.

useful work on the dating of Christian Inscriptions and Dietrich's fantastic paper on Aberkios reached me after my pages were sent to press. On the latter, see p. 788.

After Part I left my hands, occurred the sad death of Prof. G. Hirschfeld. Few could feel more regret than I did at his death; for I had always hoped he might learn that he had no ground for his accusations of gross plagiarism, which prevented any direct communication between us. I take no blame for having used without acknowledgement the work of any recent explorer: I have been scrupulously careful in that respect, however careless I may have been in some ways. I believe that the dread disease to which Hirschfeld fell a victim caused some morbid misconceptions on his part (a symptom of the disease); and, if I had properly realized that probability, I might have been able to do more than I tried in the way of removing them. Personal acquaintance would probably have prevented the mutual misunderstanding, which will be to me a lasting regret. Any traveller in Asia Minor is my valued friend, if he will allow me to say so.

On the maps see preface to Part I. In the general maps, many details are omitted, in order to bring others out more clearly. I hoped at one time to give detailed maps for every district (similar to that at p. 353); but the sum allotted for illustrations must be economized, until the chapters on Phrygian Art are finished. At present I usually follow Kiepert, sometimes unwillingly.

The list of inscriptions does not profess to be complete: it gives the authorities for statements in the text. If Mr. Hogarth had not been prevented (to my great regret) from executing his former design of publishing all the inscriptions of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, I should have referred to his work for all epigraphic texts. The classification is sometimes faulty, having been necessarily made before the text was written.

It is intended to give full indices at the end of the completed work. I am much indebted to the care of the Press reader.

W. M. RAMSAY.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(Most of the authors quoted are indicated clearly enough in the text.)

AA SS = *Acta Sanctorum*.

AE Mit. = *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*.

AHS = A. H. Smith *Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1887 p. 220.

ASP = *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia &c.*, W. M. Ramsay, in *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. III 3, 4. (This paper is for the most part worked up in the present volume.)

Ath. Mitth. = *Mittheilungen des kais. d. archäolog. Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung*.

Berl. Abhandl. (Monatsb., Sitz.) = *Abhandlungen (Monatsberichte, Sitzungsberichte) of the Royal Academy of Berlin*.

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

Br Mus or BM = *Ancient Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*.

CB = *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, W. M. Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vols. IV and VIII. (This paper is intended to be entirely worked up in this and succeeding volumes.)

Chr. = Christian or Christians.

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

Ch. in R. Emp. = *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, W. M. Ramsay.

Dig. = *Digesta Justiniani Augusti*, ed. Mommsen & Krueger.

Dumont = *Inscriptions et Monuments Figurés de la Thrace*, Alb. Dumont.

Foucart = *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs*, P. Foucart.

Haase = Article *Phrygien* in Ersch & Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*.

Head = *Historia Numorum*, B. V. Head.

Hicks = Introduction to his edition of the Inscriptions of Ephesos (*Br. Mus.* III).

Hirschfeld = *Vorläufiger Reisebericht* in *Berl. Monatsb.* 1879 (the only published account of his journey in 1871), in Ch. XI his paper *über Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos* in *Berl. Abhandl.* 1875.

Hist. Geogr. = *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, W. M. Ramsay, being Vol. IV of Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society.

Hogarth = in Ch. III his article in *Journal of Philology* XIX pp. 69 f, in Ch. IV his article in *JHS* VIII p. 376, in Ch. XI his article in *JHS* IX p. 343.

Imhoof GM = *Griechische Münzen*, F. Imhoof-Kramer, in *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* I CL. Vol. XVIII.

Imhoof MG = *Momassia Graecae*, F. Imhoof-Bürmer.

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Inscr. refers to the numbered inscriptions quoted in the *Appendix* of this book.

Kaibel = *Inscriptiones Graecae, Siciliae et Italiae*, &c.

Kaibel Ep. & Lepp. = *Epigrammata Graeca & Lepidibus connecta* 1878.

Kiepert refers sometimes to his appendix to Franz *Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte Kleinasien*, sometimes to his maps (especially the latest large scale map of Western Asia Minor).

Le Blant I or II = *Inscr. Christianes de la Gaule*, E. Le Blant.

Le Blant III = *Nouveau Recueil des Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, E. Le Blant.

Le Quien = *Oriens Christianus* Vol. I.

Liermann = *Analecta Epigraphica et Aegaeica*, O. Liermann in *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses* VIII.

LW = same as Wadd. (see below).

Mae = Maender (Magnesia Mae = ad Maeandrum).

Marquardt = *Elemente Staatsverwaltung* Vol. I *Organisation des Reichs*, J. Marquardt, Ed. II.

Menadier = *Quae conditione Ephesi cui sint inde ab Asia in formam provinciae redactae*, Julius Menadier.

Mom. Sm. = *Momassia* cui Εὐδοκίῃ τῆς Εὐρυπ. Σηολίῃ τῆς ἐς Σαίμω.

No. refers to the numbered inscriptions quoted in the *Appendix* of this book.

Petersen = text in Count Lasckorowski's *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*.

Phil. = *Philologus*.

Reinach = *Chroniques d'Orient* (as re-published), S. Reinach.

Rh. Mus. = *Deutsches Museum für Philologie*.

Ruinart = *Acta Sincera Martyrum*, Ruinart (Batisbon 1859).

Smith, see AHS.

Sterrett EJ = *An Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*, } being Vols. II III of *Studies*
Sterrett WE = *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*. } of the American School at
Athens (J. R. S. Sterrett).

Str. = Strabo (rare, usually Strab.).

Tomaschek = *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (*Sitzungsberichte d. Akademie d. Wissenschaften in Wien* 1891).

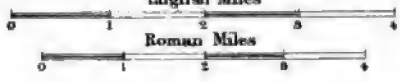
Wadd. = *Le Bas Voyage Archéologique en Asie Mineure* (the inscriptions from 31 onwards were edited by M. Waddington).

All inscriptions which have been transcribed by the writer from the original stone are indicated by '(R. date)' coming immediately after the number.

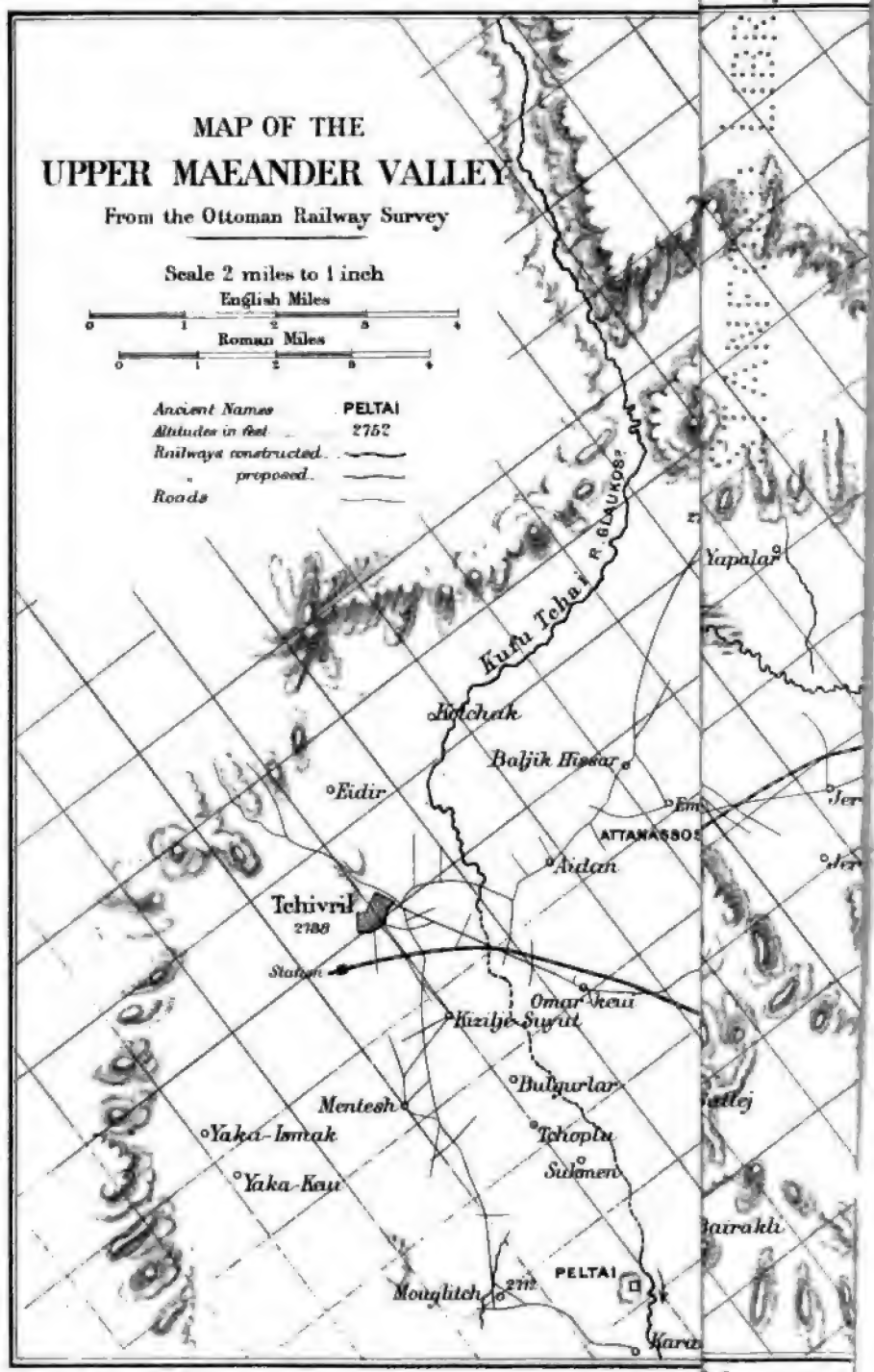
MAP OF THE UPPER MAEANDER VALLEY

From the Ottoman Railway Survey

Scale 2 miles to 1 inch
English Miles



Ancient Names PELTAI
Altitudes in feet 2752
Railways constructed. ———
proposed. ———
Roads ———



THE LOCAL HISTORY OF PHRYGIA

CORRIGENDA.

- P. 461, no. 294, l. 17; and p. 462, l. 19. Dittenberger accents Δειδᾶ, Διδᾶς (*Inscr. Olymp.* no. 228); but Schubart *Pausan.* V. 21, 15 Διδας.
- P. 510, l. 7, for three and twelve, read two and thirteen. See p. 788.
- P. 538, no. 399. See p. 788.
- P. 548, no. 410 *bis*, l. 8. M. Laurent BCH 1896, p. 245 reads β' ἐντήσεων.
- P. 568, l. 20. See p. 792.
- P. 566, no. 467-469. See p. 790.
- P. 601, n. 2, l. 2, for Μηνόκριτοι read Μηνόκριτος.
- P. 606, no. 495. See p. 791.
- P. 615, no. 527, l. 2. Compare οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺς (σ)αλτάριοι, *Ath. Mit.* 1896, p. 100 (where the word is given as δλτάριοι).
- P. 716, n. 1, ll. 3 and 5, for 57 and 15, read 58 and 14. See p. 788.
- P. 723, no. 657, verse 19. Compare ἀναγινώσκοντες εὐχαστε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, *AEMit.* 1896, p. 33. See pp. 788, 791.
- P. 753, l. 10. This line ought to make more explicit reference to M. Radet's view (that Melissa was at Atli-Hissar) as a possible alternative.

Ramsay's Phrygia, Vol. I, Pl. 2.

Ἀττάλου καλίσαντος ἀπὸ Εὐμένους τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου. Attalos II also founded Dionysopolis (p. 126) and Philadelpheia, which lie in very similar situations on the lowest outer slope at the base of hills which command the city. In such situations, they cannot have been founded for military reasons: they

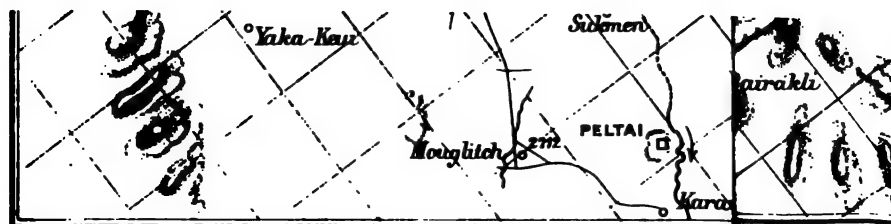
mercian advantage was the only consideration. Attaleia in Pamphylia was founded by Attalos II, and probably also Attaleia in Lydia (Radet BCH 1887 pp. 168 f).

² On the geography see pp. 235 f, 218 f.

MAP OF THE UPPER MAEANDER VALLEY

From the Ottoman Railway Survey

Scale 2 miles to 1 inch
English Miles



History of Phrygia, Vol. II.

THE LOCAL HISTORY OF PHRYGIA

CHAPTER X

EUMENEIA

§ 1. Foundation and Situation p. 353. § 2. The Religion of Eumeneia p. 356.
§ 3. Early History and Monuments of the Valley p. 360. § 4. History and Monuments of Eumeneia p. 364. § 5. Magistrates and Government p. 368. § 6. Encroachment of the Central Government p. 369. § 7. Tribes and People p. 371. § 8. The Turkish Conquest p. 372.

Appendices: I. Inscriptions p. 374. II. Bishops p. 395.

§ 1. FOUNDATION AND SITUATION. Eumeneia was founded by Attalos II Philadelphos (159-138 B.C.)¹: evidently his intention was to make it a stronghold of Pergamenian influence in the upper Maeander valley in opposition to the Seleucid colony of Peltai, about nine or ten miles distant. A situation of the kind favoured during the Pergamenian period was found on a gentle slope at the extreme northern apex of the valley². Close above it on the north rises a sharp conical peak to a height of about 1000 ft. above the valley: this peak is a prominent point in the view from far south of Lounda. I have never ascended the hill, judging from the report of the natives that it was not used as an acropolis of the Greek city, though perhaps

¹ Stephanus says *Ε. πόλις Φρυγίας, Ἀττάλου καλίσαντος ἀπὸ Εὐμένους τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου*. Attalos II also founded Dionysopolis (p. 126) and Philadelpheia, which lie in very similar situations on the lowest outer slope at the base of hills which command the city. In such situations, they cannot have been founded for military reasons: they

belong to peaceful times, when commercial advantage was the only consideration. Attaleia in Pamphylia was founded by Attalos II, and probably also Attaleia in Lydia (Radet BCH 1887 pp. 168 f).

² On the geography see pp. 235 f, 218 f.

it may have been a stronghold at an earlier or a later period. Beneath this peak, and occupying part of the site of Eumeneia, is the modern village Ishekli.

From the base of this peak, at the eastern edge of the city, spring very copious fountains, which run south into the plain, and cause enormous marshes, being unable to find a way to the Maeander across the almost dead level. In the flourishing period of the Roman empire, the marshes were no doubt drained, and a channel kept in good order to carry off the water to the Maeander¹: the stream was apparently called Kloudros. The Glaukos was perhaps the Kufu-Tchai, a tributary of the Maeander which drains the Sandykli-Ova (the Phrygian Pentapolis) and passes about two miles west of Eumeneia and two east of Peltai. But it is possible that the names should be transposed².

It is improbable that the Attalid colony was the earliest settlement on the site of Eumeneia. Such a fine situation must have been occupied from time immemorial: the bountiful fountains would attract the peasantry of a primitive time. But the pre-Greek settlement was doubtless constituted on the primitive Anatolian village system³, and was dependent on the central *hieron* of the valley. The property of the god and of the *hieron*⁴ probably extended as far as the fountains of the Kloudros, for the priests generally had the finest land, and these fountains were marked out by their natural character as the gift of the god. Now, as we have observed already in several cases, the Greek kings used part of the great temple-estates 'to plant colonies which should be personally attached to themselves, garrisons to hold the country, and centres of Greek civilization'⁵;

¹ At Smyrna the Meles flowed in an artificial channel: Aristides says (I p. 377 Dind.) Μέλης ὁ ἐπάνυμος διαρρυχὴν Νυμφῶν ἐκ πηγῶν (διαρρεῖ?) εἰς θάλατταν, αὐταῖς τ' εἶναι λούτρον ῥυτὸν καὶ Νηρηίδας παρὰ Νηρέως δέξασθαι δι' ὀλίγου (Reiske inserts ποιεῖ): this difficult sentence seems to describe an artificial channel conducting the water from its origin and allowing the Nymphs of the springs to swim down to the sea, from which the Nereids can ascend. That is true, see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 115.

² Pliny V 108 *Est Eumeneia Cludro flumini adposita; Glaucus amnis*. The Glaukos is named on Eumenian coins. The term *adposita* in Pliny suggests

that the Cludrus was closer to the city than the Glaucus. Paton suggests that on coins only streams that flow throughout the year are named: this, if correct, would prove that the Glaukos must be the Ishekli water, for Kufu-Tchai is dry throughout summer in the Eumenian valley (though never in its upper course).

³ See pp. 102, 124.

⁴ χώρα ἱερά p. 102.

⁵ See p. 131; and cp. pp. 10, 103, 256 f, 259, 281 ff, 293 f. A remarkable corroboration of the theory stated in those pages has since been published by Mr. Grenfell: in B.C. 262 the 'sixth of the produce of all the vineyards and

and Eumeneia seems to afford a further example of the same practice. Just as Dionysopolis was built near the *hieron* of Leto and Lairbenos, so Eumeneia was built by the same king near the temple of Men Askaênos at Attanassos; and both were situated on land that had been the property of the god. At the same time it would appear that the consent of the priests was obtained at Dionysopolis¹; and the Pergamenian policy seems to have been on the whole more in accordance with the Anatolian sentiment, while the Seleucid policy had more the character of a foreign domination². Doubtless the Eumenian foundation partook of the same character; and we should therefore expect to find that a close connexion existed between the Pergamenian city and the *hieron*. The foundation of Eumeneia represents the revival of native feeling, or rather of the Asiano-Hellenic type characteristic of the Pergamenian kingdom, in opposition to the Seleucid spirit of the 'Macedonians of Peltai' (p. 241).

When the rich coinage of Eumeneia under the early emperors and the later republic is compared with the absence of Peltene coinage under the early emperors and the existence of Peltene coins of types resembling Seleucid coins and earlier in style than any Eumenian coins, the inference is clear that Peltai suffered while Eumeneia flourished. It was not until 138-161 A.D. that Peltai became once more rich enough to coin money, profiting by the prosperity of the country under the peaceful rule of the Roman empire (p. 241 and no. 86).

The fact that Attanassos struck no coins, while even small places like Bria had their own coinage, is explained by its close connexion with Eumeneia: the deity of Attanassos was regarded as their own god by the Eumenian people. His temple was in full view from the city, about four miles distant; and inscr. 195, 196, show that the citizens revered him as 'Apollo-before-the-Gates.' But, while they called him by a Greek name, as they used the Greek language³, his

orchards in Egypt, hitherto given to the gods of Egypt, and apparently delivered by the husbandmen at the nearest temple,' was transferred to Queen Arsinoë: *Revenue Laws of Ptol. Philad.* Oxford 1895.

¹ See p. 126: cp. p. 33.

² See p. 60.

³ Similarly the *Equites Singulares* at Rome (mostly from Gaul and Germany) in the time of Hadrian erected altars

to Hercules, meaning the German Donar (Domaszewski *Religion des röm. Heeres*); Zangemeister explains Mars, Hercules, Mercury, on the soldiers' altars as Ziu, Donar, Wodan (*z. german. Mythologie in N. Heidelb. Jahrb.* V); and Domaszewski considers the triad Silvanus, Apollo, Diana, on these altars as Thracian, and Liber as the supreme Dacian god (Haug *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1896 p. 564).

symbol was the double-headed battle-axe; he was the horseman-god¹; and he may be confidently identified with Men Askaēnos of inscr. 197 (88). Apollo with the symbols of Men suits the mixed Graeco-Asiatic civilization of the Pergamenian kingdom.

Thus a close relation between Eumeneia as the city and Attanassos as the *hieron* evidently existed; and the latter place did not develop into a city, because all the tendencies towards city life were directed towards the development of Eumeneia. During the three centuries following the foundation of that city, the Graeco-Phrygian union between Eumeneia and Attanassos quite threw into the shade the Seleucid Peltai.

§ 2. THE RELIGION OF EUMENEIA. In Eumeneia, if we may argue from the paucity of inscriptions of the Greek political type, municipal life had little real vigour. The city was evidently rich and flourishing; but it was occupied far less with municipal politics than with religious duties (among which the preparation of the grave was reckoned, § 4). In its religion there is observable very little of the Greek spirit. We have seen that 'Apollo-before-the-Gates' was merely Men under a Greek name. Zeus Soter, a Pergamenian title², is mentioned; but on coins, besides some more hellenized types of Zeus, there appears a barbarous Phrygo-Carian form (like Zeus Labraundeus at Mylasa), holding in his right hand a double-headed axe, and in his left hand a spear, with a stag behind him. This type shows that the fundamental conception of the god at Eumeneia was native Anatolian; whether under the form of the horseman-god as Men-Sabazios, or the standing figure more akin to Zeus, he is the old native deity, bearing the axe as his symbol³, though a Greek external aspect was sometimes imparted to him.

This Phrygian god, enthroned at Attanassos before the gates of Eumeneia, was, as in all other cases, the adviser as prophet and the healer as physician. The medical side of the Eumenian god is attested by the types of many coins. On one of the commonest classes of the earlier coins, the tripod of Apollo is the central type on the reverse and beside it are a *bipennis* (round which twines a serpent), three stars, and a festooned palm-branch, while the obverse bears a head of Dionysos crowned with ivy. This type is illustrated by a coin struck A.D. 161-180: it shows the nude Apollo standing, holding in his right hand a branch and in his left a *bipennis* resting on a tripod

¹ See notes on no. 32, 103, and pp. 263, 294, with no. 195 and Mionnet no. 571.

² So the Dionysopolitan god was called

by the Pergamenian titles Soter Asklepios (no. 35), Zeus Soter (no. 61).

³ Compare the following note.

round which twines a serpent, while a raven sits on it¹. Prophetic power is indicated by the tripod and the raven, purificatory power by the branch, curative power by the serpent, and divine authority by the axe; and these are the main elements in the Phrygian conception of the divine nature (pp. 87 f, 104, 136 ff, 263 f, 294 f).

At Dionysopolis we saw abundant proof that Asklepios, Dionysos, and Apollo types on coins like these express merely different aspects of the one ultimate divinity, not different gods. In ordinary life the medical power of the god was naturally the one most frequently appealed to²; and we may feel certain that, as at the *hieron* of Men Karou, a medical establishment was attached to the temple at Attanassos. It would even appear from inscr. 196 that the medical school of Men Karou, which was directed by leaders named Philaethes, had a representative also in authority at Attanassos³. At the more primitive *hiera* cure by charms and incantations was practised⁴; but Eumeneia was a more educated city, where medicine was practised as a science.

The Carian type of Zeus, which is seen on some coins of Eumeneia, was an androgynous conception, corresponding to that double character of the divine nature, which was more commonly represented, even in Caria, by the divine pair, e.g. at Stratonicea by the pair Zeus Kanokos and Hera⁵, or Zeus Panamaros and Hera. The goddess, the mother (pp. 51, 89 ff.), the female element in the divine pair, is represented on coins of Eumeneia sometimes as Artemis Ephesia with her stags at her sides⁶, sometimes as Cybele enthroned⁷, sometimes in

¹ Mionnet *Suppl.* no. 356. The essential parts of the type are seen in a simpler form on a coin, A. D. 54-67, showing a nude youthful god, standing, with a bird perched on his right hand, the axe in his left hand, and a chlamys hanging over his left arm (Imhoof GM p. 211). An enigmatic type mentioned in Head p. 564—'Apollo playing lyre, in car drawn by goat and panther; on the goat's back sits Eros playing the double flute'—illustrates further the complex character of the Phrygian conception.

² This side of the divine power is carefully discussed by Prof. J. H. Wright on *Artemis-Anaitis* in *Harvard Studies* VI 1895.

³ If the coin described by Mionnet *Suppl.* no. 205 is correctly read, there

was an alliance between Eumeneia and Attouda, the city of Men Karou; such alliances under the empire related chiefly to common rights at religious and festal ceremonies. But it is not certain that Sestini's reading can be accepted, until the coin has been seen by some better authority.

⁴ S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* p. 216 (1886 p. 156) quotes an example from the Katakekaumene.

⁵ MM. Deschamps and Cousin BCH 1888 p. 262: cp. Strab. p. 659, Paus. VIII 10, 3 f, CIG 2693, 2700, LW no. 361, 415.

⁶ So at Dionysopolis, *inscr.* 32. In Mionnet no. 577 the image stands within a temple.

⁷ Imhoof GM p. 211: at Dionysopolis p. 126.

a more hellenized type, either as a goddess of Peace and Abundance bearing in her hands ears of corn and a horn of plenty¹, or as the huntress Artemis standing inside her temple². Hera hardly appears on coins; and the existence of a tribe Herais points rather to a temple of the Argive Hera within the city (p. 371).

The cultus of Attanassos was old-fashioned; but even on its conservative priesthood history left some traces, as we may see in inscr. 197. There the god appears as the Pergamenian Zeus Soter³, and the Greek Agathodaimon and Apollo, as well as the old Phrygian Men Askaēnos, various identifications by which the manifold divine nature was expressed at different periods in Eumenian history; while the goddess is styled not merely Mother Angdistis, but also Isis, and Imperial Peace. The influence of Egyptian religion on Asia is shown by the identification with Isis⁴; and the Imperial cultus has been received into the old Phrygian temple, and the goddess of Peace and Abundance is identified with Pax Augusta.

The evidence at Eumeneia shows that the male partner of the divine pair was ranked as the more important at least in the exoteric form of the cultus (whatever may have been the case in the Mysteries); and this was the Phrygian character as contrasted with the Lydian (p. 9).

The priest who officiated in the cultus of these various impersonations of the divine nature is called the Lampadephoros (no. 197), obviously from the part which he played in the Mysteries, which formed a part of the Phrygian ritual⁵. There was indubitably a college of priests⁶ connected with the temple and the Mysteries; and it is doubtful whether the Lampadephoros priest was the supreme priest; but analogy would tend rather to show that he was only the second, and that the chief priest was Stephanephoros⁷. The ceremonies at the temple of Zeus Panamaros may be taken as a parallel case; and there the entrance of the priest into office was styled 'the taking over of the crown' or 'of the god⁸,' and his exit from office was *ἀπόθεσις τῶν στεφάνων*.

¹ Mionnet *Suppl.* no. 359.

² *Ibid.* no. 357.

³ Cp. Zeus Soter near Dionysopolis no. 61.

⁴ So Sarapis on a coin, Mionnet 559, must be taken as an assimilated form of Zeus. ⁵ See pp. 92 ff, 51, 293.

⁶ See pp. 293, 288.

⁷ See pp. 56, 103, 110; yet at Eleusis both the Hierophantes and the Dadou-

chos wore a diadem, while the Hierokeryx and the Epibomios wore garlands of myrtle, and the Hierophantis a garland of poppies. On the Chrysophoros see no. 203.

⁸ *παράληψις τοῦ στεφάνου* or *τοῦ θεοῦ*: he became the guardian for the year of his office of the *ξάνον* of the god. See MM. Deschamps and Cousin BCH 1891 pp. 172 ff.

There is no evidence as to the method of appointment to the priesthood or the term of office. The priesthood of Zeus Panamaros was annual, and the office was elective; but the choice usually (perhaps regularly) fell within a certain small number of families. In earlier times there is every probability that the office was hereditary in all the great *hiera*; and the title 'hereditary priest'¹ was used even after the rule of succession was modified. The priests not merely superintended the upkeep of the temple and the ritual, but also provided, according to their individual fortune and spirit, for the splendour of the festivals and entertainments².

Dances formed a part of the ceremonial in honour of the god and the goddess. In Ionia and Bithynia, especially, these dances developed into a public show, approximating to *mimesis*, though wanting the thoroughly dramatic element. In those regions, as Lucian³ mentions, the people would spend day after day at the regular season in watching Titans and Korybantes⁴ and Satyrs and Boukoloi; and we need not hesitate to extend the custom to Phrygia, though in Phrygia it continued more a purely religious ceremony and was not elaborated into an artistic exhibition. The Boukoloi, worshippers of Dionysos Kathegemon the *ἄξιος ταῦρος*, formed a society at Pergamos which contained, besides 18 ordinary Boukoloi, an Archiboukolos, two Hymn-teachers, two Silenoi and a *Choregos*⁵: here the elements of *mimesis* are present, a chorus of worshippers instructed in singing and choral movements, with two Silenoi. The Korybantes had a Phrygian origin; and their dancing is represented on coins of many Phrygian cities, e.g. Laodiceia, Apameia, Akmonia. The modern dervish establishments at Konia and Kara-Hissar, with their music and their instructors and directors in the dance, preserve much of the character of the old Phrygian *corps* of dancing Korybantes, which doubtless existed at such *hiera* as Attanassos⁶.

In the close connexion between Eumeneia and Attanassos, there must have been officials (probably *Neopoioi*⁷) of the city regulating

¹ *ἱερεὺς διὰ γένους* at Dionysopolis no. 35. Compare p. 51.

² Hence the regular commendation of a priest of Panamaros is *ἱερατεύσας εὐσεβῶς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, φιλοτείμως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* BCH I. c.

³ *κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρὸν κάθηται δι' ἡμέρας Τιτᾶνας καὶ Κορύβαντας καὶ Σατύρους καὶ Βουκόλους ὁρῶντες de Sult.* 79.

⁴ A priest of the Korybantes at Halikarnassos BCH 1880 p. 399.

⁵ Fränkel *Inscr. Pergam.* II 485.

⁶ This paragraph is introduced here to complete the picture of the *hieron*: it would suit Apameia or Akmonia, where coins prove the existence of Korybantes.

⁷ On *Neopoioi* see Hicks p. 80.

the relations between the *hieron* and the city. Almost the only trace that remains of such a body of officials is the *Architekton* in no. 259. At Pergamos the Architect is mentioned in a religious connexion¹: at Delos he was an important official in close relations with the *Neopoioi* (perhaps even attached to the board), who seem to have done nothing without consulting him: he was a salaried official, receiving at Delos 720 dr. *per annum*².

The *Chrysophoros* in no. 203 (if that inscr. belongs to Eumeneia) is probably also an official (or perhaps a member of a college) connected at once with the *hieron* and with the city. The precise character of the *Chrysophoroi* is obscure. At Ephesos there was a body of 'gold-wearing priests and victors,' who joined in processions and in the expense of holding the Hadrianian games, and who passed decrees in honour of emperors: these evidently wore a sacred dress, which marked them as engaged in the service of the goddess³. The expression in no. 203 marks the 'gold-wearer' as engaged in the service of the state, and seems to designate an official analogous to the Stephane-phoros, who bore in the grecized city the dress of the god, and represented in a modernized form the authority of the god within the city. The college of 'gold-wearers' at Ephesos was probably analogous in some respects to the colleges of Hymnodoi found there and elsewhere⁴: the old pre-Greek bodies of persons connected with the great *hiera* lasted in various slightly hellenized forms in the Graeco-Asiatic cities. The Neopoioi of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias were also Chrysophoroi (CIG 2836 *b add*). It may perhaps be discovered hereafter that the Stephanephoros was the chief of the college of Chrysophoroi.

§ 3. EARLY HISTORY AND MONUMENTS OF THE VALLEY. The title Askaēnos carries us back to the remotest period of Phrygian history. It is found in various parts of Phrygia, and Lydia, and Caria, at Dioskome no. 506, at Pisidian Antioch⁵, at Apollonia⁶, at Sardis⁷, at Aphrodisias⁸. In the old Phoenician geographical tradition *Genesis* X 3, Ashkenaz, grandson of Japheth, denotes the Phrygian country and people. We have recognized that, when a divine name has

¹ Fränkel *Inscr. Perg.* II 486.

² Homolle BCH 1884 p. 309, see also pp. 325, 437, BCH 1882 pp. 24, 51-54, 78 &c.

³ Hicks no. 481 l. 308 οἱ χρυσοφοροῦντες τῇ θεῇ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερoneύειν (cp. l. 327, 290, 399, and no. 571, 604, 618, with his remarks p. 85): the same body seems to be meant CIG 2963 c οἱ τὸν [ἱερὸν?]

κόσμον βαστά[ζοντες] τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς [Ἀρτέμι]δος Προπόλ[εως] ἱερεῖς [καὶ ἱερ]oneύειν.

⁴ See Ch. XIV § 3 (3) and no. 549.

⁵ According to Waddington's certain emendation for Ἀρκαῖον or Ἀσκαῖον in Strab. pp. 557, 577.

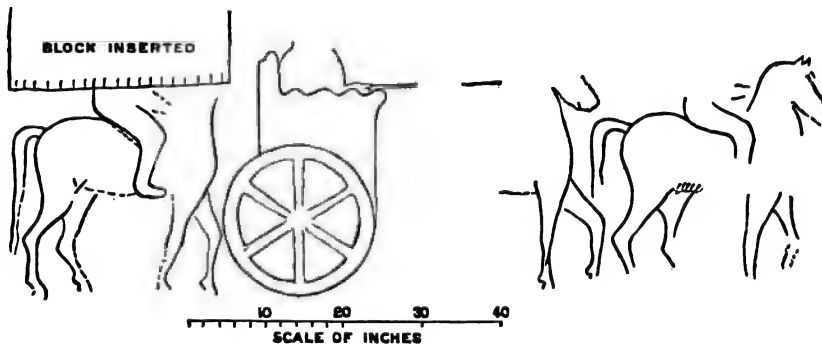
⁶ JHS 1883 p. 417, no. 32.

⁷ Head p. 553.

⁸ LW 1601.

stamped itself on geographical and on native personal nomenclature, it belongs to an early period in the history of the country (pp. 141, 153, 294): personal names connected with Askaênos are unknown in inscr., but the name Askania, which is widely spread in western Asia Minor, applied to a lake S.W. from Apameia and to another beside Nikaia Bith., is obviously related, and the mythic leaders of the Phrygian allies at Troy were Phorkys and Askanios from Askania (*Il.* II 862).

The only monument in the Eumenian territory that seems to be older than the city is a sculpture carved on the rocks at the extreme apex of the triangular plateau which borders the Maeander valley on the left bank, near the village of Sondurlu¹, and about six miles due south from Ishekli. On the front rock facing north, on a perpendicular surface formed by cutting the sloping surface, is carved in low relief a human figure driving to the right (west) in a one-horse car, preceded



by one horseman, and followed by another. The men are not represented as warriors. On the hill behind is a tumulus; and it seemed to me that the relief stood in relation to the tumulus, and was therefore sepulchral. The interpretation which first suggested itself was that the figure in the car was the Mother-goddess, and that the

¹ Sondurlu is a station on the railway near the bridge over the Maeander. Sterrett and I first observed this monument in 1883; I made a rough sketch of it, and especially of the curious car, but never published it. In 1891 Mrs. Ramsay photographed the monument. I mentioned the monument to M. Legrand who with M. Chamonard was about to travel in Phrygia in 1891, and asked him to photograph it. It hap-

pened that our photographs, though of smaller size, were more successful; Mrs. Ramsay used a hand camera, while M. Legrand could not place his stand in a satisfactory position. Ultimately, therefore, M. Chamonard found it better to publish her photographs in the excellent article which he has devoted to this monument *BCH* 1893 pp. 39 51 (to which readers who desire further information are referred).

two horsemen are to be compared with those in the relief accompanying inscr. 32; but the impression grew that the figure in the car is male, and that the scene is a procession, representing the deity making a progress through his territory. Such a procession is a known feature in the religion of Asia Minor.

The very bad preservation of the monument makes it difficult to judge of its character and age. The human figures, which would be most indicative of artistic style, are unfortunately worst preserved; but the figure in the car, which has suffered least, appeared to me to belong to a pre-Greek style of art¹. Though the head has entirely disappeared, yet the body seemed to be a rude and lumpy mass from which a hand protruded at right angles just above the high side of the car, and the reins seemed to meet the hand without being held in it. The car has a high back, while the sides rise above the waist of the person who sits inside of it. The wheel is large, and has six spokes, like the car in which Apollo is borne on a Melian vase, and like the Roman triumphal car (which was, doubtless, adopted from Etruria)². The Greek and Persian wheels have generally four or eight spokes; but M. Chamonard points out that the cars and wheels on the gates of Salmanasar at Balawat (860-824 B.C.) are identical in shape with this. Its oriental character, therefore, is beyond dispute.

The horse which draws the car is much defaced. The other two horses are in excellent style, spirited and natural in action, the work of a sure and skilful hand: the legs, however, are too long, though in other respects good³. The tail stands out very prominently from the body like the tail of horses of Arab breed. The horsemen sit as represented on many early Greek vases, which is the only fact that can be distinguished with certainty about them⁴.

We are then in presence of a work, in which the animal figures are decidedly superior in style and power to the only human figure that permits a judgement. That is the character of early art⁵, which

¹ I use this term to indicate a style older than the Greek art which was established in Phrygia by the conquest of Alexander. In this book we treat of Greek only in the phases in which it affected Anatolia.

² See Daremberg et Saglio fig. 2204, 2222, 2225 (but ten spokes no. 2223).

³ One horse is 22 inches high and 22 in length, the other 23 high and 22 in length.

⁴ The figure of the front horseman

was probably a simple flat relief. The other was carved on a separate piece of stone which was fastened to the rock and has now fallen away. M. Chamonard rightly describes this, and observes that the device was practised by Greek sculptors.

⁵ The central figure taken alone would be consistent with the work of a country stone-cutter in the Roman period; but the horses preclude such a view.

attains a mastery over the human figure last of all. The first monument that rose to the memory both of my wife and of myself, when we were studying this sculpture, was an unpublished rock relief in northern Phrygia, near the tomb of Midas, on which are represented two horses in excellent style and a standing human figure of rude and helpless type¹.

Other analogous monuments have been pointed out by M. Chamonard: they are early Lycian. Particularly striking is the resemblance to a monument at Xanthos², on which there is a horse with similar tall legs, and the tail springing sharply out from the body.

The parallel examples, then, prove that the Eumenian monument is a work of the Anatolian art, older than the time when Greek art became dominant in the country. As it is in the heart of Phrygia, we may speak of it as a work of Phrygian art. To what period of Phrygian art shall we attribute it? In studying this subject, I was led to the view that the period of the great Phrygian monuments ended with the destruction of the Phrygian kingdom by the Cimmerians about 680³: among them are two groups, (1) sculptures in relief under the influence of the older Oriental civilization whose centre was at Pteria, (2) monuments with geometrical ornamentation and often with inscriptions. After the Mermnad kings had opened up the Lydian kingdom to western influence, and had extended its bounds to the Halys in 585, Greek art began gradually to exercise an influence on Phrygia. We have no means of saying when that influence began; but it is almost certain that by trade and peaceful intercourse it was exercised long before Greek armies entered the country; and probably Alexander's conquest was facilitated by the existence of a grecizing party in the great cities of the interior⁴. But, besides Greek art, Persian also perhaps exercised some influence on Phrygia after 546. The Persian analogy is marked in the architectural tombs of the later Phrygian period, though generally it is difficult to determine whether the non-Greek characteristics should be called native Anatolian or Persian: doubtless both kinds existed side by side.

¹ This relief is so difficult of access, and in such bad preservation, that it has escaped the attention of most travellers. Mrs. Ramsay made a sketch of it in 1884: it is unfortunately inaccessible to the photographer.

² Perrot *l'Art dans l'Antiq.* V fig. 279. M. Chamonard also mentions certain Cypriote sarcophagi (whose resemblance

to the Lycian monuments is marked) published Perrot III fig. 415, 416, 421 (the car-wheel on one sarcophagus has six spokes, on another ten).

³ 696 Eusebius, 676 Africanus. The following sentences are quoted nearly verbatim from my article in JHS 1882 pp. 28 f.

⁴ No direct evidence exists.

This is probably the period to which the small Eumenian monument should be ascribed¹. Studying it on the spot, and observing that Xenophon passed close in front of it, I expressed the latest probable date of its origin by the words² 'it must have looked on the march of the Ten Thousand along the road from Celaenae to Peltae.' I still think that the fifth century is the latest to which this work can be assigned; and M. Chamonard on the whole appears to come to a similar conclusion, though in some places he seems inclined to place it later.

If the monument belongs to the fifth century, how is the remarkable resemblance of the car to the Assyrian cars of the ninth century to be explained? It must be supposed that the same old style of car was employed in ancient Phrygia and in Assyria, and that this kind of car was used in the upper Maeander valley as late as the fifth century, either generally or at least in the service of the god³.

§ 4. HISTORY AND MONUMENTS OF EUMENEIA. The inscriptions, numerous as they are, are singularly devoid of information about the city or its history. Inasmuch as a copy of the decree of the province Asia (i. e. the *Koinon* of Asia) was erected in Eumeneia,

¹ In essentials M. Chamonard is in agreement; but he seems to me rather to exaggerate the Greek element in the relief, while I seem to him to exaggerate the native Anatolian character. In his article he has quoted from the *Archaeological News* in *Amer. J. Arch.* 1891 p. 504 a brief notice of my opinion as stated in a letter to the *Athenaeum* 15 Aug. 1891: and has given his readers the impression that our opinions contradict each other. It would have been better, if M. Chamonard had consulted my own letter, or written to ask me whether the words used by the Editor (professedly as a mere abstract expressed in the third person) fully represented my opinion, before founding on it a polemic against a view, which I had never entertained or dreamed of. Writing to the *Athenaeum* a letter containing my first impressions, I tacitly argued against the only other view that seemed to me possible, viz. that the relief was of the Greek or Roman period; and M. Chamonard gathered from the abstract given in the *Amer. Journ.* the

impression that I had attributed the work to the remotest period of Anatolian or 'Hittite' art.

² *Athenaeum* Aug. 15, 1891, p. 233.

³ I was disposed to see a reference to the Phrygian car in Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25 αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἀργυροχαλίνου Φρυγίου τινος ἢ Κελτικῷ πορεύετο. M. Chamonard however objects that a pair of silver-bridled Phrygian horses or Gallic horses is here referred to; and certainly ζεύγος in the strictest use refers to the horses alone. But the use of ἐπὶ suggests that the car and trappings, i. e. the entire equipment, are referred to; and that the intention is to describe the luxurious style of foreign car, Phrygian or Gallic, drawn by silver-bridled horses, which Polemon employed, and which brought glory to the city which he condescended to visit. A pair of Phrygian horses seems hardly sufficient to produce so much effect, even with their silver bridles. This sense of ζεύγος might be justified by parallels, given in the lexicons. See also p. 428 n. 6.

no. 345, the city evidently claimed to rank among 'the leading cities of *conventus* (*dioeceseis*)' ¹; and Marquardt therefore places it, though with some hesitation, in his list of *conventus* ². But from the list of Pliny, it is evident that Eumeneia was in the Apamean *conventus* ³. In truth Marquardt's reasoning about the *conventus* rests on a mistake: he argues that, since Cyzicos, Philadelphieia and Tralleis were places at which the meeting of a *conventus* was held, therefore they were the heads of distinct and separate *conventus*. But it is clear from Pliny that Cyzicos was in the Adramyttian *conventus*, Philadelphieia in the Sardinian, Tralleis (Caesareia) in the Ephesian; but meetings were held sometimes in one, sometimes in another city of a *conventus* ⁴. There were several 'first cities' in each *conventus*; and the place of meeting varied. Hence Dio Chrysostom says that the first cities shared by turns in the advantage of the meetings ⁵.

The cultus of the Emperors has left little trace in Eumeneia. The goddess of Attanassos was identified with Imperial Peace (§ 2). A priest of Rome is mentioned no. 199; but this cultus was perhaps founded before the Empire began, and certainly not later than the time of Augustus. Hence the inference drawn by Franz from CIG 3884 (see no. 478), that Eumeneia took the name Sebaste for some time during the second century, is very improbable. The inscription certainly belongs to Sebaste, though Pococke saw it at Ishekli. It may be a memorial of some old connexion between the cities: perhaps at a *conventus* in Eumeneia the Sebastenoi placed the inscription there. But, more probably, the stone has been transported in modern times. Ishekli was formerly a much more important town than it is now; and in a town of any size there is a steady demand for good blocks of stone in the masons' and gravestone-cutters' yards. Persons who have little experience of the facts of Turkish life will ask why a heavy stone should be carried so far to a place like Ishekli, where so many stones can be got by digging. The explanation is that an

¹ ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγουμέναις τῶν διοικήσεων πόλεσιν.

² So Monceaux *de Comm. Asiae* p. 26 (doubtfully p. 38).

³ He does not actually mention Eumeneia; but as Dionysopolis, Akmonia, Peltai, Silbion are given in the *tertius conventus*, it is obvious that Eumeneia also *Apameam vadit*, V 106.

⁴ Laodiceia, likewise, was an ordinary meeting-place of the Cibyric *con-*

ventus; but that does not imply that the *conventus* never met at Cibra.

⁵ μέτεστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς πρώταις πόλεσιν ἐν μέρει παρ' ἑτορ XXXV 17. He adds that the report goes that each *conventus* will in future meet only at longer intervals than a year; as people feel it too burdensome to assemble, often from great distances, once each year. See Ch. XI § 19.

ox-wagon on a return journey is often loaded with a stone in order not to travel empty: a good block has always some value, and the Turks do not love digging. I have seen an altar of great size, weighing near two tons, in a stonecutter's yard at Kutaya, the site of a larger and richer city than Eumeneia. The inscription indicated that the stone did not belong to Kotiaion; and on enquiry I found that it had been brought from Karagatch-Euren (east from Altıntash), a journey of eleven hours over a hilly road¹. See pp. 583, 698.

One foundation at least in Eumeneia may be traced back to the Pergamenian period. Coins struck under Gallienus (253–268 A.D.) mentioned the games ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΙΑ. The name evidently commemorates the fraternal affection of Attalos and Eumenes: the city Philadelpheia was founded by Attalos in the same spirit². It is remarkable that the sole memorial of the festival should be of so late a date; we have seen a similar case at Aphrodisias (p. 188), where the ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΑ are never mentioned until the third century after Christ³.

In a city so rich and so important as Eumeneia, there must have been a theatre or an amphitheatre⁴, and perhaps both; but I have not observed traces of either. The ancient remains have suffered much during the Middle Ages, when the town was larger and more prosperous than it is now. The modern town of Ishekli is even more ruinous in appearance than most Turkish towns; and since Tchivril has been selected as the railway terminus, the prosperity of Ishekli is not likely to revive. It is an interesting fact that, when Tchivril becomes the chief town of this valley, the centre of power will have

¹ Stones from Antiocheia (no. 73 and Errata) and perhaps from Eumeneia (no. 203) have been carried to Tralleis. A large and heavy block, copied by me at Afion-Kara-Hissar, had been brought across the hills from Synnada; and since then it has been carried to Smyrna in hope of gain. Hence the opinion expressed by Petersen, *Städte Pamphyliens* I p. 158, that a stone now at Adalia, which I regard as carried from Perga (four hours distant by an easy road), would not be transported so far, rests on insufficient knowledge of the manners and facts of Turkish life. The stone is not so heavy as those from Synnada and Karagatch-Euren.

² Πόλις Λυδίας, Ἀττάλου κτίσμα τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου, Steph. Byz.

³ Cp. CIG 2801, CIA III 129, l. 31. Eckhel's opinion that the *Attaleia* were a Pergamenian foundation is confirmed by the Eumenian *Philadelpheia*; and Liermann p. 156 inclines to the same view. Boeckh on CIG 2139 *b add*, 2758, thinks they were named after some Aphrodisian citizen Attalus, who founded them; but the various names *Attaleia*, *Attaleia Gordiana*, *Attaleia Gordiana Capitolia*, *Attaleia Capitolia*, point to a long-standing city festival, which was modified in name from time to time.

⁴ What was called in Asian cities an amphitheatre was often really a stadium of the Roman form, see p. 47 and no. 3.

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returned almost to its original position in early Phrygian time. Tchivril lies very near the site of Attanassos.

The spread of Christianity in Eumeneia is the most interesting fact in its history: it is discussed in Ch. XII.

It suits the ruinous character of the modern town that almost the only relics of ancient history are the gravestones. As these present several points of interest, most of them have been given in App. I. The epitaphs of this district are mostly engraved on *stelai* square in (horizontal) section, with heavy capitals and bases; this form is called 'Altar' (*βωμός*) in the inscriptions¹. In many cases the 'Altar' was placed on the flat top of a structure made of concrete or small stones imbedded in mortar, and containing a sepulchral chamber². When the structure was of any height, there were steps³ to approach the altar. The *Bomos*, though bearing the inscription, was a real altar, on which the cultus of the departed heroes or heroines might be kept up (no. 226). The sepulchral chamber, the home⁴ of the deceased, had a door in the side of the structure. The door of communication between the world of death and of life was an essential part of the Heroön; and in some cases, where the tomb was simply a grave in the earth and an altar above it, the word 'Door' was engraved below the inscription or on another side of the 'Altar' (no. 280). At Hierapolis a similar structure and door is common: on its flat top are placed sarcophagi with inscr. The under-structure is there called the *bomos*⁵.

The other chief class of Phrygian gravestones, those of the 'Door' type, is hardly found in the parts of Phrygia most exposed to Greek influence. I have observed none in the Lycos valley or at Eumeneia or Apameia; but they are the common style further north and east. See Ch. XIII § 5.

There seems no doubt that the common Eumenian sepulchral monument is a degeneration from the full form of a temple, which is found sometimes elsewhere: e.g. in northern Phrygia we see the complete *pronaos* of a Doric temple cut in the rock⁶, while on entering the

¹ An example is reproduced in no. 654. Sometimes the capital is surmounted by a triangular pedimental top, as in no. 372, 380; but the name *βωμός* is applied to this shape also. The 'Altar' was often very ornate, especially that of the architect no. 259.

² Hence the name *σύνκροστον* no. 212, 213, 220, 268, 272: good building stone

was scarce in the fertile Eumenian valley. The generic term *ἡρώων* is far commoner than *σύνκροστον*, see 209 &c.

³ *γράδος* no. 212, 213, 268, 277.

⁴ *οἶκος* no. 210 (cp. p. 100).

⁵ *ὁ βωμός καὶ ἡ ἐπικειμένη σορός* is the customary formula CIG 3912, 3919, 3928, cp. 3915 (LW 1680-1683): but *βαθρικόν* is the name in no. 28.

⁶ Perrot *l'Art dans l'Ant.* V p. 137.

doors, we find a family tomb. The dead man is conceived as identified with the god of the country; his grave is a temple; and the epitaph is a dedication (p. 101). The Phrygians carried this belief and custom wherever they went. A case occurs at Rome, where a Phrygian slave, named Midas, who was set free by his master M. Annaeus, erected a little temple, 5 ft. high, 2 ft. broad, and 3 ft. long, as the grave of a little foundling girl whom he had brought up (CIL VI 11685).

§ 5. MAGISTRATES AND GOVERNMENT. The usual public assemblies, Boule and Demos, existed at Eumeneia (no. 204). Members of the senate are buried, no. 204, 210, 219?, 359, 361, 364, 371; the title probably implying that there was an *ordo senatorius* of the Roman type (p. 62 n. 2). Fines were made payable to the senate, no. 228, 380¹.

Associations of Epheboi or Neoi are not mentioned in the inscriptions. Geraioi in no. 361, 364 perhaps indicates members of the Gerousia.

The supreme board of magistrates at Eumeneia seems to have consisted in the early empire of three archons, no. 201; but in later time the Strategoi were apparently more important, forming a board with a City-strategos as president². It seems probable that the difference is merely in name. The name 'archon' was more commonly used in early time, and was understood rather in the general sense of 'ruler' than as a special title; whereas in later time the specific title 'Strategos' became more common (see no. 472 and Ch. XIII § 10).

The common magistrates, agoranomos (p. 629), eirenarch (p. 68), and grammateus (pp. 66 f), are mentioned in no. 197, 203, and the paraphylax (p. 68) in no. 197.

At Eumeneia there was a Record Office called *χρεωφυλάκιον* (*tabularium*), and the official in charge of it was *χρεωφύλαξ*. In it were preserved public documents of all kinds, both financial and legal, as well as copies of important private documents, title-deeds, wills, records of the sale of real property, mortgages, loans, or deeds of gift. When the copy of any sale or gift was formally made and deposited in the Record Office, the bargain was said to have taken place *διὰ τῶν ἀρχείων*³; and the building where the archives were kept was called far more frequently *ἀρχεῖον* than *χρεωφυλάκιον* (thus even in Eumeneia

¹ If no. 203 belongs to Eumeneia, the president of the senate was styled *βουλευάρχης*.

² See no. 197, 88, and pp. 67 and 600.

³ See no. 20, Dareste BCH 1882 p. 241, who treats the subject with admirable clearness. The following remarks embody his results.

we find the *ἀρχεῖον* mentioned, no. 220, 234, 357). Before a copy of any such deed of sale or gift was accepted and stored in the Office, its legality and validity were verified; and thus the *χρεωφύλαξ* played an important part in the business of the city. The existence of a certified copy of a deed in the Record Office was accepted as full proof of legal right to the property in question; and this simple guarantee of right greatly facilitated the borrowing of money on the security of property, besides making the transfer of property and the verification of titles very simple. On the other hand the burning of the *ἀρχεῖα* at Jerusalem in A.D. 66 paralysed business by destroying the evidence of loans and preventing recovery (Josephus *Bell. Jud.* II 427 [17, 6]).

§ 6. ENCROACHMENT OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: LOGISTAI. The office of Auditor (*ἐγλογιστής*) is mentioned in inscr. 197 (probably of the third century). We assume that it corresponds to the commoner *logistes* or *curator*¹. During the second century, the *logistes* was not a mere municipal official: he was a financial overseer, appointed in special circumstances by the central government (i.e. by the emperor) to regulate expenditure, to prevent extravagance and misappropriation of funds, and to put the finances of the city on a sound basis. The appointment of these *logistai* is one of the earliest signs of that tendency to centralize government², which increased steadily, until all municipal self-government disappeared. At the same time the need for extra-municipal *logistai* shows that municipal government was proving a failure in the Empire. The officials of the cities evidently were found to be corrupt or incompetent or extravagant; no sufficient check on them was exercised by public opinion; and they had too little experience and training. The Imperial government abandoned all attempt to improve and educate the municipal government, and step by step degraded it from all real power, until at last there was nothing left except a gigantic bureaucracy of the central government and its representatives or instruments in the cities.

At first the *logistai* were regularly selected from a different city: commonly they were Roman citizens; often they belonged to the equestrian or the senatorial order; they were men of experience, who ranked far above the mere municipal magistrates; they did not take up residence in the cities where they acted, though doubtless they occasionally visited them. For example, the citizens of Aphrodisias

¹ *Curator rei publicae qui Graeco vocabulo logista nuncupatur* (Cod. Just. I 54. 3).

² No proof of their existence earlier than Nerva is known.

had to consult by letter M. Ulpius Eurykles of Aizanoi, the *logistes*, before they could apply a bequest of Philemon to the institution of games¹; and among their *logistai* occurs a citizen of Tralleis; while a citizen of Aphrodisias acted as *logistes* of Cyzicos².

From the first the office of *curator (logistes)* was felt by the cities to be an encroachment on their liberty and autonomy, and was resented accordingly. Already in the time of Nerva, it is the unpopularity of a *logistes* in Smyrna that leads Philostratus to mention him³. In the second century the state of Apameia devoted a capital sum of 34,000 den. to saving themselves from the tyranny of curators for the future (p. 464).

Not merely cities, but whole provinces (especially those administered by the senate) were found to require a special financial manager from the emperor. Pliny was sent to Bithynia on a mission of this kind; but, in general, the emperor sent in such cases a *corrector* (*διορθώτης*).

During the third century the *logistes* was an ordinary and regular official of the city, selected from among those citizens who had already held office: the selection was sometimes made by the emperor, but in other cases it was made by the municipal senate, which became more and more a mere instrument for executing the will of the central government. The *logistai* of the early fourth century appear as keepers of the lists and valuations of property of the different classes of citizens; sometimes a provincial governor, officiating at a trial of a Christian, is represented as appealing to a *logistes* for information about the rank of the accused⁴. It is clear that the *logistai* encroached steadily on the powers of the supreme board of magistrates, taking the entire management of the finances and property and public works of the city, deciding questions between the state and any individual citizen, and becoming, together with the municipal senate, the means whereby the central government controlled and taxed the cities.

Logistai were appointed by the emperors, not merely for a city, but also for the Gerousia of a city, which often had the control of large sums (p. 112). At Ephesus Hadrian sent a *logistes*⁵, a citizen of Keramos in Caria, to the Gerousia, which seems to have become some-

¹ CIG 2741, BCH 1885 p. 71.

² CIG 2790, 2782.

³ ἀνὴρ ἥπατος, ᾧ ὄνομα Ῥοῦφος, τοῖς
Σμυρναίοις ἐλογίστηκε πικρῶς *Vil. Soph.*
I 19.

⁴ *Acta SS. Didymi et Theodorae*
28 April p. LIII, *Acta S. Sebastianae*
7 June p. 7*.

⁵ CIG 2987 b (restored).

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what embarrassed about the recovery of large sums due to it¹. The management of the money which was entrusted to it for various purposes, and lent out by it at interest, required both ability in finance and scrupulous honesty among the officials. In an inscription of the third century, no. 535, a *logistes* of the Senate and Gerousia (perhaps of Akmonia) is mentioned; we may understand that he was Auditor of the two bodies which controlled public money; but, in the third century, he was a citizen of the city where he acted as *logistes*.

§ 7. TRIBES AND PEOPLE. Herais (no. 358, 357), Argeias (207, 206, 378), Athenais (208), and Hadrianis (364), are known.

The worship of Hera was not characteristic at Eumeneia; and the tribe Herais should probably be explained by comparison with the tribe Argeias and the epithet applied to the citizens on coins ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ². It seems clear that a body of colonists who claimed to represent the old Achaean stock formed part of its original population. It is improbable that they were actually drawn from Greece proper, Achaia or Argos; but Aeolic Cyme boasted its Achaean origin, among its early kings occurs the Argive or Mycenaean name Agamemnon, and Aeolis generally ranked as Achaean. It seems therefore probable that Aeolic settlers may have been enrolled in two tribes Argeias and Herais (the latter named after the Argive goddess, whom probably they worshipped in a temple within the city).

The hellenized cities of Asia Minor were exceedingly fond of connecting themselves with old Greek history and legend. Thus the people of Eumeneia called themselves Achaioi, of Synnada Dores and Iones, of Isinda Iones.

Athenais was probably named after the Pergamenian goddess Athena Nikephoros: the head of Pallas wearing the Attic helmet, a common Pergamenian type³, is often found on autonomous Eumenian coins. Probably the soldier-element, which was doubtless introduced to give strength to the new foundation, may have been enrolled in the tribe Athenais. That element in a Pergamenian colony seems generally to have consisted of mercenaries, Thracian, or Mysian, or Paphlagonian⁴, or Galatian⁵.

¹ Hicks no. 486.

² Droysen III 2 p. 69 doubts whether these coins and those mentioning the river Glaukos belong to Eumeneia: the doubt is unjustified.

³ The Seleucid Athena-type on coins wears a Corinthian helm. A tribe Athe-

nais at Laodiceia p. 60.

⁴ See pp. 180, 34 f.

⁵ Smertorix is mentioned on coins of Augustus. This rare name is Gaulish; and may have been introduced by some Galatic mercenary in the Pergamenian service.

The prominence of Apollo in the religion and the coinage of Eumeneia suggests that a tribe Apollonis probably existed¹ and that the native element in the composite foundation was enrolled in it.

Hadrianis was doubtless an old tribe baptized anew; its former name is unknown, but if a tribe Dias existed, it would naturally be selected to bear the name of Hadrianus Olympius. No evidence is known that Hadrian visited Eumeneia; but he was of course honoured by many cities which he did not visit.

Kleon Agapetos, mentioned on coins of Augustus and Livia, was probably father of [C.] Julius Kleon, Archiereus [Asias] on coins of Agrippina. Bassa, High-priestess [of Asia], was wife of Julius Kleon² (BACCA · KAEΩNOΣ may bear that sense, p. 150).

§ 8. THE TURKISH CONQUEST of the Eumenian valley is obscure; not a single fact is recorded; and we are reduced to inference from the history of the districts around. By the arrangement made with the Turks about 1072, Eumeneia remained part of the Byzantine territory. But the easy route down the Maeander to Eumeneia, and thence into the Banaz-Ova, must have been peculiarly tempting to the nomad Turks³, who were henceforth masters of Pisidia and probably of the Apamean valley. In 1097 the arrival of Ducas at Lampe re-established Byzantine authority in the district⁴. But in 1146 an incidental reference of John Cinnamus brings before us one of the Turkish marauding bands in the valley between Eumeneia and Apameia; though Manuel had believed that in this district he was safe from any attack⁵. In the following years such raids must have been frequent. In 1158 Manuel Comnenus doubtless traversed the Eumenian district, when he advanced by Philadelphiea into the Pentapolis⁶, which seems already to have been permanently occupied by the Turks; but this spasmodic attack produced no good result. In 1175 Manuel refortified Sibia; but his attempt to recover his hold on the district proved a failure. The fortifications of Sibia were dismantled in 1176; and probably no Byzantine force ever again entered

¹ Apollonis at Laodiceia p. 60, at a Bithynian city LW 1183, at Dorylaion Radet *en Phrygie* p. 140, *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 p. 18.

² Imhoof GM p. 211. Bassa is mentioned on a coin attributed by Borrell to Domitia; but Mr. Head says that the Empress's name is not legible, and assigns the coin doubtfully to Agrippina. M. Imhoof-Blumer, to whom I commu-

nicated this, writes that Mr. Head must be followed, and he withdraws his published inference from Borrell's reading.

³ On the gradual nomadization of Asia Minor by the Turks see pp. 15 ff, 215 f.

⁴ See pp. 17, 227 (date wrongly given 1092 in latter place).

⁵ See Ch. XI § 25 and App. I.

⁶ See pp. 19, 598.

the upper Maeander valley. In 1178 we learn that the nomads were in possession both of Baklan-Ova (Lounda) and of Banaz-Ova; and, although Manuel advanced in person, and drove them out, he seems not to have penetrated as far as Eumeneia, and probably the nomads returned as soon as his army retired. The hurried march of Barbarossa in 1190 could produce no effect on the Turkish occupation (pp. 23, 219).

As to the process whereby a Christian population ceased to exist in the Eumenian district, nothing is known. The part played by slaughter in the numerous raids, by emigration of the Christians, and by acceptance of the religion of the conquerors, must be left to conjecture. It is certain that the whole country, Ishekli, Dineir, Daz-Kiri, Hambat-Kiri, Baklan, and Tchal, was purely Mohammedan, when western travellers began again to penetrate into the district. Between Ushak on the north, Sparta and Olu-Borlu on the south-east, and Khonas on the south-west, no Christian body seems to have preserved a continuous existence, though in recent years Christian immigration has begun (pp. 25 ff).

NOTE. M. Imhoof-Blumer tells me that he now reads on the coin published in his *Monn. Gr.* p. 400 no. 104, Μ · ΚΑ · ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΥ · ΑΡΧΙ · ΑCΙΑC · ΕΙCΑΝΓΙΑΑΝΤΟC: see inscr. 203.

APPENDIX I.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EUMENIAN DISTRICT.

Among the following inscr. some certainly may belong to Peltai, Siblia, and Attanassos; but precise assignation is impossible (see note preliminary in App. I to Ch. XV); and it would have been almost better to place here the whole of the inscr. under no. 75-82 and 84-88.

195. (R. 1887). Kotchak. Πριμιγένης Ἀπόλλωνι Προπυλαίῳ εὐχήν. A *bipennis* is appended under this votive inscription as the symbol of the power of the god (see pp. 149, 263, and nos. 42, 103), who, therefore, is not the true Greek Apollo, but the Phrygian deity, Men-Sozon-Sabazios (who is often identified with the Greek Apollo). He is represented on Eumenian coins as the horseman god carrying a *bipennis* over his left shoulder (Mionnet 571), the type which is often described incorrectly as 'an Amazon.'

The god 'in front of the gates' must be a native Phrygian deity, who had his own seat in the valley before Eumeneia was built, and was revered by the inhabitants of that city alongside of, and even before, the deities proper to the new foundation, whose temples were within the city. This native god of the valley had certainly his seat at the *hieron* of Attanassos (pp. 242, 356), where from time immemorial he had guided his Phrygian worshippers, advised them as a prophet, and cured them from diseases.

196. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Τι(βέριον) Κλαύδιον Τρύφωνος υἱὸν, Κυρίνα, Ἀθηνόδοτον [Φ]ιλ[α]λήθη, ἱερέα Προπυλ[αίου] Ἀπόλλωνος. Ti. Claudius Athenodotus Philaethes, a Roman citizen, must have been a man of standing in the city; and the last name suggests that he belonged to the line of physicians of the famous medical school connected with the *hieron* of Men Karou in the time of Augustus (see p. 52), viz. Zeuxis Philaethes (mentioned on coins of Laodiceia), succeeded by Alexander Philaethes, whose pupil was Demosthenes Philaethes. Athenodotos Philaethes was doubtless trained in the same school; he may have

taken the surname either to mark his training or because of an actual connexion by blood; and it is highly probable that he conducted a medical establishment at the *hieron* of Attanassos in the Eumenian territory, where a god similar in character to Men Karou was worshipped. In that case he lived in the first century after Christ; and he or his father got the *civitas* from Tiberius. Plutarch *Symp.* VIII 9 § 1 quotes Athenodorus, a physician of that period.

197. Published with very different text in CIG 3886, Letronne *Journ. d. Savants* 1825 pp. 330 ff, Franz *Fünf Inschriften*, M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 237, Hamilton II p. 470: the text is given above as no. 88 p. 246¹. See § 2.

The long series of deities in whose cultus Monimos is described as priest in this inscription (Zeus Soter, Apollo, Men Askaēnos and Meter Angdistis, Agathos Daimon and Isis and Imperial Peace) should not be considered as distinct gods each having his or her own priest. Monimos was the priest of a pair of gods, embodying the divine nature as male and female, who were worshipped in the same temple and on the same altar as *σύνναοι καὶ σύνβωμοι*: their complex nature, and the historical vicissitudes of their worship, are expressed by a series of identifications with Greek and Egyptian and Imperial Roman divinities (pp. 34, 104, 263 f, 293 f, no. 98, 100 f). Monimos, as one of a college of priests (pp. 288, 293) attached to this cultus, is specified as 'lampadarch priest': in the sacred mysteries he filled a *role* corresponding to that of the Dadouchos at Eleusis.

The Greek moralized representation of the pair of deities under such forms as Eirene and the child Ploutos, shows how the Mother and the Son are here called Peace and Agathodaimon.

In illustration of the complex priesthood mentioned here, a Roman epitaph may be quoted (Kaibel 1449): *κείμεναι Αὐρήλιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν τε θεῶν πάντων, πρῶτον Βοναδίας, εἶτα Μητρὸς θεῶν καὶ Διονύσου Κα[θ]ηγεμόνος*². *τούτοις ἐκτελέσας μυστήρια κτλ.*, where it is obvious that the Latin Bona Dea and the Phrygian Mother of the Gods are identified; while Dionysos Kathegemon, the Pergamenian god, corresponds to Men-Agathodaimon in no. 88. Another illustration is found in no. 466.

¹ In l. 10 M. Paris reads IHC: Hamilton's KHC gives the true restoration [*χρεωφύλα*]κήσαντα. M. Paris also reads in l. 10 ΕΚΛΟΓΙΣ, where Hamilton's ΕΓΛΑ is confirmed by Pococke's ΕΠΛΑ. Otherwise M. Paris's copy is the best;

and he first caught the correct run of the text in [*ερέα Διός*] and Μητρὸς Ἀσκαηνού. I would delete the comma between *λαμπαδάρχην* and *ιέρεια* in his text and my former text (no. 88).

² Kaibel reads καὶ Ἡγεμόνος. See no. 546.

Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and Artagnes-Herakles-Ares were the three gods whose statues accompanied those of the king himself and of Kommagene on the monument at the top of Nemrud-Dagh.

The date of this inscription would be fixed not earlier than Caracalla, if the restoration [*Aur*] *Monimos* could be trusted. But it is rather short, while [*Aurelius*] would be too long. There is no clear evidence of date; the lettering seems good (to judge from the type used by M. Paris), and I was disposed on that account (see no. 88) to consider the reading *Αὐρ.* wrong. But I now believe that the date is under Caracalla (see below), and the name should be restored M. *Αὐρ.*

It is doubtful whether the *ἐγλογιστής* is to be identified with the *λογιστής*. The latter was originally a Roman imperial official appointed by the emperor himself to regulate the finances of a city, and selected almost invariably from some other city. But the position of the *curator* was afterwards changed: beginning, perhaps, about A. D. 200, he was a regular officer of the city, selected from the citizens who had already held high municipal office: see p. 370. In this inscription, the *eglogista* is a citizen of Eumeneia; and therefore the date is not earlier than the third century (if we assume his identity with the *logista*). The title *eglogista* is rare: it occurs at Ilium (CIG 3599¹), and in Egypt 4956, 4957. See § 6.

A *χρεωφυλάκιον* (see p. 370) existed at Aizanoi LW 845, Apameia no. 333, Tiberiopolis? Phr. LW 1011, Aphrodisias LW 1630 &c., CIG 2826 &c., Chios *Ps. Arist. Oec.* II 12, Cos Paton-Hicks p. 249, Philadelphia CIG 3429, Akmonia no. 549, Smyrna CIG 3282.

This office was also called *γραμματεῖον* at Nysa CIG 2943, *γραμματοφυλάκιον* at Pessinus CIG 4094, Tlos CIG 4247, *φυλακή τῶν γραμμάτων* at Mylasa CIG 2693, while *ἀρχεῖον* is very widely used. The names *ῥητροφυλάκιον* (Suidas), *συγγραφοφυλάκιον* (Memphis in Egypt), *θεσμοφυλάκιον* (Boeotia) have not been found in Asia Minor. Deeds of all kinds were sometimes executed in duplicate (*ἀπλᾶ δύο* CIG 3509), one of which was deposited in the Record Office; but commonly a copy was made for the Office (*ἀντίγραφον* or *ἐκσφράγισμα*, if an impression of the seals was taken). See § 5 and M. Dareste quoted there.

The Eirenarch and Paraphylax are often mentioned together, and were evidently connected with each other (p. 68). The Paraphylax was probably head of a body of policemen (*παραφυλακῖται* nos. 115, 116); and the Eirenarch had a general control of peace and order extending probably further than the limits of a single city.

¹ Second or third century B. C., denoting a Greek official.

198. (Mordtmann in *Κωνστ. Φιλολ. Σύλλ.* 1884 *παρ.* p. 65 no. 12).
Κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ Σωτήρι καὶ Ὑγείᾳ θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις.

Asklepios Soter occurs also at Dionysopolis (p. 146).

This pair is obviously a mere hellenizing identification of the god and the goddess at Attanassos. On the title *κύριος* see p. 150, on *ἐπήκοος* pp. 304, 306.

199. CIG 3887. *ὁ δ. Ἐπίγονον Μενεκράτους Φιλόπατριν, τὸν ἱερέα τῆς Ῥώμης, σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην διὰ προγόνων*¹. Epigonos Philopatris is mentioned on a coin of Augustus (Imhoof GM no. 680), which dates this inscription. He was perhaps the earliest priest of Rome in Eumeneia, A cultus and a priest of Rome existed in Smyrna as early as 195 B.C., in Alabanda 170 B.C., in Pergamos 98 B.C.² Both in Eumeneia, no. 199, and in Apameia, no. 302, there was a priest of Rome, and doubtless a temple. Reasons are given on p. 479 for thinking that the decrees relating to the calendar were engraved on the walls of the temple of Rome at Apameia. Now another copy of these decrees existed at Eumeneia; and it is possible that the Eumenian temple of Rome was built at the same time and for the same purpose. A third copy of these decrees seems to have existed at Dorylaion, Radet *en Phrygie* p. 136.

200. (R. 1883). Ishekli: letters five inches high. *[ἕ]πατος τὸ δ'.* Fragment of some emperor's titles.

201. (R. 1887). Aidan. Published with differences by M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 245³. Sterrett's copy 1883 read *Γλαύκωνος*, but otherwise agrees with mine. *ὁ δ. καθιέρωσεν [Γ]ερμανικὸν Καίσαρα ἕπατο[ν, σ]ωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμεληθέντων Ἑρμαγένοῦς τοῦ Μελλίτωνος καὶ Μησιθέου τοῦ Φαινίππου καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Γλύκωνος ἀρχόντων.* Germanicus was twice consul, 12 and 18 A.D. Though there seems to have been no *δὲς* or *β* after *ἕπατον*, yet probably the inscription belongs to 18, while Germanicus was on his eastern mission. Greeks were often careless and ignorant of propriety in Latin titles. Perhaps Germanicus visited the city, or at least he conferred some favour on it. Another Meliton no. 259. See p. 368.

202. CIG 3902 *b*. This inscription comes under APAMEIA no. 345.

¹ In CIG an unintelligible line is put at the beginning, which is simply the first line of no. 237.

² Tac. *Ann.* IV 56, Livy XLIII 6, *Inscr. Perg.* II p. 203 no. 268 (cp. Frän-

kel's note): O. Hirschfeld *Berl. Sitz.* 1888 p. 835.

³ The double Artemidoros has deceived M. Paris, who omits the second.

203. (*Mous. Sm.* no. ρξη') brought to Tralleis from Ishekli. A line containing the other names of Bereneikianos must have been lost at the beginning; but in the published form the inscription is given as complete. [M. Κλαύδιον?] Βερενεικιανόν, υἱόν Μ. Κλαυδίου Νεικηράτου Κερεαλίου Ἀσιάρχου, ἀνδρα ἀγαθόν, Πυθιονείκην, χρυσοφορήσαντα τῇ πατρίδι, γραμματεύσαντα, ἀγορανομήσαντα, εἰρ[η]ναρχήσαντα, βου[λα]ρχήσαντα καὶ ἐν σειτωνίαις πολλαῖς καὶ ἐτέραις ὑπηρεσίαις χρήσιμον τῇ πατρίδι γενόμενον.

As the name Ishekli occurs more than once in the country, it cannot be asserted positively that this inscription belongs to Eumeneia; the rare name, M. Claudius, which occurs in this inscription, was used at Eumeneia; whereas the *praenomen* Tiberius was almost universally used in Asia with the *nomen* Claudius. M. Claudius Valerianus, High-priest of Asia 84-96, was perhaps of the same family as Cerealis. But the titles βούλαρχος and χρυσοφόρος, characteristic of Tralleis, suggest that the inscription belongs to that city¹. The Chrysophoros was, like the Stephanephoros, named from his official dress, see § 2. At Aphrodisias (CIG 2836 *b add*) the Neopoioi were Chrysophoroi; and they are entitled νεοποιοὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (CIG 2811).

204. CIG 3885. ἡ β. κ. δ. δ. ἐτ. κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ψεφίσματα (sic) Ἰουλιανὸν Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀνδρα βουλευτὴν καὶ ἀξιόλογον, τὰς κορυφαιοτάτας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἀμέμπτως ἐκτελέσαντα κτλ. This belongs to the emptiest class of honorary inscriptions. It is on the basis of a statue erected by Claudia (daughter of Diokles) and Claudianus, wife and son of Julianus. We may assume that Claudius Diokles was the full name of Claudia's father.

An Artemidorus also no. 201, Ioulianos 226.

205. (R. 1887). The only other inscr. which has any appearance of being a decree is a mutilated fragment, in small fine lettering and long lines at least 12 in number: I could make nothing of it: 7-10 τῇ πόλει ὑπ[ὲρ] ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Λ? Λικιννίου Τερεντίου . . . ἱανου παιδὸς [.] νου [—] πικρο[—] πέντε εἰς δρ[—] σειτωνικόν πόρον?

206. (Hogarth 1887). Savrantcha. BCH 1893 p. 244². Ἀγαθήμερος Διονυσίου φυλῆς Ἀργειάδος κατεσ[κ]εῦασεν τὸ μνη[μ]εῖον καὶ τὸν ἐπ' [αὐ]τῷ βωμὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ [αὐ]τοῦ Τατιά ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μ. χ. ζήσας καὶ τρυφήσας ἐν τῷ βίῳ κ[αθ]ὼς εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀπ[οθ]ανεῖν δεῖ. See CIG 3827 s.

¹ See CIG 2929, 2930 *b add*, Sterrett *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 p. 329, or better *Papers of American School* I p. 108.

² In BCH the wife's name is read as Τάτα, and the copy ends abruptly at that point.

207. (R. 1887). Eidir. There is another inscription, no. 236, on a different side of this stone. [ὁ δεῖνα] φυ(λῆς) Ἀργιάδος τῆς α[ύ]τῆς καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῷ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς προκεκηδευμένοις υἱοῖς Τατιανῷ καὶ Χρυστέρωτι καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τῷ ζῶντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀφίῳ καὶ τῇ νύμφῃ· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος¹ ἐπιχειρήσι, θήσι [ἰς τὸ ταμίον δην. [β]φ'.

One line (or perhaps more) of this inscription was engraved on the capital of the *Bomos*, now broken. The construction at the beginning is obscure; and probably a different restoration is needed.

208. (CIG 3902 d). Πό(πλιος) Αἴλιος Ἀκτιακός, σημειογράφος, φυλῆς Ἀθηναῖδος, for himself and his wife Parthenope and children Antonia and sweetest Ammia.

P. Aelius Actiacus was a shorthand writer (*nolarius*): he probably was born under Hadrian. It is possible, but not necessary, to connect σημειογράφος φυλῆς, as in CIG.

Personal names, especially feminine, were often adopted in Phrygia from Greek mythology and Epos: Parthenope here, Laïs no. 210, Hippodameia 227, Kyprogeneia and Nereïs 244, Deidamia 358 (Chr.), Atalanta 385 (Chr.). See no. 35, 186, 358.

209. (R. 1887). Ishekli. CIG 3898² Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Τὸ ἡρώδον καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν Γ(άιος) Ἰουβέντιος Ροῦφος στρατιώτης ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γενομένῃ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ Σεπτιμίᾳ Λουκίλλῃ· εἰς δ' αὐτοῖς κηδεύονται, ἕτερος δὲ οὐδεὶς παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ Ροῦφου ἢ διαταγὴν· ὁ δὲ ἐπιχειρήσας κηδεῦσαι ἕτερόν τινα, ἀποτίσει εἰς τὸν ἱερώτατον φίσκον δην. βφ', δισχίλια πεντακόσια.

It is remarkable how many Roman soldiers belong to the Eumenian district. The list is as follows (roughly arranged chronologically):

- 1 (no. 209). Γ. Ἰουβέντιος Ροῦφος στρατιώτης³.
- 2 (212). Κ. Οὐίβιος Ροῦφος οὐετρανός.
- 3 (213). Μ. Σήιος Δημαγόρας οὐετρανός.
- 4 (210). Γ. Ἰούλιος Μύρτιλος οὐετρανός βουλευτής.
- 5 (211). (Γ?) Ἰούλιος Παπίας ἱππ. ὅπλοφύλαξ σπείρης πρ. Παίων.
- 6 (214). Ilus Gemelus eq. armorum custos.
- 7 (217). (Τ?) Φλ. Διόδωρος στρατιώτης.
- 8 (216). Π? Αἴλ.? Φανστιανόν? trib. coh. VI Hisp., trib. coh. I Rhæt.
- 9 (215). Ἀντωνεῖνος σπείρης πρ. Παίων.

¹ The E beginning ἕτερος is engraved twice.

inscription.

³ R for B perhaps implies a later date.

² Beta has always the form R in this

10 (218). Αὐρ. Διογύσιος στρατιώτης καὶ βετρανός (third century).

11 (373). Αὐρ. Μάννος ἱππεὺς σαγιτάρης δρακωνάρις (c. 300).

Nothing similar to this occurs in any other district of Asia Minor; and perhaps Eumeneia was for some reason a favourite recruiting ground. M. Le Blant *Manuel* p. 15 gives some statistics. In three collections of Latin inscr., containing 10,050, he finds 545 epitaphs of soldiers, an average of 5.4 per cent. In this Phrygian valley in a senatorial province we should expect a smaller average; but there are 11 soldiers in 138 (reckoning some unpublished fragments), giving an average of 8 per cent. P. Aelius Faustianus (8) differs from the others: he was an officer of rank; and it is not certain that he was a Eumenian, as the others seem to have been.

The *Cohors I Rhaetorum* occurs three times (5, 8, 9). As the auxiliary cohorts were recruited regularly in the imperial provinces¹, there is here again something unusual. This cohort contained cavalry (*cohort equitata*), as we see from (5). It was stationed in Rhaetia in A.D. 108 (CIL III D 24), and 166 (*Eph. Ep.* II p. 460), and both (5) and (9) must have served in that province, though that is contrary to the rule that the Western armies were recruited from the Latin-speaking provinces.

210. (R. 1887). Aidan. BCH 1893 p. 242² Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Μυρτίλος [οὐ]ετρανὸς βουλευτῆς τῆς Εὐμενέων πόλεως ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν ἀίμνηστον οἶκον ἐν ᾧ τεθήσομαι, προκειμένης μου τῆς γυναικὸς Λαΐδος τῆς γλυκυτάτης, πρὸς τὸ μηδένα ποτὲ ἐπιχειρῆσαι μηδὲ κεινῆσαι· εἰ δέ τις ἂν φανείη μετὰ τὸ ἐμὲ τεθῆναι, ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ δην. βββ'. Ὑγιαίνων δὲ λέγω πᾶσι τοῖς παροδείταις. Θύρα.

On θύρα see no. 280 and pp. 99 f, 367.

211. (R. 1883, 1887). Ishekli. Ἰούλιος Παπίας ἱππεὺς ὀπλοφύλαξ σπείρης πρῶτης Παίων ζῶν ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν [κ]αὶ Μενεκρά[τει τ]οῦ Γαίου τῷ ἀ[νεψ]ιῷ μου καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ Μενεκράτη[s] βουληθῇ.

If the restoration here given is correct, the phrase Μενεκρά[τει τ]οῦ Γαίου is an inaccurate form, in place of the right expression τῷ Γαίῳ (with νίῳ understood). See no. 514.

Ὀπλοφύλαξ is a translation of *armorum custos*, keeper of the armour (no. 214), the title of a grade among the *principales* (officers intermediate between centurions and privates): the *custos armorum* ranked above *curator turmae* and below *signifer*³ (Marquardt II pp. 559 f). See no. 214.

¹ Mommsen *Hermes* XIX p. 44; Cagnat *Dilectus* (in Daremberg et Saglio *Dict. d. Ant.*) note 201.

² BCH omits Γάϊος, reads ἐτή[σι]ος (?)

for οὐετρανός, and ΚΕΙΜΗCΑΙ for κεινῆσαι (transcribing κ[ηδεῦ]σαι).

³ Ὀπλοφύλαξ was a title of Herakles in Smyrna.

212. (R. 1883). Baljik-Hissar. Published in part BCH 1893 p. 243. Ἀγαθῇ Τύχη. Κ. Οὐίβιος Ῥοῦφος οὐ[ε]ρανὸς τὸ σύνκρουστον καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γράδον σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀμμ[ί]α τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Ῥουφίνῃ θυ[γ]ατρὶ κατεσκεύασεν εἰς ἡρώων· οὐδε[ν] ἐτέρω ἐξουσία ἔστ[αι] τεθῆναι πλὴν ἐμοῦ κ[αὶ] τῆς γυναικὸς μου· ἐ[ὰ]ν δ[έ] τις ἕτερος ἐπιχειρήσ[ει] τινα θεῖναι, ἀποδώ[σ]ει εἰς τὸν τῶν Κυρίων φίσκ[ον] δην. βφ'.

The words κατεσκεύασεν εἰς are engraved in smaller characters over an erasure and ἡρώων οὐδε- are interpolated above the beginning of the next line. Σύνκρουστον was probably a basement of concrete (doubtless containing a grave-chamber): on it stood the altar with the inscription; and one or more steps in the side of the σύνκρουστον led up to the altar (see p. 367).

213. (R. 1883). Ishekli. CIG 3902 i gives part, BCH 1893 p. 242 the rest. Μ. Σήιος Δημαγόρας οὐετρανὸς τὸ σύνκρουστον καὶ τὸν γράδον σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἑαυτῷ καὶ Μελιτίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ ζῶν ἐποίησεν.

214. (CIG 3902 g). Ishekli. Ilus Gemelus eq(ues), armorum custos, Eutaxiae coniugi merenti fecit. Ἴλος Γέμελος ἱππεύς, ὅπλοφύλαξ, Εὐταξία συμβίῳ μ. χ. ε.

The name Gemellus occurs at Eumeneia in no. 361. Compare no. 211.

215. (CIG 3902 g, better *Rev. Arch.* 1876 I p. 281). Πῶλλα Ἀντωνείῳ στρατιώτῃ σπείρης πρώτης Παίτων ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μ. χ.· ἰς δὲ ἡρώων οὐδεὶν ἐτέρω ἐξέσται τεθῆναι· εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιχειρήσ[ει], θήσ[ει] ἰς τὸν φίσκον δην. βφ'.

Πῶλλα the Latin Polla.

216. CIG 3902 c with different restoration. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτε[λ]μη[σ]αν [Π. Αἴλ]ιον Φα[ν]στια[ν]όν¹ χε[ιλί]αρχον χῳ[ρ]της ἔκτης Ἰσ[παν]ῶν καὶ χειλί[αρχον] χῳ[ρ]της [πρώ]της [Ρ]αίτω[ν] τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐε[ργέτην].

217. (R. 1883). Tchivril. M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 244². Διοδωρος Φλ. Διοδώρῳ στρατιώτῃ τέκνῳ μνήμης χάριν· εἴ τις ἀνορύξ[ει] τὸ μνη[μ]α, θήσ[ει] ἰς [τὸ τα]μεῖον (δηνάρια) ε.

Diodorus served in the Roman army. The late form of φ shows that he did not take his name from the Flavian dynasty: he perhaps lived in the third century: cp. the inscription on a coin of Otacilia (244-249) ΕΠ·Φ·ΦΙΑΙ[Κ]·ΟΥ·ΑΡΧΙ·ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ³.

¹ The name is quite uncertain; perhaps [Γ. Ἰούλ]ιον (but the copy, a bad one, has ΑΙΟΝ): Φα[βωρί]νον, Φα[ν]σια[ν]όν &c. would suit the relics of the cognomen.

² At the end he reads 5 denarii.

³ Doubtless Philikos was *Archiereus Asias*; but it is strange that ACIAC should be omitted at that late period.

218. (R. 1888). Yamanlar. Published differently by M. Paris¹ BCH 1884 p. 253. (A). ξτους τκ', μη(νός) θ', αί'. Διονύσιος στρατιώτης ὁ καὶ βετρανός. (B). [Δ]ιονύσιος στρατιώτης κα[ὶ] Στράτων κατεσκεύα[σαν] τὸ ἥρῳον ἑαυτοῖς. (C). [Αὐρ]. Ἰοῦσ[τ]αί Σεβα[στηνή] κα[ὶ] Πρεϊζηνή, γυνὴ Δ[ιονυσίου], Αὐρ. Διον[υσίω] τῷ ἀνδρί, καὶ Σ[τράτων] τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ [π]ατρὶ Αὐρ. Διονυσίω [βετρα]νῷ, κ[αὶ] Στρά[των] τῷ ἀδελ[φῷ].

Dionysios and his brother Straton prepared their grave (B). Dionysios died first A.D. 236, on the eleventh day of the ninth month (A); and his brother, his son, and his wife, united in his burial (C). This inscription shows that the *praenomen* Aur. is sometimes added, sometimes omitted, in writing a name (as has been pointed out above p. 314).

The epithets attached to the name of Justa are remarkable: Justa was connected with two towns, Sebaste and Preiza². Now between Sebaste and Eumeneia (or Peltai) lies a city Bria, whose name (meaning 'city' in Phrygo-Macedonian languages, p. 577) is connected with an interesting and wide-spread series of words. The goddess of Pamphylian Perga is named on coins Wanassa Preia³, 'the Pergaeon Queen': this implies that there existed a by-form Pria (or Preia) alongside of Perga, and we remember that Ahrens long ago explained Πρίαμος with its Aeolic equivalent Πέρραμος (i.e. Πέρυαμος) as forms of the name Πέργαμος. Now in this series of names there was a dialectic variation between initial Π and Β (πύργος and Burgh)⁴; and hence we see that alongside of Bria there must have been a form Berga, like Pria with Perga. Further the modern name of Bria is Burgas, which we now see to be a survival of the ancient name. Again as Perga-Pria and Berga-Bria are equivalent forms, so Brioula in Lydia and Bergoula in Thrace are equivalent diminutive forms⁵ of the same name; and hence it is natural to find Bergoula still called Burgas, preserving the ancient name. See no. 489.

Now we return to the form Πρεϊζηνός. Fick has shown that in

¹ The differences are too many and serious to enumerate; in (C) M. Paris begins Ἰο[υ]λία Σεβα[στηή].

² Two ethnics are often attached to a man's name, rarely to a woman's.

³ An explanation given in JHS 1880 p. 246, and now widely accepted.

⁴ The variation is due to varying treatment of double aspirate *bh* and *gh*. With the variation in the vowel, compare Seiblia-Soublaion, Derbe-Doubra (*Expositor* March 1895 p. 224); and above p. 222.

⁵ It is interesting to find the most

characteristic Latin diminutive suffix employed also in Phrygo-Thracian names. We notice, too, that the Latin word *pergula* is of unknown origin. In Asia Minor a solitary house in the country is called Kula (the Castle, see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 212): in this sense Kula would correspond in Latin to *Pergula*, and it may be suggested that *Pergula* is a borrowed foreign word, which means 'the little fort,' and that it is the same word as the Thraco-Phrygian Bergoula-Brioula (where *ov* is the Greek rendering of the vowel *u*).

Phrygian ζ often represents an original γ before ι; and I think that Πρειζηνός must go back to an old form Πρέγα or Πρίγα, which is obviously equivalent to Perga-Pria. Thus Πρειζηνή in this inscription may be accepted as a local form of the ethnic of the city Bria. The wife of Dionysius the Eumenian belonged to the two neighbouring towns Bria and Sebaste, probably owning property in both: Sebaste was barely six miles north of Bria. Bria is called Brozos, p. 616.

219. (R. 1887). Yakasimak. A mere fragment of an epitaph (at least twelve lines long), broken right and left. ἔτους σμη' μη(νός) 'Υ[περβεταίου¹ δ' ?]. 'Αλέξα[νδ]ρος β' [βουλευτῆς Εὐ]μενέων [κατεσκευ]ασεν τὸ ἡρώ[ν]ον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς γονεῖσιν αὐ[τοῦ] 'Αλεξάνδ[ρ]ω 'Αρτε[?] - μέους [καὶ Π?]λωτία [καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ] γυνε[κ]ί· εἰ δέ τις σκυλή[σει, δώσει κτλ. A.D. 164. See no. 661.

220. (Hogarth 1887). Budjak. 'Αλέξανδρος 'Αλεξάνδρου τ]οῦ Θεο-γένους [ἐπο]ίησεν ἐν τόπῳ ἰδίῳ ἐκ [τ]ῶν ἰδίων τὸ σὺνκρουσ[τ]ρον σὺν τῷ βωμῷ, ἑαυτῷ κὲ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Τατία κὲ τέκνῳ γνησίῳ· εἰ δέ τις ἀ[ν]τιπο[ι]ήσῃ ἢ ἐπικωλύσῃ ἢ ἔτε[ρ]όν τινα θήσῃ, θήσῃ [ε]ἰς τὸν φίσκον τῶν Κυρίω[ν] δηνά[ρ]ια δισχίλια κὲ ἰς τ[ῇ]ν ἱε[ρ]ὰν βουλὴν δηνά[ρ]ια δισχίλια. Τούτων ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα. Compare τὰ ἴδια ἐκ τ. ἰ. no. 361.

221. (R. 1888). Aidan. The first half is published BCH 1893 p. 243. 'Αλ[έ]ξανδρος κα[τ]εσκευάσεν τὸ ἡρώ[ν]ον ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ τῷ νίῳ μου 'Ε[ρ]μογένη καὶ τῇ γυν[ε]κὶ αὐτοῦ 'Αμμία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ· ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔσται τεθῆναι χωρὶς τῶν προγεγρα[μ]μένων· ὅς δὲ ἀν ἐπιχε[ι]ρήσῃ, θήσῃ ἰς τὴν ἱερωτάτην βουλὴν προστείμουν δην. ,ε.

222. (R. 1888). Omar-Keui. 'Αλέξανδρος Γ[α]ίου² τοῦ Ἀττάλου ἑαυτῷ κὲ τῇ γυναικὶ μου Τ[ερ]τύλλῃ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὀλ[ω]λόσιον καὶ τῇ μητ[ρ]ὶ ['Αμφί]φ κατεσ[κεύασε τὸν γρά[μ]μην κτλ. fine to fiscus.

223. (R. 1887). Yakasimak. ἔτους τδ', μη(νός) //// Αὐρ. 'Αλέξανδρος κὲ 'Αμμιάς ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες ἐπόισαν κὲ Θεαγένῃ τέκνῳ μ. χ. A.D. 219-20.

224. (R. 1887). Ishekli. 'Ανδρόν[εικος] ἐπο[ι]ήσεν τὸ [ἡρώ]ν ζῶν φρονῶν ἑ[αυτῷ καὶ τῷ] πατρὶ Γαί[φ].

¹ If this name is correctly restored, it must have been written in a contracted form.

² Γ[α]ίου uncertain: the inscription is very faint, and ΓΙΑΙΟΥ was the doubtful appearance.

225. (R. 1887). Aidan. M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 246¹. Ammia to her husband Damas and children Euandros and Stratoneike, καὶ εἴ τι-
ν[ι αὐ]τῇ ζῶσ[α σ]υγχωρήσω. Fine to Fiscus. See no. 380.

226. (R. 1887). CIG 3889. Ishekli. 'Ανείκητος 'Ιουλιανοῦ ἐποίησεν τὸ μνημεῖον Τερτίᾳ Λουκίου τοῦ Γαίου ἡρώδι καὶ ἐαυτῷ ζῶν. Any dead person, even a slave or freedman (see Deneken *Heros* in Roscher's *Lexicon*), may be a ἥρωσ or ἡρώϊς; but the use of the title in an epitaph probably implies the institution of some cultus. Here the husband intends to institute such a cult to his deceased wife: in a Roman epitaph a father makes the grave for his son Faustus ἡρωὶ στεφανηφόρῳ, where he evidently regarded the son as identified with the crowned god, and probably he placed over the grave a statue or statuette of the son represented as Stephanephoros². Typical examples of the foundation of a cultus to a dead person as hero may be found in CIG 2448 (the testament of Epikteta, probably in Thera), and in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 pp. 19 ff (to the daughter of Antipater, son of Gaius, at Amorion); but all those bequests given for the performance of ceremonies at the grave are devices to secure the permanence of a heroic cultus (see pp. 100, 367 f). There are cases, especially at Cyzicos and Aphrodisias, in which the title ἥρωσ is applied to a magistrate. M. Waddington considers that they had died in office, LW 1639, and explains the surprising mortality of magistrates by the supposition that the title was often for life. This, however, does not suit the facts. M. Th. Reinach, on the other hand, simply remarks that at Cyzicos the title was often given to living men and women³, without suggesting any explanation. Perhaps the meaning is that persons were sometimes appointed after their death: Canon Hicks considers that a tutelary god or a hero was often appointed to an eponymous office, e.g. Stephanephoros at Iasos and Priene⁴. Heroes may have been appointed at Aphrodisias in the same way. This seems to be one of the many ingenious fashions in which marks and titles of honour were invented for the dead and made a matter of sale in

¹ M. Paris has the fine rightly δην. φ in his copy, but wrongly restores δην. βφ.

² Kaibel 1343: compare the title as applied to a magistrate, who was originally the priest of the crowned god (e.g. 'Απόλλων στεφανηφόρος at Iasos) p. 56.

³ BCH 1890 p. 537. His examples are not all good: BCH XII 193 is en-

graved on a tombstone and clearly refers to a dead man: *Ath. Mitth.* VII 254 is on the basis of a statue, but the statue may commemorate a dead man.

⁴ Hicks in JHS 1887 p. 99: Th. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 156 considers the suggestion as not deserving even of refutation. See also Hicks *Inscr. Br. M.* III pp. 19, 31, 32.

Asian cities. Such a title as hipparch in Cyzicos, stephanephoros in Aphrodisias¹, was given to the dead man or woman, by the fiction of election for the ensuing year; and of course a sum was required in payment. Similarly there can be no doubt that the presentation of crowns, inscriptions, statues, &c., by the state was a matter of regular traffic.

227. (CIG 3899). Ishekli. Φλά(βιος) Ἀπιος κατεσκεύασε[ν] ζῶν ἑαυτῷ τὸ [ἥρ]ῳν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Δά[φν]ῃ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ Ἀπ[ί]φ καὶ [Ἰ]πποδά[μ]ε[ί]α καὶ [Π]ωμάνη· ἐτέρῳ δ[ὲ] οὐκ ἐ[ξέ]σται τεθῆναι· [εἰ] δὲ [μ]ή, κτλ.

On another side Θύρα². See no. 280.

228. (R. 1883). Emirjik. Ἀφίον Περωνίου [. . .]νφ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ[ν] βωμὸν? μ. χ., κατε[σκεύασεν], fines to fiscus and senate³.

229. (R. 1887). Yakasimak⁴. Αὐρ. Ἀρίστων κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἥρῳν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀρίστη καὶ τῷ υἱῷ Ἀρίστωνι καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἡρακλ[ε]ιδιανῇ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι [Γ]αιανῇ καὶ Ἡρακλειδιανῇ· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔσται τεθῆναι· εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει ἕτερον θείναι τινα, θήσει ἰς τὸν φίσκον, η⁵.

230. (Sterrett 1883). Ishekli. Ἀτταλος ἑαν(τ)ῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ τέ(κ)νῳ μ. χ.

231. (R. 1888). Ishekli. Published rightly by M. Paris, BCH 1884 p. 233. Αὐρήλιος Γάιος Ἀπ[ε]λᾶ κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτ[ῷ] καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ χ[ρ]ῆστῳ φίλῳ Ὀνησίμῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιχειρήσει ἀνα[σ]κευάσαι τὸν τόπον, ἔστω αὐτῷ κατ[ά]ρα τέκνων τέκ[ν]οις καὶ τῷ συμβουλευ[σ]αντι· ὁ βίος ταῦτα.

As in no. 232, 236, friends are admitted to the grave. This text has something unusual about it, and may be compared with no. 565, 567⁶.

¹ At Cyzicos BCH 1889 p. 518; *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 pp. 42, 121, CIG 3665. In a Carian city BCH 1890 p. 607; at Aphrodisias CIG 2827, 2850 c, LW 1636, 1639.

² Below this CIG adds two more lines, which in reality is the beginning of a fragment in honour of some emperors, published BCH 1884 p. 236.

³ M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 247 reads ΑΠΦΙΟΝΠΕΤΡΟΝΙΟ (sic), adding 'la première ligne seulement est lisible.'

⁴ Yakasimak consists of two divisions (*mahale*): the northern of these is called Uluja by M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 251.

⁵ The number is not quite certain. The symbol for δηνάρια was not engraved.

⁶ See p. 532.

232. (R. 1883). Emirjik. Published very incompletely by M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 240¹. On three sides of a large Bomos.

- A. ζῶς ἐὼν τοῦτον τύμβον τις ἔτευξεν ἑαυτῷ,
 Μούσαις ἀσκηθεῖς, Γάιος πραγματικός,
 ἥ]δ' ἀλόχῳ φιλήῃ Τατίῃ τέκεσίν τε ποθητοῖς²,
 4 οἷ ῥα τὸν αἰδῖον τοῦτον ἔ[χ]ωσι δόμον,
 σὺν 'Ρουβῇ μέγαλοιο θ[εοῦ] θεράποντι
 [καὶ μετὰ name of a second friend]
 [νῦν δ' αὖθις] ἰσόψηφος δυσὶ τούτοις
 8 Γάιος ὡς ἄγιος, ὡς ἀγαθός, προλέγω³.
 B. οὐ]κ ἔσχον πλοῦτον πολὺν εἰς βίον, οὐ πολὺν χρῆμα,
 γράμμασι δ' ἠσκήθην ἐκπονέσας μετρίοις·
 ἐξ ὧν τοῖσι [φ]ίλοισιν ἐπή[ρ]κεον ὡς δύναμις μοι,
 12 σπονδὴν ἣν εἶχον πᾶσι χαριζόμενος.
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν μοι τερπνὸν ἐπαρκεῖν εἰ τις ἐχρηζέ,
 ὡς ἄλλων ὄλβος τέρψιν ἄγει κραδίη.
 μηδεὶς δ' οὖν πλούτῳ τυφλωθεὶς [κοῦ]φα φρονεῖτω,
 16 πᾶσι γὰρ εἰς "Αἰδης καὶ τέ(θ)λος⁴ ἐστὶν ἴσον.
 "Ἔστιν τις μέγας ὧν ἐν κτήμασιν; οὐ πλέον οὗτος,
 ταῦτ' ὁ μέτρον γαίης πρὸς τάφον ἐκδέχεται.
 σπεύδετε, τὴν ψυχὴν εὐφραίνετε πάντοτε, [θ]νη[τοί]⁵,
 20 ὡς ἡδὺς βίος, καὶ μέτρον ἐστὶ ζοῆς.
 Ταῦτα, φίλοι⁶· μετὰ ταῦτα τί γὰρ πλέον; οὐκέτι ταῦτα·
 στήλῃ ταῦτα λαλεῖ καὶ λίθος, οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ.
 C. Θύραι μὲν ἐνθα καὶ πρὸς "Αἶδαν ὁδοὶ
 24 ἀνεξόδευτοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐς φάος τρήβοι·
 οἱ δὲ δ[ε]ίλ]αιοι πάντ[ε]ς εἰς ἀ[ν]ά[σ]τασιν
 . . . Λ = ΟΥCΠ . . ΤΟ ΕΛC
 (four iambs illegible).

The tomb was erected by Gaius for his own family and for two friends, Roubes and another. The name Gaius was very common at Eumeneia (no. 211, 224, 226, 231, etc.)⁷. The admission of any persons outside

¹ M. Paris calls the village Emeldjik. In 1883 Sterrett helped me. In 1887 Hogarth and I recopied it; but we added nothing, and in our copy I find in l. 2 γραμματικός transcribed, apparently a slip. Both copies confirm some of Dr. Zingerle's emendations *Philologus* 1894 p. 345.

² The stone clearly has ἀλόχῳ φιλήῃ.

³ Lines 7, 8 are engraved at the top of the stone, separated from l. 1 by

a festoon. Apparently there was no room for them at the bottom of the stone, and they were put in the blank space at the top.

⁴ τέθλος on the stone: an error for τέλος.

⁵ θνη[σιν] or θνή[σει] might also be suggested.

⁶ M. Paris reads ταῦτα λαοί.

⁷ Compare Gaiana no. 387 (Chr.) and 229.

of the family to the tomb is not in keeping with the strict old Phrygian feeling (p. 98), and indicates wider education and freer philosophic thought: see also no. 231 (which has other traces of difference from the common Phrygian type) and 380.

Gaius was a lawyer or attorney¹, and a man of education (l. 2)². On his tomb he inscribes, during his lifetime, a remarkable epitaph in verse, in which he records something about his own life and sentiments. He allows his two friends admission to the same grave; and in the lost lines 5-7, he apparently mentioned that they had influenced his thought, 'and now, equal in franchise³ with these two, I, Gaius, as a pure, as a good man, announce publicly.' Then he proceeds to give on sides B and C a statement of his principles, his education, his generosity to his friends and to all men. The chief interest of this text lies in the question, what are Gaius's principles. The term *δῖος*, the designation of Roubes as 'servant of the great God,' the fine sentiment of 13-14, might suggest that he was a Christian. But the general tone of 9 ff is distinctly that of Greek philosophy, and 19-20 in particular are of the Epicurean tone; while 21-23 seem to be the beginning of a sneer at the idea of a Resurrection of the dead and the poor fanatics who cling to it⁴. M. Cumont writes⁵ to me, '*il me semble même surprendre dans ce morceau une véritable polémique contre les idées nouvelles qui se repandaient dans l'entourage du défunt*'; and I agree fully with his view, for in 9-22 the tone seems pointedly adopted to vie with and surpass, as well as to contradict, the Christian morality and its point of view.

The term *μεγάλοιο θ[εοῦ] θεραπόν* is taken by Dr. Zingerle in *Philol.* 1894 p. 345 as a proof of Christian origin; and M. Paris refused to admit the restoration *θ[εοῦ]*, because it would be a sign of Christianity. Dr. Zingerle proceeds to state the view that in this tomb a Christian and a pagan were buried together; and regards the whole as a proof of the gentle and easy development of religion in Asia Minor, where Hellenism lived on in Christian garb⁶. This view seems to me untenable in view of the general character of the whole epitaph. As Dr. Zingerle recog-

¹ A *πραγματικός* of the Gerousia at Magnesia Mae. (*homme d'affaires, intendant, gérant*, MM. Cousin and Deschamps BCH 1888 pp. 207, 213).

² *γραμματικός*, in one of my copies, is tempting.

³ Holding the same sentiments.

⁴ References to Hades, and similar mythological ideas, as in 23, are not in themselves inconsistent with Christianity as expressed in verse, see LW 2145 with

Waddington's note, Duchesne BCH 1879 p. 145, Le Blant II p. 406.

⁵ I sent him the additional lines of the inscr., which are the most decisive.

⁶ *Wo Hellenismus in christlichem Gewande in weitem Umfange weiterlebte*. That this is true, I am quite agreed with Dr. Zingerle, and we shall see some examples of the influence of the common philosophical tone in Christian inscr., no. 354.

nizes, the form 'the god' was widely used by the pagans: at the same time I must so far agree with him that this 'servant of the great god,' with his Semitic name, does not seem to be the adherent of any local cult. In the mutilated lines 7-8, he seems to be marked as a sort of missionary, whose convert Gaius had become. Yet the name Roubes does not seem Christian: it has not the type of the Christian nomenclature of the period: it seems to be Jewish, and to represent a grecized form of Reuben ('Ρουβήν). The 'great god' is Jehovah, called ὕψιστος θεός in a Jewish inscr. of Athribis in Egypt¹, and often in the Septuagint. See no. 563.

Thus we find in this remarkable inscription two sides, (1) philosophy in pointed opposition to Christianity (as in inscr. 466, 635), (2) the mixture of Judaism and Hellenism, pointing to a fusion of the two in Phrygia (see p. 675). The age of Caracalla or Alexander Severus is in all probability the time when this inscr. was composed.

233. (Hogarth 1887). Ishekli. CIG 3902 *h* with some differences. Γλύκων ἐπύθησε τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀμίκᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐτέρῳ δὲ ο(ὐ)δενὶ ἐξέσται τεθῆναι.

234. (R. 1887). CIG 3892 with some differences after Laborde, who does not record the loss of nearly four lines in the middle. Ἔτους σπθ', μηνὸς θ' ² Διονύσιος Γλύκωνος Ε[ὐ]μενέος ζῶν τὸ ἡρώων [κα]τεσκεύασα ἐμαυτῷ κ[αὶ] τῇ γυναικὶ μου Ἀπάμῃ Σ[κ]ύμνου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου [three lines erased τοῦ]του τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ Εὐμενέων ἀρχεῖα. A. D. 205.

The penalty is erased, as in no. 235, cp. 243.

235. (R. 1887). Ishekli. BCH 1884 p. 235, *Rev. Arch.* 1876 I p. 279. Ἔτους σιδ'. Αὐρ. Διονύσιος β' [τ]οῦ Νίγερος Μαρκελλεινὸς κατεσκ(ε)ύασεν τὸ ἡρώων Αὐρ. Δουλίῳ καὶ Ξαν (line blank) τέκνοις ³ αὐτῶν εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον ἐπιχειρ. A. D. 229-230. See no. 236.

This inscription was never completed: possibly the penalty was intentionally not engraved. CIΔ must be a mistake for TIΔ; A. D. 130 is an impossible date for an inscription where Aur. is a *praenomen*. The *nomen* Aurelius came into use in the provinces under M. Aurelius; about 161-220 provincials often bear the name M. Aurelius. Under Caracalla the custom of using the *praenomen* Aur. became almost universal in Phrygia, and evidently rose from the extension of the Roman franchise

¹ See BCH 1889 p. 179 with S. Reinach's commentary: the term is common in paganism (see p. 33 note).

² Laborde has C where I read Θ.

³ M. Paris reads Ξαν[θίῳ καὶ] τέκνοις. Between ΞΑΝ and ΤΕΚΝΟΙC there is a space for one line left blank on the stone, not noted in BCH or *Rev. Arch.*

to the whole empire: I pointed this out in JHS 1883 p. 30, and have since that time found it an almost infallible criterion of date: any apparent exceptions are easily explained¹. The full name M. Aurelius may be used in an inscription engraved later than 210–215; but the person who bears it was a provincial Roman citizen born in 161–180: the *praenomen* Aur. was assumed by those who gained the *civitas* in virtue of Caracalla's extension. At a later date the *praenomen* Fl. came into occasional use, probably under Constantine; and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the late use of the *praenomen* from the use of the *nomen* (with *praenomen* omitted), which became common in 70–96, and lasted long. De Rossi *Inscr. Chr. Urb. Rom.* pp. cxii f and Le Blant II p. 537 consider that the use of Aur. as *praenomen* is rare after Constantine; and my experience confirms this view. See also no. 651.

236. (R. 1887). Eidir; engraved on another side of the stone which bears inscr. no. 206. *Αὐρ. Δουλίῳ κατεσκεύασε τὸ ἡρώϊον ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ Τατίᾳ μετὰ τέκνων τριῶν.*

Aur. Douliōn also no. 235. See no. 231, 380.

237. (CIG 3887 after Pococke: attached wrongly to no. 199). Part of an inscription, either mutilated or undecipherable, which Pococke in his notebook left undistinguished from the next, no. 199. $\Delta[\omega]\rho\acute{o}\theta\epsilon[o]s$ Γαίψ.

238. CIG 3893. *Ἐρμῆς Ἀκμονεὺς καὶ Εὐμενεὺς τῷ υἱῷ μου Εὐκάρπῳ καὶ ἑα[υ]τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀφροδίσει[α]*

ἐμοῦ θανόντος καὶ [γ]υναικὸς καὶ τέκνων

ὃς ἂν ἀνύξει τύμβον ἢ βλάψει τάφον

πό[ν]ων ἁώρων περιπέ[σ]ο[ι]το [σ]υνφοραῖ[s]

ὁ δ' ἐπιχειρήσας ἐ[π]οίσει τῷ φίσκῳ δην. ββ'.

The species of curse contained in the iambic lines was characteristic of the more rustic and less civilized parts of Phrygia; and the only instance of this kind of curse in the civilized Eumeneia is in this epitaph of a stranger from Akmonia, who had received Eumenian citizenship.

239. (R. 1887: Sterrett 1883). Aidan. M. Paris p. 247. Euxenos to his parents Euxenos and Apphia.

¹ In an inscription of Smyrna *Αὐρη. Ἀφροδείσιος* is mentioned, probably about 200–210, BCH 1882 p. 291; but here the strict use of *Αὐρ.* has not begun, and

probably the real *praenomen* M. has been omitted by a Greek author. The Greeks never properly understood the Roman system of naming.

240. (BCH 1893 p. 245). Between Todju and Doghlu. Zotikos to his wife Balbi[ll]a¹.

241. (CIG 3894). Οὐνομα Ζωτικός εἰμι, πατήρ Κόσμος, πατρὶς ἡδ[ε]². This is probably the opening of a longer inscr., cp. no. 656 f.

242. (R. 1883, 1887). Ishekli. JHS 1884 p. 251. Ζωτικός Ἀντωνία τῇ [ιδ]ία γυναικὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ μνή<μη>ς χάριν. Underneath the inscription is the word ΘΥΡΑ (no. 280).

243. (R. 1883). Omar Keui. CIG 3902 s. Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Τροφίμου ἐκτήσατο τὸ ἡρώον, ἐν ᾧ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Τρυφωνιανὴ καὶ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς συνχωρήσει· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἐξέσται [κηδεῦ]σαι.

Zotikos seems to have purchased the monument ready made. Penalty omitted, see no. 235, 234.

244. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Αὐρ. Ζωτικός Ἀπο[λ]λωνίου κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώον καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ βωμὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Κυπρογενία καὶ τῇ κειμένῃ θυγατρὶ Νηρείδι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τέκνοις· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ [ἐ]ξεσται (sic) τεθῆναι· ὁ[ς δ'] ἂν ἐπιχειρήσει θείναι χωρὶς τῆς συνχωρήσεως, θήσεται εἰς τὴν ἱερωτάτην βουλὴν δην. φ'. The misspelling η for αι is rare.

245. (CIG 3902 k). Aur. Zotikos to himself and wife Tatia.

246. (R. 1887). Ishekli. CIG 3895. Θεόφιλος Νείκη συμβίῳ μ. χ. καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν ἐποίησεν.

247. (R. 1883). CIG 3902 l (imperfect), JHS 1884 p. 252 (complete). Julia to her husband Damas, and daughter Juliana, and son-in-law Gaius, and their daughter Severina. On another side of the *domos* ΘΥΡΑ.

248. (R. 1887). *Rev. Archéol.* 1876 I p. 280, BCH 1884 p. 236. Ἰουλία Μάρκῳ Εὐβούλῳ³ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μ. χ. ἵς δ' μν. ἐξέσται τεθῆναι τῇ Ἰ. καὶ τοῖς τέκν. αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ κτλ (fine βφ). There is added a clause of which I know no other example, ὁς ἀνορύξει⁴ ἀπὸ τεσσάρων ποδῶν τοῦ μνημείου, θήσεται καὶ αὐτὸς ἵς τὸν Καίσαρος φίσκον δην. βφ'. ἐξέσται δὲ τῇ Ἰ. καὶ ἑτερον κηδ. δν ἂν αὐτῇ βουληθῇ.

249. (R. 1887; Sterrett 1883). Aidan. BCH 1884 p. 246. Ἰουλία

¹ ΒΑΛΒΙΑνη MM. Legrand and Chamonard l.c.

² ΗΔΗ in the copy.

³ The name is given Μαρκίῳ Εὐβούλῳ

in BCH, and omitted in *Rev. Arch.* My copy has Μάρκῳ.

⁴ Perhaps ὁς ἂν ὀρύξει (for ὀρύξει).

Μητροδώρου Εὐμενεῖς, to Faustus¹ her husband, Zotikos and Alexander her children, and their wives (τῆς for ταῖς).

250. (Sterrett 1883). Emirjik. Ἰούλιος Δομετιανὸς καὶ Κλαυδία Δομετία Ἀντωνίῳ Μάρκῳ.

I do not know whether the inscription is complete: but probably the continuation was illegible. The Roman name of the son is wrongly expressed.

251. (R. 1887). Eidir. Καλλείστη Καλλείστῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἑαυτῇ μ. χ. οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ἐξέται (i.e. ἐξέσται) θεῶναι τινα ἢ τέκνοις αὐτῶν· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον ἐπι[χει]ρήσει (!) θῆναι τινα, θήσει τῷ τῶν Κ[α]ισάρ[ων] φίσκῳ δην. φ' ?].

On the back of the same stone is engraved ΘΥΡΑ. See no. 280.

252. (R. 1888). Ishekli. Καλλίστη Ὠφελίωνος κτλ. I copied no more, thinking I had copied it in 1887.

253. (R. 1883). Kara-Agatchlar. Καπέτων Μηνοφίλου Δόμνη τῇ μάμμῃ μ. χ.

254. (CIG 3902 m). Ishekli. Κάσιος Τειμοθέου ζῶν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἥρῳον κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀφίῳ· οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ἐξέσται τεθῆναι² χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τι πάθῃ ἢ θυγάτηρ μου Ἀφίον πρὸ τῆς ἡλικίας· κτλ. (fine δην. βφ').

255. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Κοσμίῳ ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Τερτίῳ τῇ γυναικὶ μνήμης χάριν.

256. (R. 1883 and 1887). Ishekli. CIG 3896 inaccurately. Ἔτους τια', μηνὸς) ε', λ'. Αὐρ. Μαρκία καὶ Αὐρ. Ζωτική κατεσκεύασαν τὸ ἥρῳον ἑαυταῖς καὶ Κράτῳ τῷ συνβίῳ τῆς Μαρκίας καὶ εἰ τινα ζῶσαι συνχωρήσουσι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτὴν ἐτέρῳ δὲ³ οὐδ[ε]νὶ ἐξὸν ἔσται ξένῳ κηδευθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μὴν, οἴσει τὸ ὠρισμένον πρόστειμον⁴. A.D. 227. See no. 356, 380.

Markia and Zotike were probably sisters. The fifth month in the Asian year had only 28 days; and this inscr. (of which the text is certain) corroborates our supposed Phrygian year, p. 204.

¹ The stone has Φαστω, and the Υ has been inserted as an afterthought in the line above making the word ἑναυτῇ in place of ἑαυτῇ. M. Paris omits this Υ.

² τεθῆναι in Hamilton's copy.

³ Here δὲ violates the syntax: it

comes from the analogy of the common formula, e.g. no. 229.

⁴ μὴν for μὴ: cp. τεθῆναι no. 356. The last 14 words are given BCH 1893 p. 242, transcribing μὴ, θήσει, but the epigraphic copy is almost identical with mine.

257. (R. 1887: Sterrett 1883). Dede-Keui. BCH 1884 p. 242¹. Μάρκελλος Μάρκου Δαμῶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Ἀπφίῳ τῇ μητρὶ ζῶσῃ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὸν βωμὸν μ. χ.

258. (R. 1887). Ishekli. CIG 3897 gives the first 13 words. Μάρκος Φήλικος κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἰουλίᾳ· οὐδενὶ ἐξόν ἐσται ἄλλῳ τεθῆναι, εἰ μὴ τί μοι τέκνον ἢ ἔγγονον· εἴ τεις ἐπιχιρήσει ἕτερος, θήσῃς ἰς τὴν βουλήν δην. βφ'.

The spelling *teis* for *tis* is noteworthy. The name Felix is rare in Greek. Philikos, which occurs on coins of 244–9 A.D., must be the Greek name; and possibly Φηλικός should here be understood as nom. for Φιλικός, in which case we may compare the spelling τόπος Φηλώτα (for Φιλώτα) at Magnesia Mae., *Ath. Mittl.* 1889 p. 105. The neuter form ἔγγονον, a grandson, is given by Hesychius in the plural only. Can we understand ἢ ἔγγονον, 'unless there be a child of mine in the womb'?

259. (R. 1883). Emirjik. Published by M. Paris p. 241². (A). On the capital Μελίτωνος τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος. (B). On the shaft of the stele τὸ μνημεῖον Θεογένους καὶ Μελίτωνος τῶν Καπίτωνος· τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπιτεθέντος ὑπὸ Γαίου β' Ζωτικῷ ἐπιτρόπου, υἱοῦ τοῦ Μελίτωνος.

It is difficult to construe the last few words: do they mean that Gaius Zotikos the steward was son of Gaius Meliton? or that Gaius, son of Gaius, was steward of Zotikos the son of Meliton? See § 2.

260. (R. 1883). Kara-Agatchlar³. [Ε]λ[π]ῖς Μελίτων[ος] τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ βωμόν· ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὴ ἢ Ἐλπίς κηδευσθήσεται καὶ Εὐτύχης καὶ Μελίτων, καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον βουλευθῇ κηδεῖν[αι] ζῶσα ἢ Ἐλπίς· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτῆς οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται τεθῆν[αι] ἐτέρῳ [χ]ωρὶς τῶν προ[γεγραμ]μένων· ὃς δὲ ἂν ἐπιτετεύσει, θήσῃς ἰς [τ]ὸ ἱερ[ώτατον] ταμείο[ν] δην. ,ε. Perhaps Chr., p. 493.

261. (R. 1888, Sterrett 1883), Ishekli. BCH 1893 p. 241. Menophilos to his parents Gaios and Meltine.

262. (R. 1888). Yamanlar. Published incomplete in BCH 1893 p. 243. Μηνόφιλος εἴ Τατιανὸς Μηνοφίλῳ δ' τῷ πατρὶ καὶ Τάτῃ τῇ μη[τρὶ] κατε[σκευά]σεν τὸ ἡρώων.

263. (Sterrett 1883). CIG 3902 p. Myrismos to his wife Tatia and his son Myrismos.

¹ M. Paris reads Ἀπφίᾳ for our Ἀπφίῳ.

² M. Paris omits (A) entirely.

³ I could not get this name right: it

sounded like Kara-yashilar: the O. R. Survey has Karaishlar.

264. (R. 1883, 1887). Ishekli. Ουαλέρις Φιλάδελφος Ουαλερίq Αὐριανῇ τῇ συνβίq μ. χ.

Ουαλέρις for Ουαλέριος is common. This spelling is discussed very carefully and fully by Prof. J. H. Wright in *Harvard Class. Stud.* 1895 pp. 59 f.

265. (R. 1883). Omar-Keui. CIG 3902 *l.* Νέων Γαίου Τειμοθέq καὶ Αὐρ. Θεοφίq μ. χ. The names are Chr., p. 500 *n.*

266. (R. 1887). Kizilje-Suyut¹. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 248. Παπίας Ἀττάλου Ὀργαλεὺς Τάτq τ[ῇ] ἰδίq γυναικί, Ἀμμ[ί]as θυγατρί, ἐποίησεν μ. χ. Χαίρετε, παροδεῖται.

Papias was a settler, who had come from the Hyrgalean plain (p. 129): this interpretation seems preferable to M. Paris's supposition of '*une petite ville riveraine de l'Orgas*.'

267. (R. 1887). Eidir. Εἰσ[κ]ύμνος Δημητρ[ί]ου ζῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί [Μαρ]κέλλη καὶ τῷ υἱῷ · οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξὸν ἔστα[ι] ἄλλq τεθῆναι ἀνευ συνχωρήσεως;² ἐπεὶ θήσι εἰς τὸν φ[ί]σκον δην. σ'. See no. 234.

Εἰσκύμνος for Σκύμνος: compare ἐτήκω for τήκω no. 45, ἰσφαγέντι Ster. EJ p. 166, ἰστρατιώτου JHS 1883 p. 26, also no. 133, ἐκτητόρισσα no. 418, Ἴσκύμνος JHS 1883 p. 26; *AEMitth.* VII 185, εἰστοργή CIG 9266, ἰστοργή CIG 3857 *m.*, no. 658, ἰστήλη, (ι)στήλλη, *Mous. Sm.* νκθ', *Ath. Mitth.* XIII 258, 267 (εἰσθήλη), no. 658, Ἰστέφανον, Perrot *Expl. Arch.* 123, Ἰστεφανίων, *AEMitth.* VIII 194, *Mous. Sm.* 242, Ἰσπατάλης, no. 466 (correction of Dr. A. H. Mordtmann, who gives most of these examples *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 p. 160).

268. (CIG 3900). Ishekli. Τερτία αὐτῇ ζῶσα κὲ φρονούσα κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῶον σὺν τῷ σ[υ]νκροῦ[σ]τq καὶ τῷ γράδq κὲ τῷ βωμῷ κὲ³ Ἀ[μ]μίq τῇ ἀνεψιᾷ· ἐξὸν ἐ[ν]τεθῆν[αι] τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς κὲ Ἀμμιανὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ γυναικί αὐτοῦ· fine to *fiscus* 100 den.

Many letters are omitted by the engraver, to judge from Hamilton's careful copy.

269. (Hogarth 1887). Oghurlu. Published BCH 1893 p. 244. Titus to his parents Titus and Apphia. MM. Legrand and Chamonard alone read the first name.

¹ Red-Willow, a common village name. ρήσεως] was engraved.

M. Paris has Geseljestū.

³ The κὲ seems connected with αὐτῇ,

² It is very doubtful whether σ[υ]νχω-

for herself and for Ammia.

270. Kizilje-Suyut. M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 248. Τρύφω[ν Τρύφω?]-
νος ἐποίησεν] ἐαυτῷ [κὲ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἀγ[αθῇ? μ.] χ.¹

271. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Χαρίτιον ἐποίησεν [ἐ]λίδω ἀνδρὶ Μουσέω
Λα[· · ·] μ. χ.

272. (R. 1887). Ishekli. [ὁ δεῖνα κατεσκεύασεν τὸ σὺν κ[ρ]ο[υ]στον
σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἐαυτῷ] καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρ[σ]τῇ κ[αὶ] Eagle in relief
θυγατρὶ Lion's head αὐτῶν Lion's head Ἀρίστη καὶ Ἀπφίω τῇ πατρὶ τῆς
Ἀρίστης· ἐτέρωφ δὲ οὐδενὶ [ἐξ]έσται τεθῆναι· δς δὲ ἀν ἐπιχειρήσει, ἀποτελεσει
τῷ φίσκω κτλ.

πάτρα or πατρά, which is not in *Steph. Thesaur.*, probably means
'sister by the father's side.' Suidas and Hesychius have the note *πάτρα*
ἡ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς γέννησις, which may be better than a misunder-
standing of a scholiast's note on Iliad N 354 (as is generally assumed).
Or perhaps πατρά may be used for πατραδέλφη, like πάτρως for πατρά-
δελφος, μήτρως for μητραδέλφη: see no. 361.

273. (R. 1883, 1887). Oghurlu. Imperfectly published BCH 1893
p. 244. [ὁ δεῖνα] ἐαυτῷ τὸ ἡρῶν [κατεσκεύ]ασεν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Τατί[α
καὶ] τῇ π[ε]νθερᾷ Ἰουλ[ί]α² καὶ τοῖς τέκνο[ις] αὐτοῦ· ἰς δὲ ἐτέρωφ [οὐδενὶ] ἐξέσται
κηδ[ε]υθῆναι· χωρὶς τῶν προ[γεγραμ]μένων· εἰ δὲ [ἕτερος] ἀν ἐπιχειρή[σει, θή]σει
ἰς τὸν [ἐ]ρώτατον φίσκον δην. [χίλια?]. καὶ σύ.

274. Tehivril. BCH 1884 p. 244. Tomb of —, son of Demetrios,
and his wife Meltine.

275. (CIG 3902 e). Ishekli. [ὁ δεῖνα to his son] Amiantos and his
grandson Tatianos.

276. I copied the following, but have lost the original copy. [ἡ δεῖνα
ἐποίησεν τὸ ἡρῶν ἐ[αυ]τῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ κὲ [το]ῖς τέκνοις Ἀφφία καὶ Τατί[α
καὶ] Γα[φ] καὶ Αὐξανούση· [δ]ς δὲ ἕτερος ἐπ[ι]τηδεύσει, θήσ[ει] ἰς τὸν Καίσαρος
[φίσκ]ον δην. β.

277. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Τὸν βωμὸν σὺν τῷ γρά[δ]φῳ ἐποίησεν Ἀτ-
τα[?]λος Λε[υκί]ππου? πα[ρὰ] ἐαυτοῦ τοῖς τέκνοις Διοφάν[τ]ω καὶ — μ. χ.

Perhaps Λε[υκίου]: see p. 460. The phrase παρὰ ἐαυτοῦ, 'at his own
expense' may be compared with the use of παρὰ on coins (p. 276).

¹ M. Paris restores ἐπ[ε]σκεύασεν (which
is too long) and Ἀ[πφίω] (but his
copy has ΑΓ). The wife's name prob-
ably was one of 5 or 6 letters, per-
haps Ἀγάπη, which would make the

inscription Christian.

² The words Τατία—Ἰουλία are en-
graved irregularly among the ornaments
on the stone.

278. (R. 1885). Ishekli. [ὁ δεῖνα Μη]νοφίλου κατεσ[εν τὸ ἡ]ρώων
σ[ὺν τῷ βω]μῷ ἐαυ[τῷ καὶ τῇ] μητρὶ αὐ[τοῦ] Τάτ[?]α καὶ τῇ ἀ[δελφῇ] Εὐξενία
[καὶ τῇ] γαμβρῷ Γιάφω· ἐ[ξ]έρρω δὲ ο[ὐδενὶ] ἐ[ξ]έσται κη[δεύσαι] τινα· ὥς ἐ[ἴ]
τις κτλ. (See no. 262).

279. (R. 1887). Ishekli. [ὁ δεῖνα Ἀπελλ?]ados τὸ μνημ[εῖ]ον ἐποίησεν
αὐτῷ ζῶν · ὃς δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει θήσει ἰς τὸν φ[ε]σκον δην.?. '

280. (R. 1883). Ishekli. JHS 1884 p. 251. On a *bomos* the single word ΘΥΠΑ. Several examples have occurred (no. 210, 227, 242, 247, 251) of this word *θύρα* engraved either below the main epitaph, or on another side of the *bomos*; and doubtless in this case also an epitaph was intended to be engraved on the stele. The meaning is made clear by an inscription on an altar found near the hot springs of Myrikion in Galatia, where a man erected to his wife τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν *θύραν* (JHS 1884 p. 253). In these cases the inscription is engraved on a simple altar; and the word *θύρα* is added because 'according to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument; and when there was no real door, the word at least was engraved on the altar to represent the actual entrance. The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death: on the altar the living placed the offerings due to the dead' (JHS l.c.). Doubtless in many cases the 'Door' was plainly visible in the basement of the sepulchral monument. See § 4 (cp. pp. 99 f).

APPENDIX II.

BISHOPS OF EUMENEIA AND ATTANASSOS.

EUMENEIA was perhaps united with Attanassos in a joint bishopric during the fourth and fifth centuries.

1. Thraseas καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοιμήται Euseb. *H. E.* V 24, 5th Oct. c. 160 A.D.
2. Theodorus *per Profuturum presbyterum* 381.
3. Philadelphius Ἀθανασσοῦ (or Εὐθανασσοῦ, *Anthemusiae*: these false forms perhaps arise from a confusion of Εὐμενείας ἦτοι Ἀττανασσοῦ the full title) 451.
4. The two bishoprics are mentioned separately in the Second Nicene Council, A.D. 787: Leontius Εὐμενείας (in some cases Leon) and Christopher Atanassi. Philip ἡγουμένους Εὐμενείας was present.
5. Philotheos Ἀθανασσοῦ 869 (?).
6. Paulus Εὐμενείας
Epiphanius Εὐμενείας } Ignatian and Photian Bishops 879.

CHAPTER XI

APAMEIA

§ 1. Situation p. 396. § 2. The Rivers of Apameia-Kelainai p. 397. § 3. Marsyas (Katarrhaktes) p. 399. § 4. Therma p. 401. § 5. Orgas p. 404. § 6. Maeander p. 405. § 7. The Laugher and the Weeper p. 407. § 8. Obrimas p. 408. § 9. Aulokrene p. 409. § 10. Early History of Kelainai p. 412. § 11. Historical Myths p. 414. § 12. Kelainai under Lydian Rule p. 416. § 13. Kelainai under the Persians p. 418. § 14. Eumenes and the great Landholders p. 419. § 15. Kelainai and Apameia p. 420. § 16. The Pergamenian and Roman Conquest p. 422. § 17. The Romans in Apameia p. 424. § 18. Apameia under the Roman Republic p. 427. § 19. Apameia under the Empire p. 428. § 20. Public Buildings. (1) Stadium p. 431. (2) Theatre p. 431. (3) The Painted Stoa p. 431. (4) Sepulchral Monuments p. 434. § 21. National and imperial cultus p. 434. § 22. Popular Assemblies, Societies, and Guilds. (1) Senate, Dekaprotai p. 437. (2) Demos p. 437. (3) Gerousia p. 438. (4) Epheboi, Neoi p. 440. (5) Guilds p. 440. § 23. Magistrates and Officials. (1) Strategoi p. 441. (2) Grammateus p. 441. (3) Argyrotamias p. 441. (4) Panegyriarch p. 442. (5) Seitones p. 442. (6) Gymnasiarch p. 443. (7) Ephebarch p. 444. (8) Other officials p. 444. § 24. Apameia in the Byzantine Period p. 445. § 25. The Turkish Conquest p. 446. § 26. Territory of Apameia (1) Limits p. 447. (2) Aurokra p. 449. (3) Samsado-Kome p. 450.

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§ 1. SITUATION. Few places in Asia Minor have been the scene of so many events memorable in ancient history as the valley where the Maeander rises. It is marked out as the seat of a great city by abundant springs, fertile lands¹, and strong places; and at the same time it is a central point at which many lines of communication meet. It lies on the great Eastern Trade-Route, the main highway of the Greek and Roman periods; and towards it converge five other well-marked natural routes².

¹ See Dio Chrysostom's eulogy in his *orat. in Celaenis Phr.* no. XXXV. The history of Apameia has been discussed very fully and well by Haase pp. 256 ff, and by Prof. G. Hirschfeld *Berl. Abhandl.* 1875. To them and to Mr. Hogarth, who has placed at my disposal an article on the history in Greek times which he

wrote but never published, I am deeply indebted. For the two maps, and for much help in other ways, I am indebted to Mr. Purser, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Walker, and other officials of the O. R.

² (1) Along the Maeander from Eumeneia, (2) from the Phrygian Pentapolis and the north, (3) from Pisidian

The geographical situation has been already described¹. The Maeander rises in an oval valley, lying about 2850 feet above the sea, bounded on the east by the range called Djebel-Sultan (which stretches from Ak-Dagh 8186 ft. on N.E. to Ai-Doghmarsh 5791 ft. on S.W.), on the south by the most northerly line of Mount Taurus (a line stretching westwards from Borlu-Dagh [over 8000 ft.] through Yan-Dagh to Khonas-Dagh), and on the west by a low bare ridge which protrudes some distance towards the north from the last-mentioned chain.

Behind Djebel-Sultan on the east lies a higher plateau, Dombai-Ova, in ancient time the plain of Aurokra. The ridge of Djebel-Sultan marks the boundary between the main mass of the great central plateau of Asia Minor and a transitional region which is interposed between the higher plateau and the coast valley of the lower Maeander and lower Lycos. Through that transitional region the Maeander zigzags until at last it forces its way through the extreme outer ridge of the plateau², and enters the lower end of the Lycos-valley.

The line of Djebel-Sultan, Ak-Dagh, Burgas-Dagh, and the ridge that reaches down towards Demirji-Keui-Dagh, is the rim of the central plateau. It is broken where the Glaukos makes a way through it to join the Maeander, and again where the Maeander passes from Baklan-Ova to Tchal-Ova.

Apameia was founded on the foothills in front of the main Djebel-Sultan. Before the walls on the level plain extended the suburbs (*προάστειον*), whose site is now occupied by the village Dineir and its gardens. Rising in a lake amid the hills of Djebel-Sultan, the Maeander sweeps round a ridge and flows in front of Apameia, where it receives the Marsyas, the tutelary river-god of Apameia, rising in the acropolis, and flowing through the midst of the city.

Apameia is distinguished by the title 'on the Maeander' from other cities of the same name in an inscription of Lagina³. But commonly it is called Apameia 'of Phrygia'⁴ or 'the Phrygian'⁵.

§ 2. THE RIVERS OF APAMEIA-KELAINAI. The history and topo-

Antioch and Apollonia, (4) from the Phrygo-Pisidian valley of Konana, Seleuceia Sidera, Baris, Minassos, Prostantha, &c., (5) from the valleys of Lake Askania and the rivers Lysis and Tauros (Ch. IX). The geographical facts that gave Apameia its importance are well stated by Prof. Hirschfeld.

¹ See pp. 218 f, 235 f.

² I. e. the Mossyna-mountains pp. 4 f, 122 f.

³ *πρὸς Μαϊάνδρῳ* BCH 1890 p. 363.

⁴ *τῆς Φρυγίας*.

⁵ *Φρυγιακῆ*, Nic. Damasc. *ap.* Athen. VIII p. 332 (cp. *Ἀγκύρα Φρυγιακῆ* Strab. p. 567 in contrast to which Arrian *Anab.* 4, 1, speaks of *Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατικῆς*).

graphy of the city rests upon the right understanding of the five chief streams that rise in the valley. On this subject discord reigns among the authorities. We must therefore begin with the rivers, and the interesting questions of mythology, literature, and history connected with them. The subject has been discussed by many explorers, Arundel 1826, Hamilton 1836, Waddington 1850, G. Hirschfeld 1872, Hogarth 1887, and Weber 1892¹. Since 1888 the problem has occupied my attention a good deal; and the following theory, which owes something to each of these travellers and differs from all in some respects, will, I hope, be found to unite whatever is good in their views.

A necessary preliminary to the investigation is to fix the acropolis of Kelainai; and, fortunately, there is general agreement that no other hill can be thought of except the one a little behind the modern town, on the east, with the ruins of an early church on the top.

The clear and precise truthfulness of Strabo's description of Apameia makes him our best authority, and stamps him as an eye-witness. Next to him in direct value comes Xenophon. Pliny deserves the third place; though not an eye-witness, he has used some excellent authority, probably a Greek. But so striking are the natural features that every ancient authority (except Nicetas Chon. and J. Cinnamus) gives a recognizable and useful account; and the following theory gathers something from them all, and sets them in a more favourable light than previous views.

According to Strabo, the Marsyas, a violent and headlong stream, which rises in Apameia itself, flows through the city, descends to the suburbs, and there meets the Maeander, which has previously been joined by the Orgas, a stream that flows, gentle and quiet, through the level plain².

A coin of Apameia, struck under Gordian, ΠΑ · ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ · ΠΑΝΗ · ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ, is also a fundamental witness. It shows the goddess, patroness of Apameia, in form closely resembling the Ephesian Artemis, but with a small tetrastyle temple surmounting her usual head-

¹ Ar. *Seven Churches* pp. 107 ff, 242 ff, *Discov. in As. Min.* I pp. 182 ff: Ham. *Researches in As. Min.* I pp. 494 ff: Wadd. *Voy. Numism.* p. 12: Hirschf. in *Berl. Akad. Abhandl.* 1875 on *Kelainai-Apameia*: Hog. in JHS 1888 on a *Visit to Celaenae-Apamea* (see also p. 402): G. Weber *Dinair-Célénes* (Besançon 1892). Some criticisms of these writers are contained in App. I. Haase pp. 238 f and Kiepert in Franz *Fünf Inschr. u.*

fünf Städte p. 30 have treated the subject; they agree with Ar. and Ham. (they wrote before Hirschfeld had published his revolutionary views). Wadd. gives only a few notes, evidently agreeing with and completing Ar., whom he quotes.

² The authorities are quoted, and many minuter points discussed in *Appendix I.*

covering; around her are grouped four river-gods with the names beside them MAI, MAP, ΘΕΡ, and ΟΡ. This coin evidently implies that four rivers flowed in close proximity to the city, Maiandros, Marsyas, Therma, and Orgas.

§ 3. MARSYAS (KATARRHAKTES) has been recognized rightly by Arundel, Hamilton, Waddington, Hogarth, and Weber as the modern Dineir-Su, which rushing out in an impetuous stream from a recess at the foot of a precipitous cliff¹, and flowing with headlong current down a glen, and through the modern town of Dineir, falls into the main stream (still distinguished from it as Menderes) below the town.

The Marsyas is the only one of the rivers of Apameia that is fully described by the ancients; it was a rapid and headlong stream (Herod., Strab.), of considerable size (Herod., Dio), twenty-five feet broad (Xen.), rising in a cave (Xen.), in the agora of Kelainai² (Herod.), underneath the acropolis of Kelainai (Xen.), springing from the acropolis of Apameia (Strab., Roman coin³), flowing through the city of Kelainai (Xen., Herod.), flowing through the city of Apameia (Strab., Dio, Paus.⁴). Its course was quite short, and it fell into the Maeander in the outskirts of Apameia. Its springs burst forth from the earth with such strength as to carry stones out in its current (Theophrastus⁵).

All these characteristics are true of Sunun-Bashi, the head-springs of Dineir-Water; and they are true of no other fountains beside Apameia. I cannot attest that it carries out stones from below the ground in its rushing course; but every visitor can vouch that it rises with much stronger current than any other spring at Apameia. I quote here *verbatim* the description of this stream which Mrs. Ramsay and I wrote in company at Apameia in 1891, trying to make it as accurate as possible.

'A little way behind the modern village, at the foot of the hill which beyond all doubt was the acropolis of Kelainai, and close under it, rises a great spring. The natives have no special name for the stream, but call it simply Su or Tchai (i.e. the Water, or the Stream)⁶. The

¹ This cliff is the western face of the Acropolis hill: Xen. says the Marsyas rose *ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει*.

² This statement is incorrect, p. 412.

³ Reading with Hirschfeld *ἀκροπόλεως* instead of *πόλεως*. On a coin the Marsyas is represented 'recumbent in cavern beneath rocks and towers' (Head); i.e.

he rises in a cave underneath the acropolis of the imperial time.

⁴ Both Dio and Pausanias X 30, 9 speak of Kelainai, but mean by that name the city of their time.

⁵ Theophr. *ap. Plinium* XXXI 19.

⁶ Dineir-Su in speaking about the geography of the district.

spring (Sunun-bashi, Water's Head) is now blocked up by huge boulders, which look as if they had fallen in from above. The acropolis hill rises sharp up behind the springs; and the idea has suggested itself to many observers that the boulders lying in the springs once formed an overhanging cave.

'The stream runs down in a full strong rapid current of varying breadth. A good deal of water is diverted from the main stream, but still it is in some places quite 25 feet broad¹. About 200 yards below the head fountains, there is another source in the rock above the left bank, which is said to have suddenly appeared about fifty years ago. It alone of all the springs supplies good water for drinking, and most of the water is carried away by a wooden pipe for the use of the village. It is called Huda-verdi, "God has given²."

'The glen down which the stream flows is always green, fresh, and lovely, and in the early summer thousands of yellow irises, growing in the water and along the banks, and innumerable other wild flowers add to its beauty. Above rise the barren, rocky hills; and the only sound heard is the ceaseless sad murmur of the waters or the occasional twitter of some solitary bird.'

Hamilton's description (I 499) is as follows. 'At the base of a rocky cliff a considerable stream of water gushes out with great rapidity, and flows down the narrow channel with considerable force, the noise of which, notwithstanding a wind, I had heard on the hills above. It was impossible not to perceive at once that this was the Marsyas or Katarrhaktes. . . . It appeared as if it had formerly risen in the centre of a great cavern, and that the surrounding rocks had fallen in from the cliff above.'

The Marsyas rises at an elevation of 2985 ft., and after a course of a mile³ joins the Maeander, 2,840 ft.: the fall is about 1 in 36.

Dineir-Water is the only stream that flows through the middle of Apameia; and therefore it must be the Marsyas, which beyond all others was the river of Apameia. To its source the city legends clung; and it alone is said to have flowed through the Greek city, for though the Maeander flowed through Kelainai, Strabo makes it clear that the

¹ It is shallow, hence this breadth implies no proportionate volume of water.

² Prof. G. Hirschfeld errs in giving the name Huda-verdi to the branch which we name Marsyas. That name is, I believe, never applied to a spring whose water is not reckoned drinkable;

and the natives assured me that it was not applied to anything except the new source. M. Weber p. 29 confirms my account. Hirschfeld did not observe the difference between this source and the main stream which rises above in the 'Felsengrotte.'

³ Furlongs $7\frac{1}{2}$ in an air-line.

Maeander passed outside, or only through the extreme outskirts, of Apameia. Moreover Pausanias, speaking of 'the river that flows through the city,' implies that there was only one river to which that description could apply in his time.

Prof. G. Hirschfeld originated a theory which differed widely from the views of all other explorers before or since. I can understand its origin only on the supposition that it occurred to him years after his visit, when his recollection of the situation had grown faint. I would gladly omit all reference to his theory, and the errors in mapping and description on which it is founded; but his high authority as a geographer makes it necessary to show that his topographical scheme is wrong. Unless this is done, some will cherish doubts; and it is best to try to clear up the subject once for all. He maintains that Dineir-Su was not the Marsyas, but the Maeander; yet he recognizes that Dineir-Su alone among the branches rises amid rocks. He even declares that this stream 'rushes forth from a lofty rock-grotto¹,' which is a stronger expression than I should venture to use about the recess, though it is (I think) literally true of the situation in the first or second century. If so, how did the cave fall in? This might be due to natural causes, either the slow action of water in chinks of the rock, or to volcanic action²; but another theory might be plausibly maintained, that the cave, being a seat of pagan religion in virtue of its striking situation and surroundings, was intentionally destroyed by the Christians. No other fountain in the neighbourhood matches this one in its impressive character; and any observer familiar with the sites chosen for the old religion of Asia Minor would at once select this among all the springs at Apameia as probably a special seat of worship in early time. The analogy with the holy springs at Ibriz is particularly close and suggestive. Further, no other spring at Apameia has any appearance of having ever risen in a cave.

§ 4. THERMA, still called the 'Warm Springs' (Lidja or Ildja), are on the north side of the village close to the road, which leads to E. and to N. The water rises with a gentle faint murmur in a small pool, apparently at a number of points, but these are not sufficiently well

¹ . . . an dem Ursprung des von mir so genannten [i. e. Marsyas, our Therma] Flusses die Grotte fehlt—während die Maeanderarme (our Marsyas) freilich heute noch aus einer hohen Felsengrotte hervorstürmen, p. 20. Hogarth's expression is 'a dark hole which may have formed the recess of a former grotto, before frost and rain had broken away the

upper rocks which now lie about the point of exit.'

² As appears in the sequel, I believe the features of Apamean scenery are not essentially changed (except by human action) since ancient times, and that earthquakes have not caused alterations of any consequence in the interval.

marked to be distinguishable as separate springs. The temperature of the water on the evening of May 26, 1891 was 68° F, being 6° above that of the atmosphere. The temperature perhaps varies; for in 1890 it felt lukewarm, while in 1891 rain had been falling heavily on a colder day, and the water felt cold. It flows away in a small channel without any rush or noise through the level ground to join the Maeander.

The name is sufficient proof that this fountain is the Therma mentioned as ΘΕΡ on a coin of Apameia. The Thermaia Plateia of inscr. 296, 297, and 299, must have been a street that ran through the city towards the springs, which, as I believe, were in the Proasteion close outside the fortified walls.

Prof. G. Hirschfeld came to the conclusion that the Lidja were the old Marsyas; and I confess that for many years I accepted without criticism his results about Apamean topography, and left the city out of my sphere of thought and work. But in 1887 Hogarth, who was travelling with me, made a hurried run from Eumeneia to see the site of Apameia (in which he was interested as bearing on his researches about Alexander the Great), and rejoined me the following day beside Sandukli¹. I gave him an outline of the topography as settled by Hirschfeld in order that he might utilize his short time to the best advantage. But when, after seeing the other sources, his guide led him to the Lidja, his 'first sensation on looking at this prosaic fount was one of blank surprise: could this melancholy stream, bubbling tamely out of a flat tract at the foot of a naked slope, and slinking away more like a drain than a river, be the storied Marsyas, "*Phrygiae liquidissimus amnis*," the favourite haunt of nymphs, the seat of one of the most famous of myths? Remembering the constant appositeness of Greek legend, and its close connexion with natural beauty or natural grandeur, I had expected to find a notable stream, issuing amid beautiful or striking surroundings.'

It was a correct instinct led Hogarth to reject unhesitatingly the idea that this poor stream was the Marsyas, in spite of the serious difficulty which he found in identifying the Maeander; and he was demonstrated to be right when it was observed that ΘΕΡμᾶ was the name on the coin mentioning the four Apamean rivers².

¹ Those who have ridden both roads in summer can appreciate the activity which enabled him and our companion H. A. Brown (who since then was killed with Major Wilson's party in Mashonaland) to interpolate an exploration of Apameia between the two journeys. At the same time the hurry of the

exploration prevented Hogarth from acquiring a complete idea of all the localities and streams; and his paper in JHS, his first study in Asia Minor, bears traces of the incompleteness of his survey in the gaps it leaves.

² Hogarth says 'Ramsay, in drawing my attention to the famous coin of

There is not in this poor little stream any feature to recall the description of the Marsyas. Prof. G. Hirschfeld speaks of its 'boisterous course' (*ungestümer Lauf*), and contrasts its noise with the quiet river Sheikh-Arab-Su (§ 5); but such a description in no way corresponds with the facts. A certain latent consciousness of unsuitability makes him speak several times of the changes which must have occurred² in these rivers. He needs an earthquake to explain the want of a cave at the Lidja-springs; but, as Hogarth says, 'if ever there had been a cave at the source, a convulsion quite as gigantic as Nicolas of Damascus reports with such miraculous details (Athen. VIII p. 332) must have changed the whole face of nature.' Moreover, there has been no change of any importance in the surroundings, for the modern road is carried



over the side of the fountain by two low arches of Roman work³, which proves that the modern road is on the line of a Roman road.

Apameia (Head *Hist. Num.* p. 558 fig. 317) stated that he was unable to read the names attached to them as MAI: MAP: OBP: OP: but was compelled to see ΘΕΡ in the third place; and this reading (which is manifest in the reproduction) has since been agreed to by Mr. Head himself. Prof. Hirschfeld,

without having seen the coin or asked any opinion about the reading, and without apparently even looking at the fig. 317 in Head's *Hist. Num.*, rejects our reading in his review of my *Hist. Geogr.* in *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1891.

¹ Pp. 17, 20, 21.

² Hirschfeld observed these two

Hamilton alludes to the water of the Lidja (without naming it) as 'a small stream' rising 'at the foot of the hills, which, after flowing a short way through the plain, falls into the Maeander immediately below the town' (p. 501).

§ 5. ORGAS. Considering (1) the emphatic statement of Strabo, an eye-witness, that the Orgas was a gentle and quiet stream flowing through the level ground, and (2) the existence of the modern village Norgas, which obviously retains the ancient name¹, on the S.W. side of the plain, I see no room for doubt that the Orgas is the stream which flows N.E. past Norgas across the level plain to join the Maeander. In the rainy season its course can be better traced, but the needs of irrigation and of water-supply for Norgas dissipate it during the summer weather.

Its source is thus described by Mr. Watkins, Engineer of the Ottoman Railway. 'The three perennial springs at the head of Norgas-Tchai are situated from 50 to 80 yds. apart at the extremity of a picturesque glen (*Dere*). Two of the springs rise on the eastern slope; the third, with a discharge of half the quantity of the others, issues from a mass of rocky stones terminating the glen rather abruptly. The three springs, uniting at a short distance from the head, form a stream 3 to 4 ft. in width and about one in depth, running towards N. down the glen with a strong current and deafening roar, at an inclination of at least 1 in 20 for the first half-mile, then with an easier gradient (say 1 in 40) to the plain². In the summer time it is diverted from its natural bed just above the village of Norgas, to supply power

arches; but mistook them for two niches for the two sources which he describes (but which I could not distinguish p. 402): *ein paar Quellen, welche ganz nah seinem Austritte jetzt aus zwei Bogennischen aufsprudelnd alsbald in ihn fallen*, p. 21. He calls these two sources the 'Laugher' and the 'Weeper' (see p. 407), without proving in any respect the suitability of the names. It is hardly right to speak of them falling into the Lidja; the water under the shallow arches is part of the small pool.

¹ With 'Opyās-Norgas, compare 'Ikapia-Nikaria (i. e. [*is-rh*]ν-'Ikapiaν). In Dio the MSS. read 'Opβas (one Νύβας). In Strabo the name is 'Opyās. It is difficult to catch the exact pronunciation of the modern name, which seems to vary

between Norbas and Norgas (the traveller in Asia Minor finds many such cases of indistinct pronunciation): the Railway Engineers give Norgas. Probably similar indistinctness in ancient time led to the variation between Dio and Strabo. It is therefore wrong method to alter Dio's text to suit Strabo (as Arnim does in his recent edition, Berlin, 1893). The Apamean coin reads OP, and leaves the point undetermined. Anatolian words were frequently subjected to great variations when spelt in Greek; and, particularly, attempts to get a form that seemed to be significant in Greek were common.

² The source, with its three founts, is called Haidarli (see no. 699 note), or Norgas-Bunar.

to work a corn-mill and to irrigate a considerable extent of land in the plain. During winter the stream flows along a gravelly road, crossing the plain N.E., and discharges itself into the Sheikh-Arab-Su: this road is undoubtedly the natural bed, and must have been so from time immemorial, owing to its well defined higher level above the adjoining fields through which it passes—a well known peculiarity of the silting up of streams in this country.' The stream has a course of about three miles before reaching the Maeander.

I visited Norgas in 1891, and was struck with the watercourse, but did not explore the sources. Then it struck me that this watercourse had the appearance of a former river; and I remember that Mr. Purser in 1882 told me that Norgas-Tchai was the ancient Orgas. At that time I was under the impression that Prof. G. Hirschfeld must be right; but years of study have justified Mr. Purser and the Railway Engineers on this point, and I have come round to their view.

Probably the Orgas carried a larger body of water in ancient time than at the present day. (1) The upper part of the Apamean valley and the adjoining hillsides were, probably, better wooded than at present: every one who has travelled much in Anatolia learns how many forest fires are caused by the carelessness of the nomad tribes, and how much valuable timber is thus destroyed¹: the denudation would affect the Orgas far more than the other branches. (2) The drainage is bad, and the Apamean plain is very marshy in modern time; in ancient time it was well cultivated and must have been well drained²; and the Orgas would then be a fuller stream. (3) The silting up of the bed, described by Mr. Watkins, tends to deflect the water.

None of the earlier travellers mention this stream. M. Weber alludes to it, but conjecturally identifies it with the Obrimas³. I think that M. Waddington perhaps anticipated this theory as to the Orgas; but his words are brief and not quite clear, *un ruisseau se jette dans le Méandre, près de la ville, après avoir traversé la plaine*. He probably visited the site in the rainy season, when Norgas-Tchai was fuller.

§ 6. MAEANDER is marked out by the statement of Strabo, an eye-witness, that the Orgas flowed into the Maeander⁴. Norgas-Tchai

¹ The goats prevent young trees from growing, and the loss is therefore irreparable. A Yuruk would burn a tree to get a pole; and in summer this often causes a conflagration.

² Mr. Watkins mentions that Norgas-

Dere is swampy in several places.

³ On his map he makes it join the Maeander a mile too low down.

⁴ The error in M. Weber's map obscures the reasoning to those who keep their eye on it.

flows into the stream which rises at Sheikh-Arab (behind a ridge protruding from Djebel-Sultan into the plain between Dineir and Dikeji). This branch issues from a lake which is described by Hamilton as 'nearly two miles in circumference, full of reeds and rushes, water-lilies and wild-ducks, and surrounded on almost every side by steep and lofty mountains . . . no waters flow into it, and it is entirely supplied by subaqueous springs.' There is, however, a distinct fountain of considerable size close to Sheikh-Arab, which apparently has not been noticed by Hamilton¹; and in a rock beside it is the cell of the hermit Nikodemos (inscr. 398).

This lake is 3060 feet above sea-level, and the considerable stream² that issues from it rushes down a ravine to the plain, descending 100 feet in about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile (1 in 40). Reaching the plain, it flows gently round the outer spur of the protruding ridge (described in the preceding paragraph), and is joined by the Orgas.

Arundel and Hamilton rightly recognized this stream as the Maeander. Hirschfeld, followed by Weber and Hogarth, make it the Orgas. Hogarth, though approximating to the obvious truth in the words, 'had he ever visited the spot, he would probably have been compelled in strict geography to recognize the Maeander in the eldest stream,' viz. Sheikh-Arab-Water, concludes that 'the Maeander had in strict parlance no distinct source whatever, but was simply the united river formed by the junction of the Marsyas, Obrimas, and Orgas.' He recognized the obvious fact that Sheikh-Arab-Su is the most important branch and the parent stream; but was tempted to follow Hirschfeld's mistake about Orgas.

The description which Pliny gives of the Maeander, as rising in a lake³ in the Aulokrene mountain, points to Sheikh-Arab-Su; his account of the Maeander from source to mouth is excellent⁴, and must be founded on a good Greek authority.

Sheikh-Arab-Sultan, who gives his name to the sources of the

¹ But Hamilton is very precise and positive; and he is the most accurate of travellers in Asia Minor. Perhaps the lake was higher in level when he visited it. These lakes are liable to considerable changes in volume and level (see Hirschfeld *Reisbericht in Berl. Mon.* 1870 p. 301).

² Much of it is diverted by a canal which flows through Dikeji and then is used for irrigation purposes.

³ Probably he means the lake in which the continuous river Maeander rises, viz. Sheikh-Arab lake among the hills, and not the lake on the plain behind where the Maeander appears for a brief space before disappearing below the mountain and reappearing on the opposite side of the ridge among the hills.

⁴ See p. 398.

Maeander and his title to the mountain Djebel-Sultan, is apparently a Turkish metamorphosis of old Marsyas. It was beside that lake that part of the story of Marsyas was enacted; and the death of the Sultan was perhaps preserved in local legend, for Arundel seems to have heard the name as 'Sheikh-Arab euldu' ('Sheikh-Arab is dead'), which in his ignorance of Turkish he reproduced as Araboul-dou. See p. 408 *n.* 3.

Xenophon mentions that there was a large park full of wild animals round the upper Maeander, whose springs rose from the palace of Cyrus in the park: Cyrus used to hunt on horseback in the park, when he wanted exercise. The country round Sheikh-Arab-Su suits this description, being well adapted for wild animals; the park included part of the plain, and probably extended nearly to the city.

§ 7. THE LAUGHER AND THE WEEPER. About half-way between the springs of the Marsyas and the Maeander is a source called Duden or Menderez-Duden by the natives, who regard it as the primary source of the Menderez¹. The Duden is a small marshy pool, apparently deep in the centre, lying in a recess of the plain like a bay among the hills; it is the lowest of all the great sources² (2865 ft.), and perhaps contributes a larger body of water than any of the others³, for a full, steady, stream issues from the pool, and, after a course of about 800 yds., joins the Maeander (elevation about 2850). This pool is chiefly supplied by sources at its bottom, which cannot be seen; but there are also two distinct sources, which fall into it and into the issuing stream. These sources present a special interest.

The upper source is at the remotest end of the Duden. It rises under a low bank at the water's edge. I got off my horse at this point in order to observe whether any sound was audible, which could be taken as representing either laughter or weeping. Stooping down towards the hole under the rocky bank, I saw that the source is in a small cave not visible from above, and heard distinctly a low, continuous, but faint, murmuring or bubbling sound, varied at short intervals by what seemed like choking sobs as of a child recovering from a fit of crying. These were apparently caused by

¹ In 1891, writing to the *Athenaeum* Aug. 15, 1891, p. 233, under the influence of the local sentiment, I took the same view; and so does M. Weber in his *Dinair-Cévenes* 1892, quoting my view. See *Appendix I*.

² Lidja must be about the same

elevation.

³ Sheikh-Arab Water is probably larger at its sources, but much is diverted from it. The great springs of Geuk-Bunar and Besh-Bunar (pp. 222, 228) perhaps contribute more water than all the Apamean sources.

air struggling with the flow of water in a narrow passage. Mrs. Ramsay can also bear witness to the curious sound made by this fountain, and its striking resemblance to the sound of weeping. After making this experiment, we mounted again and rode round the pool to observe the character of any other fountain beside this branch of the river. The only other spring that can be seen is the one now called Indjerli-Su, which flows into the Duden-Su some little way below the pool. When we came within 10 yds. of the fountain, we could hear the bright, clear, cheerful sound with which the 'Laughing Water' ripples forth from a small hole in the sloping hillside and flows down a few yards into the Duden-Su. No one who goes to these two fountains and listens will entertain the slightest doubt that they are 'the Laughing' and 'the Weeping'; and when the city becomes a resort of tourists, the pair of fountains will be one of the recognized 'sights.'

The 'Laugher' and the 'Weeper' are described only by Pliny¹, who after mentioning the strength of the Marsyas source, says, 'not far from it are two fountains, called "Klaeon" and "Gelon" from the import of the Greek words': in this description the two fountains are distinguished from the source in which the Marsyas rises, and it is quite fair to look for them about a mile distant². The character and sound of these springs were long unnoticed by the travellers who have visited Apameia. It was only in 1891, when I resolved to go and test every spring at Apameia, that I discovered them. The sound of the Weeping-fountain is so low, and its appearance so humble and inconspicuous as it wells forth from under a shelving rock, that, without examining closely, one is sure to miss it.

§ 8. OBRIMAS. Far more wonderful is it that the stream which flows out from the Menderez-Duden has been omitted by so many travellers and map-makers. Arundel is almost the only one who observed it³. He says that 45 minutes after starting from Dineir

¹ Theophrastus, whom he quotes in the preceding clause, about the Marsyas, is probably his authority for the two fountains.

² So Livy speaks of 'the Marsyas rising not far from the fountains of the Maeander.' Moreover Pliny is not giving a formal description of Apameia, but a scientific account of various kinds of spring.

³ Every traveller who goes out from

Dineir along the road to Dikeji and Ketchi-Borlu must cross it; a bridge containing many old stones carries the road over it. In the following quotation from Arundel, I have changed his nomenclature to make his meaning clear. He calls the Sheikh-Arab-Su the Araboul-dou. [Perhaps 'Sheikh-Arab olourdu' 'it might be Sheikh-Arab' was the reply to some question of his: cp. Karadadiler marked as a

'we crossed by a bridge ¹ a river which I at first took for the Sheikh-Arab Water, but it proved not to be so; this stream, which is a considerable one, must rise from beneath the hill on our left: the Sheikh-Arab Water . . . flowed still on our right, parallel to our road, though occasionally hidden by the intervening elevations.' Arundel did not observe the Duden, which, in its low reedy pool, is not visible from the road. Hirschfeld visited Indjerli-Su, a fountain which falls into the stream of the Duden about 100 yds. above the bridge; but in his map he omits the Duden, and represents the Sheikh-Arab Water as flowing in a great sweep close to the edge of the hills round the Duden ², and thus coinciding with the stream that issues from the Duden ³. Hamilton missed this branch, because he never traversed the road or crossed the bridge. Hogarth saw Indjerli-Su, but not the Duden. Weber gives the Duden; but indicates the course of the stream not quite accurately. In JHS 1893 p. 70 ⁴ I suggested that this stream is the Obrimas; and this theory still seems to me probable; but there is too little evidence to prove it decisively.

The Obrimas is mentioned only by Pliny, who says that it, like Marsyas and Orgas, falls into the Maeander in the outskirts of Apameia. As all the other descriptions omit the Obrimas, it was probably not very conspicuous. Now, when so many travellers, eager to examine and settle the topography of Apameia, have failed to observe this stream, it is easy to see why Strabo and Xenophon, describing the most striking features of the city, should omit it. It is however surprising that the Apamean coin of the four rivers should mention Therma and omit Obrimas, a far more important stream. Probably the sacred character attached to hot springs determined the preference. Nonnus mentions the Obrimos, see p. 485.

§ 9. AULOKRENE. Alike in ancient and in modern times the local belief has been that the ultimate source of both Marsyas and Maeander is on the higher plain behind the ridge of Djebel-Sultan. On the

mountain in the map of a modern traveller, in which Kiepert ingeniously recognized 'Kara-Dagh daiorlar' (pronounced like dirler), 'they call it Kara-Dagh.' But a more seductive hypothesis is stated in § 6].

¹ In this bridge is inscr. 386.

² See above p. 407.

³ Kiepert in his little plan of Apameia, founded on Ham. and Ar., gives the stream in its approximate position,

and calls it Orgas. It is marvellous that Hirschfeld did not recognize his error, when he looked at Kiepert's unpretentious little plan (Franz *Fünf Inschr.*) and read Arundel's description.

⁴ I said 'the stream rises in two large sources,' meaning Indjerli-Su and the Duden, and wrongly called the stream Indjerli-Su (that name is restricted to the fountain, which falls into Duden-Su). I also under-estimated the length.

eastern side of that plain rises a fine series of fountains called Bunar-Bashi beside a clump of plane-trees; these springs flow down a little way into a marshy lake¹ that rests against Djebel-Sultan; and this lake in its turn is believed to feed the fountains around Dineir by subterranean passages.

One lingers by this beautiful fountain, as loath to quit it as the traveller is to leave the shade of its trees and the murmur of its waters, and to go on over the shelterless plain on a hot day in summer. Hardly in Greece itself is there a spot more consecrated with legend. Here Athena sat on the rocks playing her newly invented flute and saw her distorted face mirrored in the water; here she threw away her flute, and Marsyas picked it up; here Marsyas contended with Apollo, and on that large plane-tree he was hung up to be flayed; in the plain below Lityerses was slain by the sickles of the reapers; and so on. The physical features of the plain are so remarkable that we need not wonder to find so many legends attached to it.

Our best witness is Maximus, who relates what he had himself seen and heard on the spot. 'The Phrygians,' says he, 'who dwell in the neighbourhood of Kelainai pay religious honour to two streams, Marsyas and Maeander. I have seen the streams. They rise from one fountain, which, flowing towards the mountain-ridge (Djebel-Sultan), disappears behind the city and again issues forth as the two (separate) rivers from the city, dividing among them both the water and the names; one of them, the Maeander, flows away in the direction of Lydia, and the other dissipates its water there on the valley². The Phrygians sacrifice (at the common source), some to both rivers, some to the Marsyas singly, and some to the Maeander; and they cast the thighs of the victims into the springs, uttering over them the name of the river to which they offer them; and the offerings, borne away towards the mountain and sinking with the water, are found not to rise in the Marsyas if given to the Maeander, nor in the Maeander, if given to the Marsyas; and, if they be offered to both, the rivers divide the gift.'

The point where the sacrifices took place can be seen. It is at the western extremity of the lake, close behind Dineir, overshadowed

¹ Most of the lake is merely a great reed-bed: a stream from the north flows into it.

² This reference to irrigation is interesting, but, as applied to Marsyas by

Maximus, must be inaccurate (perhaps due to an error of memory, confused with the irrigation works from Orgas and Maeander). See however the remarks on p. 453.

by the intervening ridge: from the ridge Arundel saw 'a whirling round of the water, and on examination it proceeded from the sinking of the water through several holes distinctly visible at the bottom.' Arundel even says that 'the water divided into two currents, one flowing to the right, the other to the left, and each sinking into the earth, as if the sources of separate streams¹.' There are two distinct 'swallow holes' at the northern exit (to Arundel's left), and one at the southern, 1 mile 3 furlongs distant².

Pliny mentions that 'the Marsyas comes again to light at Apameia, having risen and disappeared after a little where Marsyas contended with Apollo in the music of the flute, viz. at Aulocreni: that is the name of a valley about ten miles from Apameia³.' Again he says, 'a plane-tree is pointed out there, from which (say the guides) Marsyas was suspended after being overcome by Apollo, and the tree was selected for the size which even then it had attained.'

Strabo speaks of a lake behind Apameia which produced reeds suited for the mouthpieces of flutes, and from which according to the popular saying were derived both springs, of Maeander and of Marsyas. His account does not bear the stamp of personal knowledge, differing in that respect from his vivid picture of Apameia and its rivers. This shows that he had visited Apameia on a journey to or from Nyssa in Caria, where he studied⁴, travelling by the Eastern Highway, which did not pass along the lake or the fountain of Bunar-Bashi (Aulokrene).

Livy makes an interesting reference to the fountain of Aulokrene. He mentions certain fountains which in the MSS. are called *Fontes Rhotrini*: they lay beside the route of Manlius from the coast of lake Askania past Aporidos-kome⁵ towards the plain of Metropolis (Tchul-Ovasi), and they were at the most convenient point on the line of march for sending away the wounded and the heavy baggage to Apameia. In every point this account suits Bunar-Bashi. The road in question passes the springs, intersecting exactly at that point the road from Apameia to Apollonia (no. 352)⁶; and there are no other

¹ *Seven Churches* p. 245.

² Perhaps Arundel means the two swallow holes of the northern exit by the 'right' and 'left.'

³ The distance proves that Pliny means the fountain Bunar-Bashi, which by the road are about 9 Roman miles from Apameia.

⁴ See p. 167.

⁵ See pp. 325, xviii.

⁶ These springs are a landmark by the way; and any muleteer of the country would at once understand what place was meant, if he were told of a great fountain on the road from Tchul-Ovasi or Cassaba (Synnada) to Buldur-Lake (Askania): JHS 1883 pp. 68 ff.

springs on the line of Manlius's march. The plain contained a village Aurokra or Aulokra; and the lake and the springs were called Aulokrene, which strictly was an adjectival form (*Αὐλοκρηνή* or *Αὐροκρηνή*, in Latin *Rhocriini Fontes*), but was in Greek taken in the more significant form *Αὐλο-κρήνη*, Flute-Fountain, in accordance with the general tendency to seek after forms with a meaning in Greek. Manlius, then, encamped at *Fontes Rhocreni* or *Rhocriini*; and the MSS. have suffered the slight corruption of *c* to *t*. See § 26 (2).

The east end of the lake, near Bunar-Bashi, is 3319 ft. above the sea, and the west end at the Duden behind Dineir, 3315. The Marsyas springs are almost exactly 2 miles away from the 'Duden,' and the difference in elevation is 330 ft. (a fall of 1 in 32). Taking the Maeander springs in the middle of Sheikh-Arab lake, the distance from the southern Duden is 2 miles 1 furlong, and the difference in level of the two lakes is 255 ft. (a fall of 1 in 44).

§ 10. EARLY HISTORY OF KELAINAI. The situation of the ancient city Kelainai is fixed by the testimony of Xenophon. He says that both the Marsyas and the Maeander flowed through the city in their course, but the springs and the first part of the course of both rivers were in the grounds of the two palaces. The testimony of Herodotus that the Marsyas rose in the agora of Kelainai cannot be weighed against Xenophon's; and moreover, no one who has seen the source of the Marsyas could seriously think that the agora was situated there¹. Nor can the words of Strabo, that the Maeander rises in a hill called Kelainai, where once was a city of the same name, rank as equal in authority to Xenophon's account. Strabo obviously supposed that the city of Kelainai was beside the acropolis, and as he knew that the site had been changed when Apameia was founded, he concluded that Kelainai had occupied the southern slope of the acropolis stretching towards the springs of the Maeander and the Obrimas. His authority is conclusive as to what he saw at Apameia; but not as to a matter of inference.

Kelainai, then, was a town lying in the open plain; and its situation marks it out as a peaceful mercantile city. In such a position it can have originated only in a period when war was little dreaded, and convenience of situation alone was considered. Its early history can be restored in outline by the relation between the two

¹ This is the one strong point of Hirschfeld's theory: he saves Herodotus's credit on this point, for the Agora might be beside the Therma (though

I do not think it actually was); but on the whole his theory is more unfavourable even to Herod. than our view: see pp. 11, 19.

parts, the acropolis and the town. We may be sure that the original centre was the acropolis, whither in primitive time the agricultural people resorted in case of danger, and where the protecting deities of Kelainai had their home. It is true that, according to Xenophon, the acropolis was fortified by Xerxes; but we should not infer that it had not previously been used as a citadel¹. The situation of the ancient Aeolic Smyrna was not unlike that of Kelainai; it had a citadel on the summit of the lofty hill², and the town was situated at the foot of the hill beside the bay. But the site of Kelainai was more obviously double than that of Smyrna, for a considerable distance must have separated the citadel from the town; hence the name was always a plural, Kelainai³.

The situation of Kelainai may probably be taken as typical of many old Phrygian cities. Xenophon mentions Keramon Agora as a great city, and we distinguish there also a trading town and a citadel⁴. Again, we have seen in Ch. V § 5 that there was both a city Attouda on the higher ground, and a hieron and market of Men Karou in the plain below the city. These analogies throw light on the origin of the town Kelainai. There doubtless sprang up a market in the plain. But, in order that the market should be a safe resort, it had to be placed under the guardianship of religion. Thus arose an altar, and a *cultus* common to all those who frequented the market, guaranteeing their safety while they were at business; and in this way intercourse and trade and interchange of ideas and products were connected with the *cultus* of the deity. Several other markets of this type have been already mentioned⁵, but their position in the history of the country was not fully brought out. The *hiera* of the country did not all spring up in places where there were manifest signs of the divine presence (as at Hierapolis, pp. 85 ff). Some of them originated in

¹ See p. 418 note.

² This hill overhangs the N.E. corner of the gulf, and at its southern base lay the town.

³ The explanation of the plural form from the union of various *komai* in a single city seems to me unsuited to the facts. Athens resembled Kelainai: there also two separate centres existed, the citadel on the acropolis and the commercial town on the sea at Phaleron; and the plural name Athenai was always used for the united city. This explanation of the plural names

of cities is inconsistent with the suggestion advanced by Johansson *Bezz. Beitr.* XIII pp. 111 ff, and approved by Brugmann *Griech. Gram.* § 82, that city-names in *-oi* and *-ai* have developed out of locatives, i. e. that the older forms *Δελφοί*, at Delphos, and *Ἀθῆναι*, at Athens, being misunderstood in later times, were treated as plural nominatives, *Δελφοί* and *Ἀθῆναι*. This explanation would probably never commend itself to a historian or student of society.

⁴ See Ch. XIII § 13.

⁵ See pp. 128, 168, 254.

human needs and human history; and they sprang up where men congregated for a fixed market¹. Hence we see why the hieron of Men Karou was not fixed at the hot springs of Karoura, where the divine power was most clearly manifested, but at a central point where the whole of the lower Lycos valley (pp. 4 f) could meet more conveniently, and where the market was held until about 40 years ago.

§ 11. HISTORICAL MYTHS. Civilization is developed through commerce and interchange of ideas. Hence this market, at the point where so many roads converge (§ 1), is also the home of most of those myths which preserve for us some facts about the beginnings of intercourse beside Phrygia and the Greek world. The Phrygian music, as used in the worship of the Great Mother, was learned by the Greeks, and the invention of the flute, the Phrygian instrument *par excellence*, was localized at Kelainai, and attributed to its river-god Marsyas. Marsyas, vain of his skill, challenged the god of Greek music, Apollo: he was defeated, and flayed by his conqueror in the grotto from which issues the water of Marsyas: the Greek spirit overpowered the Phrygian.

In the tale of Lityerses, son of Midas, a legend of the Adonis-type, embodying the idea of the vegetation and life of nature perishing in the heat of summer², was developed in a peculiar form which is coloured by the facts of Kelainian history. Lityerses hospitably welcomed all strangers, but made them help him in the harvest, and, if they fell short in amount of work, killed them and hid their bodies in the sheaves. Hercules, however, the hero (or god) of travel and growing civilization, when he came to Kelainai, vindicated the privileges of visitors by slaying Lityerses and throwing his body into the Maeander. Thus the development of intercourse, and the guarantee for the safety of trading strangers, are worked into the old religious myth connected with the Lityerses-song, which the Phrygians sang in the harvest field.

Hyagnis is another figure in Kelainian myth. Nothing is recorded about him except that he was inventor of the flute and father of

¹ The worship of Hercules on the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium in the low ground below old Rome, had a similar origin. The cattle of the Roman shepherds, their hides, &c., were there bartered for the manufactures of the Tuscan artisans; and the frequenters of the market were protected by participation in the rites on the altar. The

cultus was confined to men, as women did not come to the market. A tithe of their gains belonged to the god under whose guard they met.

² With this is united the kindred idea that a human being must be killed and hid in the field in order to give life to the next crop.

Marsyas¹. The name is probably connected with Hyes, a name or title of Atys in the rites of the Great Mother.

The musician Olympos is connected with Kelainai in legend. Olympos appears partly as a mythical figure, son of Marsyas, and a witness of his fate², and partly as a musician, who naturalized among the Greeks the Phrygian style of music, invented the enharmonic rhythm, and composed the *Harmatios nomos*, a mournful and passionate strain to which a chorus of the *Orestes* was set.

The myth of Anchouros at Kelainai was similar to that of Curtius at Rome. A chasm full of water opened in the earth, and engulfed many houses and people. The king was instructed by the oracle that the chasm would close up, if his costliest possession were thrown in. Gold and jewels were tried in vain; but when his son Anchouros leaped in on horseback, the chasm closed up³. Midas dedicated a golden altar to Idaean Zeus on the spot. The myth seems to arise out of the local circumstances, as such abundance of waters flow forth from the earth, and Zeus the patron-god seated on his hill, the Acropolis, prevents the city from being engulfed in the underground water⁴.

To the earliest period of Kelainian history we may attribute much work in the way of draining and irrigation and regulation of the water-supply. This lies at the beginning of organized city life⁵.

The fountains (*tcheshme*) which benefit and often beautify most of the villages of Asia Minor, are the most familiar object to the traveller. It cannot be doubted that the construction of such fountains has been practised in the country from the most ancient times. In the north of Phrygia, a citizen named Menelaos is praised as having made eleven fountains⁶. At Tralleis, Molossos made a fountain adorned with a statue of Hermes, and dedicated it to the Demos and Hermes and Herakles and the Neoi⁷; evidently it was in the gymnasium of the Neoi. At Branchidai we hear of the construction of fountains in

¹ Plut. *de Mus.* 5, Aristoxenus *ap. Athenaeum* XIV p. 624 b.

² He is also called father of Marsyas and inventor of the flute.

³ Plutarch *parall.* 5 quotes the tale from the *Metamorphoses* of Kallisthenes.

⁴ On the Kelainian myth of the Deluge see Ch. XV.

⁵ The vast irrigation works at Kybistra Capp. seemed to me to go back to the oldest period of Asia Minor civilization: so also the aqueduct at Tyana:

see *Prehellenic Monuments of Capp.* pp. 5, 10 in Maspéro's *Recueil de Travaux* XIV.

⁶ Waddington, no. 1011, restores [ἐ]ν [τῇ ἀλσει κατεσκεύα]σεν κρήνας αἱ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, but eleven fountains in a grove is rather too much: one would rather expect ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις or ἐν τῇ πόλει or ἐν τῇ χώρῃ.

⁷ BCH 1886 p. 520. Molossos was *agonothetes* at the time.

front of [the temple?] ¹. Probably when we hear of the construction of water-courses or aqueducts, we may conclude that they were finished up with one or more fountains in the city to render the supply generally accessible. Similar fountains were doubtless constructed centuries before Xerxes came to Kelainai; and the art of constructing a channel and fountain is almost the only piece of engineering skill that has been retained by the people of Asia Minor under the ruinous Turkish rule.

§ 12. KELAINAI UNDER LYDIAN RULE. Topography and mythology alike mark out Kelainai as an old centre of commerce. It was created not by religion, like Hierapolis, but by the meeting of men at a common centre for mutual benefit and exchange. M. Radet, with true historical insight, has caught this character in early Anatolian history, and has described it in some of the best pages of his brilliant work on Lydia ². He has justly insisted on the significance of Herodotus's statement that the Lydians were the first to coin money and the earliest 'traders' ³. Now the word *Kapēloi*, 'traders,' here has probably some definite and specific sense: there was in Lydia a city *Hermokapelia*, and the word may well be a Lydian ⁴ term adopted in Greek. The *Kapēlos* practised trade in a fashion that was definitely Lydian; and this fashion is connected by Herodotus with the use of coined money. M. Radet's argument that the old Phoenician trade was conducted by barter, and that Herodotus designates the Lydians as the first traders by exchange in money, carries conviction with it ⁵.

From a very remote period trade was carried across Asia by caravans, which came down to the great harbours, such as Sinope, Miletos, Cyme and Smyrna, in the early ages, Amisos and Ephesos in the later Greek and Roman period: there it was taken by the Greek shipping mer-

¹ Wadd. 225.

² *La Lydie et le Monde Grec au Temps des Mermnades* pp. 155 ff.

³ *πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο* πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο I 94.

⁴ It is, undoubtedly, of Indo-European origin: Lat. *caupo*, Got. *kaupon*, Eng. *cheap*.

⁵ It is not so clear to me that he has right on his side in understanding *κάπηλος* as keeper of a caravanserai or khan, and in declaring that Herod. here *attribue aux Lydiens l'ouverture des pre-*

miers caravanserais (*Lydie* p. 160). The caravanserai is probably as old as the caravan-trade, which M. Radet fully acknowledges was not originally or characteristically Lydian. His view seems to me probably right so far that *la substitution de l'hôtellerie au régime de l'hospitalité est une innovation capitale*, due to the Lydians, and made possible by the use of money; but when he says that *le καπηλεῖον n'est pas un boutique, c'est un caravanserail* (*Rev. des Univ. du Midi* I p. 117), he carries his theory to an extreme and makes it too narrow. A *khan* is not a hotel.

chants and carried to the west. Kelainai was, doubtless, one of the caravan-stations; and Herodotus knew about its remarkable natural features, not from sight, but from the report of the traders, who came down the caravan-road to Miletos, and whose bad Greek had been a subject of ridicule to Hipponax in the sixth century¹.

It was the Lydians who first placed this traffic on a new footing by regulating exchange and stamping pieces of electrum with the symbol of a powerful monarchy, whose guarantee will carry far. A more elaborate and scientific system of commerce becomes possible, when money comes into use²: the merchant-prince is the result of this developed system of trade. The trade-guilds, united in the worship of some god, which existed at Apameia, were a Lydian institution (no. 309, 294, and p. 106).

The power of Lydia was greatly extended by the Mermnad kings of the seventh century; and its rule over all Phrygia up to the Halys was recognized by the Medes at the peace of 585 B.C. That Kelainai continued a centre of trade under the Lydian domination is shown by the tale related by Herodotus VII 27-29³. Pythios, son of Atys, a Lydian, who dwelt at Kelainai, presented to Darius a plane-tree and a vine made of gold; and afterwards offered to Xerxes in 480 B.C., as a contribution towards the expense of the Greek war, 2000 talents of silver and 3,993,000 gold darics. The methodical enumeration of Pythios's property shows the careful habits of a merchant-prince, not the unordered profusion of a mere oriental territorial magnate. Commerce on a great scale must have existed, and there must have been other merchants in the same place, before Pythios or his father Atys had been able by clever organization to make this great fortune.

The names of these merchant-princes are interesting: they set before us in miniature the social development of Lydia during the sixth century. The family, originally Lydian, had adopted the Greek name and along with it doubtless something of the Greek civilization and

¹ καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους, ἣν λάβωσι, περνῶσιν. Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφειεύουσας *fr.* 36 (30), *Hist. Geogr.* p. 37. The tale of the Phrygians, Tottes and Onnes, who introduced the mysteries of the Kabeiroi to Assesos and Miletos, points in the same direction (Nic. Damasc. *fr.* 53).

² M. Radet has probability on his side in holding that Gyges first coined this Lydian money and that his money was the Γυγάδας χρυσός of Pollux III 87:

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against him M. Th. Reinach maintains that the gifts of Gyges to Delphi (in Herod. I 14) are the Γυγάδας χρυσός, see *Rev. de Sociologie* 1894 p. 116.

³ While the tale has obviously been worked up by popular creative imagination, its outlines may be taken as historical: and especially the Lydian origin of Pythios of Kelainai is not likely to be imagined.

language; the father is pure Lydian, Atys; the son is the grecized Lydian Pythios; and the family doubtless was characterized by a double share of commercial skill, Lydian trading instinct and Greek inventiveness and boldness.

§ 13. KELAINAI UNDER THE PERSIANS. When Asia Minor formed part of the Persian Empire, the central importance of Kelainai was recognized more and more as time progressed. It became the principal royal seat in Phrygia and a residence of the satraps¹. Xerxes passed through the city on his expedition against Greece; and on his return seems to have resided for some time in it. He built a palace at the source of the Marsyas, probably on the grassy slope north of the springs. The acropolis on the high hill which overhung the palace and the Marsyas-springs was also built by him².

Kelainai was apparently a favourite residence of Cyrus the younger, when he was sent by his father Darius Nothus in 407 to govern Western and Central Asia Minor; he built (or at least used) a palace at the source of the Maeander, and he had a large park round the palace, including a large extent of country, hillside and plain, full of wild animals, and extending some distance down the course of the Maeander before it reached the city. Cyrus made Kelainai the gathering-place for his forces in 401; he halted there thirty days till his forces were consolidated; and held his first review in the park, of course in the lower ground.

After Cyrus's departure Kelainai was recovered by Tissaphernes, the representative of the Great King; and there he was beheaded by Tithraustes in 396, after he had been taken prisoner in Colossai³. We do not again hear of it till Alexander marched north from Pamphylia and laid siege to it⁴. The citadel was garrisoned by 1000 Carian and 100 Greek mercenaries; and it was so strong that, instead of assaulting it, Alexander made an arrangement whereby the garrison should surrender if not relieved within sixty days.

The hill on which the acropolis stands is steep in most of its circuit, and rises even precipitously above the springs of the Marsyas; but on the side opposite the Marsyas it is connected by a neck of land with the mountains to the east. Arrian's description⁵ 'precipitous on all

¹ *Caput Phrygiae* Livy XXXVIII 15.

² There was doubtless an older fortification on the citadel; but Xerxes built the later fortress (as Haase says p. 257).

³ Polyæn. VII 16 (less fully Diod. XIV 80, Xen. *Hell.* III 4, 25).

⁴ It is not mentioned by our scanty authorities during the great revolt of the western satraps 368-58, on which see Judeich *Kleinas. Stud.* pp. 193 ff.

⁵ ἀκρα πάντῃ ἀπότομος *Anab.* I 29: cp. Q. Curtius III 1.

sides' is therefore a little exaggerated (he was not an eye-witness), but the hill was capable of being made an exceedingly strong fortress, and it is not strange that Alexander, who was always careful of his troops, should prefer this easy and bloodless arrangement¹. After his long toilsome march through Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia, the halt was not without its own value; he could reckon with comparative certainty that no rescue was possible; and probably, as Hogarth remarks, he wished to avoid fighting to the death with Greeks (a desire which is apparent in his earlier policy up to his capture of Darius).

§ 14. EUMENES AND THE GREAT LANDHOLDERS. The garrison in due course surrendered at discretion; and from this time onwards Kelainai became the Greek capital of inner Anatolia, an honour for which its situation on the road towards the western sea marked it out. The conqueror created Antigonos satrap² of Phrygia and, apparently, overseer of Asia Minor in general; and the new satrap, afterwards king, made Kelainai his ordinary residence. In 322, indeed, Antigonos was forced to abandon the western lands; and Eumenes held Kelainai for a winter, struggling against Alketas, Polemon, and Dokimos. In order to provide pay for his troops³ and to make himself popular, Eumenes had recourse to a device which throws some light on the state of the country. He sold to his captains the farmsteadings and fortified country-houses, with all their contents⁴, and permitted them to use part of the siege-train of the army to capture the property which they had bought in this lawless way. The term *Tetrapyrgia* in Plutarch shows that in the fourth century there were in the country many quadrangular buildings with towers at the four corners⁵ enclosing a wide open space (*αὐλή*). Demetrius I of Syria retired from Antioch to a royal residence in the country built in this form⁶; and evidently the Kelainian *Tetrapyrgiai* were similar fortified residences belonging to great landowners. Such a state of things marks an artificial society, characterized by an old-standing civilization with a dominant caste amid a subject population. Great inequalities of

¹ Hamilton II p. 366, owing to the unsuitability of Arrian's description, believes that the garrison had fortified an isolated rocky hill about half a mile to the north. But Hogarth, who formerly made the same suggestion independently, now agrees with Hirschfeld that this supposition cannot be defended.

² On the use of the term satrap by the earlier Diadochoi see pp. 257 f.

³ Plutarch *Eum.* 8.

⁴ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπαύλεις καὶ τετραπυργίας, σωμάτων καὶ βοσκημάτων γεμούσας Plutarch *Eum.* 8.

⁵ τὸ χωρίον ἐν βραχεὶ τειχισάμενος κατὰ τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα καὶ γωνία ἐκάστη πύργον ἐνθέμενος, Τετραπυργίαν εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε Procop. *Aed.* IV 1 p. 266.

⁶ εἰς τετραπύργιον τι βασιλεῖον Jos. *Ant. Jud.* XIII 2, 1.

rank and fortune are not often produced, except in a state of 'high development,' as in Kelainai, where Lydians, Persians, and Greeks had successively conquered the old Phrygian state, and great domains had been carved out of its territory and appropriated by individuals of the ruling people, who then founded aristocratic families. Thus Pythios the Lydian unites the characters of the Lydian merchant-prince and the territorial magnate, treating with princely hospitality and well-calculated prudence the despotic ruler of the new conquerors¹. In 321 Eumenes regarded the territorial aristocracy as the supporters of king Antigonos, and tried to strengthen his cause by enlisting the sympathy of the lower classes, i.e. the native Phrygian villagers and the *plebs* of Kelainai, and by destroying the *tetrapyrgiai* and ruining the great nobles. That is the same policy which was carried out in the present century by Sultan Mahmud in Asia Minor; and it is probable that the Pergamenian kings also gained their strength from the support of the humble native population against the aristocracy who supported the Seleucid sovereigns². An aristocracy of this kind, resisting a foreign enemy and uniting in its defence pride and education, makes a country powerful in war; but it is generally ready to make terms with a strong enemy in order to redeem its privileges and save part of its estates. The Persians ruled the country by the support of the aristocracy; and so did Alexander, Antigonos and the Seleucid kings, whose satraps found the great landowners friends and associates. But Eumenes and the Attalid kings allied themselves with the people; and apparently the great nobility was weakened or destroyed by them. Dio Chrysostom mentions the numerous villages of the great territory of Apameia³: it is probable that some of these had taken the place of *tetrapyrgiai* (as in modern Anatolia the country-estate, or *tchiflik*, passes into the village); and so perhaps the *tetrapyrgiai* which we hear of in the Cyrenaica⁴, in North Syria near the Euphrates⁵, in Cappadocia (Strategia Garsaouria), on the road between Ikonion and Pompeiopolis, and perhaps on the road between Cybistra and Caesareia⁶.

§ 15. KELAINAI AND APAMEIA. In the spring of 321 Antigonos

¹ He proposed, after giving all his money to Xerxes, to live on his estates and his slaves, *ἐμοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων τε καὶ γεωπεδίων ἀρκέων ἐστὶ βίος* Herod. VII 28. See p. 417.

² See pp. 260, 355.

³ See pp. 428, 448.

⁴ Polyb. 31, 26, 11, Strab. p. 838.

⁵ Between Soura (near Barbalissos)

and Resapha-Sergiopolis, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 357, *Acta SS Sergii Bacchi* 7th Oct. pp. 842 f, *Anal. Bolland.* XIV p. 385, Gelzer *Geogr. Cypr.* pp. 150, 152. *Tetrapyrgium* is the form used.

⁶ See Ptolemy and Tab. Peut. *Tetra* simply in the last case. Perhaps several of the last four should be identified, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 286.

14. EUMENES AND THE GREAT LANDHOLDERS. 421

returned from the east and resumed possession of Kelainai, which henceforth was his ordinary residence. In 319 he selected there picked troops to operate against Arrhidaeus in Cyzicos¹. In the winter of 314 he returned thither from Syria²; in 312 he was still residing there³; and doubtless it was from Kelainai that he and Demetrius advanced in the spring of 301 to prevent the junction of Lysimachus and Seleucus, when the campaign ended in the fatal battle of Ipsos (near Tchai in Paroreios Phrygia). As the result of that battle Kelainai passed into the hands of Lysimachus; but at the battle of Koropediton Seleucus gained possession of it. Seleucus and his successor Antiochus Soter, 280-61, inaugurated a scheme for strengthening their hold on Asia Minor and consolidating their dominions there, by building a series of garrison-cities at suitable points on the chief lines of communication and particularly on the great Eastern Highway. Naturally Kelainai was one of the first points selected by Antiochus⁴. That city consisted of two distinct parts, the dominating fortress built by Xerxes on the lofty hill to the east, and the open commercial town in the plain below. Antiochus moved the city away from the site of the old town, and placed it on the plateaux that lie on both sides of the Marsyas. The old town, deserted for the moment, became a suburb (*προάστειον*) in later time, as the new city grew. The opinion of Hirschfeld and Weber, that the old acropolis also was abandoned, seems to me impossible: Apameia surrounded the springs of the Marsyas on all sides, and must therefore have covered part of the acropolis hill, which rises precipitously over the springs. In this position, dominated by the acropolis so that stones rolled over the slopes would crash through part of the city, it could have possessed no military strength unless the summit was included within the circuit of its walls. Moreover it is hard to see how Strabo's words could be true unless that hill were included in the city, for no city-wall could include the springs unless it ran over the hill⁵.

No evidence is known as to the class or race of the colonists settled by Antiochus in Apameia; and speculation is useless⁶.

¹ Diodor. XVIII 52.

² Diodor. XIX 6: in his first attempt to cross Taurus snow destroyed many of his soldiers.

³ Diodor. XIX 93.

⁴ Of the other important points on the Eastern Highway, Laodiceia *ad Lycum* was founded by Antiochus II (261-46), and Lysias probably by Antio-

chus the Great towards 200. Laodiceia Katakekaumene is unknown; Philomelion probably Pergamenian.

⁵ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀναστήσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Σωτήρ Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἀπάμειαν τῆς μητρὸς ἐπώνυμον τὴν πόλιν ἐπέδειξεν ἴδρυται δὲ ἡ Ἀπάμεια ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς Appendix I.

⁶ See p. 33.

As to the dialect of Greek that was spoken in Apameia and other Seleucid colonies, hardly any evidence remains. In the colonies peopled by Macedonians, we should naturally expect that a dialect of Greek with some Doric forms was gradually merged in the general type (*κοινή*) of Hellenistic Greek. Even in Laodiceia there occur some names of Doric type¹, though Macedonian settlers are not known there.

Apameia had its legend of an attack by the Galatai and defence by its native deity: Marsyas protected them by his waters and the strains of his flute². Probably a Galatic legend was a proper adjunct to the history of every city of western Asia Minor³, and few of them have any value beyond attesting the wide terror and destruction caused by the inroad⁴.

One of the two palaces, probably that of Xerxes, which was within the fortified line of Apameia and therefore was a safer abode, continued to be the residence of the Seleucid kings when they visited this part of their dominions. There, in 193, took place the meeting between Antiochus the Great and the Roman envoy, P. Villius. But negotiations were only beginning when news arrived that the young prince Antiochus had died in Syria; and Villius, seeing the palace filled with mourning, courteously retired to Pergamos, in order not to intrude at such a time⁵.

After his disastrous expedition into Greece, Antiochus returned to Apameia in the autumn of 191, and spent the winter in collecting a great army⁶, and in the spring marched by the Lycos valley and Sardis against the Pergamenian capital.

§ 16. THE PERGAMENIAN AND ROMAN CONQUEST. Late in the autumn of 190, Antiochus re-entered Apameia, after the crushing defeat at Magnesia. There he heard the news brought by successive couriers. The citizens and garrison of Sardis, disregarding Zenon commander of the city and Timon of Lydia, had surrendered to the Romans: envoys from Tralleis, from Magnesia Mae., and from Ephesos, had gone to place their cities under the Roman power: all the cities of Asia were

¹ Compare Damokrates and Labas p. 39.

² Paus. X 30, 9.

³ See p. 264.

⁴ The terror inspired by the Galatai is shown in Polyb. 22, 24: the peoples of Asia Minor were more delighted at being freed by Manlius from fear of the barbarian than they had been at being

released from the Seleucid rule and garrisons and tribute.

⁵ *Ne alieno tempore incommodus observaretur*, Livy XXXV 15. *Magni luctus species regiam tenuit*, *ibid.*

⁶ Livy XXXVII 8 *ipse in Phrygia hibernavit* &c.; 18 *Antiochus ab Apamea profectus*.

hurrying to follow their example. Antiochus sent to enquire about terms of peace, and learned that he must retire from the whole of cis-Tauric Asia ¹.

When Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 passed through the valley of Aurokra behind Apameia, Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who had remained there when his father went home to Syria, came to meet him, provided him with guides, and took back the sick and wounded soldiers to Apameia ². These were the first Roman legionaries that entered the city.

In the winter of 189-8 Manlius held a conference at a point eight days journey away from Apameia ³. Musaeus was the envoy of Antiochus, and there were present also ambassadors from the Galatai and from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. In the spring of 188 Manlius came to Apameia, and after a stay of three days marched into Pamphylia. After an absence of about two months, he returned to Apameia, where Eumenes the Pergamenian king had now arrived. There the treaty between the Romans and Antiochus was at length completed. Manlius took the oath on behalf of the Romans; and ambassadors were sent to receive the oath from Antiochus.

In the following half-century Apameia was subject to the Pergamenian kings. Coins with Pergamenian types, including *cistophori*, were struck until the time of Augustus.

In 133 Apameia passed into the hands of Rome along with the rest of the Pergamenian realm; and in 129 it was sold by M'. Aquillius, along with the rest of Phrygia, to Mithridates V, who ruled it till his death in 120. After this it seems to have been declared free ⁴ by the Romans; but probably the freedom was more nominal than real, and it was certainly disregarded whenever any Roman general found it convenient to treat the country as subject ⁵. In 88 the Roman officers Cassius, Mancinus, &c. levied an army of Phrygians to oppose Mithridates; and began to drill them beside Leonton-Kephale ⁶. But, as Mithridates's rapid advance was reported, and they despaired of doing

¹ What precisely is meant by *excedito . . . a valle Tauri usque ad iuga qua ad Lycaoniam vergit* is hard to specify, so long as we are ignorant what is indicated by *valle Tauri* Livy XXXVIII 38. There is a lacuna in Polybius 22, 26, 5, where the words should occur. It is clear that Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia were left free (not given to Eumenes), and so *probably* was part of Milyas (pp. 285, 351) and the whole of

Lycaonia (see *Studia Biblica* IV pp. 49 ff).

² Livy XXXVIII 15.

³ Probably about Amorion: Livy XXXVIII 37, Polyb. 22, 24.

⁴ See the inscr. of Lysias published below, no. 710.

⁵ It is styled *Phrygiam provinciam P. R.* by Livy *Epitome* LXXVII in 88; but the provincial era begins only in 85-84.

⁶ Six hrs. N. of Prymnessos.

any good with an army of raw recruits, they fled¹. Cassius took refuge in Apameia; but when he heard of the approach of the Pontic army, he fled westward, and Apameia was occupied by the enemy.

§ 17. THE ROMANS IN APAMEIA. The city was still nominally free; but already, no doubt, it was occupied by Roman traders; and these certainly perished in the terrible massacre, which was ordered by Mithridates from Ephesus, as soon as he had gained possession of the Roman province². Roman trade followed the eagles everywhere, and even outstripped their progress; and the thoroughness of the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean countries was due to the way in which a host of Romans was always ready and eager to swoop down on each new conquered region and settle in it. The analogy between the Roman and British empires holds in this as in so many other respects. The number of these Italian traders was enormous. They settled, for trading purposes or as agents of the great Italian commercial and financial companies, at suitable places in each province³. They farmed the revenues, they acted as money-lenders and bankers, they contracted for public works, they engaged in large commercial, agricultural, or mining operations, in the ports they formed shipping-companies; and there were of course tradesmen on a smaller scale, who make less appearance in inscriptions. Many of them acquired considerable fortunes⁴; and in all cases they were backed by the immense power of the great companies in the metropolis, even where they were only the slaves of their Roman principals. Apameia was probably their principal centre in Asia, not even Ephesus excepted.

Often these traders preceded the Roman conquest; in Delos, for example, a Roman name occurs in an inscription of 250 B.C.⁵; but it was not until the country passed into Roman possession, either practically (as was the case with Delos in 166), or actually as a province, that they swooped down upon it in their thousands.

There must also have been a certain number of officials in Apameia,

¹ Appian *Mith.* 19.

² In the winter of 88-87: 80,000 (Val. Max.) or 150,000 (Plut.) perished in these 'Asian Vespers'; while 20,000 were slain in the Cyclades in 87.

³ On this subject see Mommsen *Rom. Hist.* Bk. III Ch. XII, Bk. IV Ch. XI, and above all the excellent study by M. Homolle *les Romains à Delos* BCH 1884 pp. 75 ff. The usual terms to denote these settlers are οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ('Italici'), πραγματευόμενοι, ἐργαζόμενοι,

ἐγγαρῶντες (only at Olympia), ἔμποροι, ναύκληροι (but the Ῥωμαῖοι at Lagina BCH 1881 p. 191 are merely visitors to the festival); and in Latin *consistentes, negotiatores, qui negotiantur, aratores, mercatores*. They formed a *conventus C. R.* in each great centre: see also my *St. Paul* pp. 125 f.

⁴ They were often paid by a share in the profits (*partes, particulae*).

⁵ BCH 1884 p. 81.

which was probably a station for agents of the imperial treasury and for the customs levied on merchandise at various points of the interior as well as of the coast. The term *portorium* was applied to customs or dues levied on merchandise whether sea-borne (*maritimum*) or land-borne (*terrestre*). The *portoria* of Asia were farmed by a company (*publicanorum societas*) called in a Greek inscription *κοινωνοὶ λιμένων Ἀσίας*¹. They had a number of centres²: one was at Miletos³, and another at Iasos⁴.

The Roman residents at Apameia, a numerous and powerful body, are often mentioned in inscriptions. Along with the Italians rank the Apamean families honoured with Roman citizenship, a continually increasing body of the noblest and richest citizens. The joint body was the aristocracy of Apameia, and must have exercised enormous influence: it was the *Conventus Civium Romanorum Apameae consistentium*: from the republican period onward it had the rights of a corporate body, electing officials⁵, selecting a patron for itself in Rome, having a temple and *flumen* of its own⁶. Strictly the *Conventus C. R.* at Apameia was merely a guild of foreign traders, standing outside the body of citizens; and the relations between the two bodies are very obscure. The old Roman principle of absolute separation in law and in rights between Roman citizens and Apamean Greeks⁷ could not be maintained strictly under the Empire, and was, in truth, essentially opposed to the imperial policy of elevating the provincials gradually to the Roman *status*. It came to be more and more the case that Apamean citizenship formed an inferior grade of Imperial rights and station, from which the prominent and deserving were frequently elevated to the higher grade of Roman citizenship. Of course, a great city like Apameia would not naturally entertain any liking for a section of the inhabitants, who were outside its authority and governed themselves. But the practical working of the double machinery of government was facilitated by several facts.

¹ *Portus*, used (as often) for *portorium*, seems here to be literally rendered as *λιμένες*.

² Probably 44, corresponding to the number of districts of taxation: see Cagnat *les Impôts indir. chez les Romains* p. 79, Marquardt I p. 339.

³ CIL III 447 *Felici, Primionis XXXX port. Asiae vilic(i) Mil(eti) servo*, also in Greek with *οικονόμου* for *vilici*.

⁴ BCH 1886 p. 267 *Πούλχερ κοινωνῶν λιμένων Ἀσίας οικονόμος ἐν Ἰάσῳ* (found

at Symi, which was therefore under Iasos).

⁵ One or more *curatores* cp. CIG 2930, at Tralleis a *γραμματεὺς*.

⁶ Mommsen in *Hermes* VII 1873 p. 319: Cicero was patron of the Capuan *conventus*, p. *Sest.* 4, 9.

⁷ Roman *civitas* swamped and replaced every other kind of citizenship, as Mommsen points out in *Abhandl. Sachs. Akad.* 1857 pp. 405 ff.

(1) Some of the Italian residents were settled in the city for generations and on friendly terms with it (no. 299, 305). (2) Some Romans held city magistracies and went through the regular career of Asian citizens¹. (3) In many cases a distinguished career in the service of the city was rewarded and crowned with Roman citizenship²: a man who had spent his life serving the city did not suddenly change into an opponent of her interests, when he was made a Roman. (4) Probably many Italians, as well as Apamean Romans, married into Apamean families: whether or not the strict Roman law permitted *conubium* of a Roman with an Apamean woman, we cannot doubt that the imperial system allowed it, and regarded the children as legitimate. On this subject see no. 296.

Apameia was, as its coins prove, the centre and meeting-place of a body called *Koinon Phrygias*, of whose character nothing is known. It is mentioned only on coins, on which the names of three proconsuls occur: M. Vettius Niger (Nero), Marius Cordus (Nero), and Plancius Varus (Vespasian). It seems to be implied that these three were connected officially with the *Koinon Phrygias*³. Perhaps the *Koinon* was an association of the Romans resident in Phrygia, meeting at Apameia as *caput Phrygiae*⁴. In that case the use of Greek on the coins mentioning it would be due to the fact that they were struck by the city, and would not imply that the Romans of Apameia officially authorized the use of Greek. The city boasted of the fact that the *Commune C. R. in Phrygia consistentium* met within its walls; and it recorded this fact in its own language. But evidence is wanting.

Thus many signs of good feeling between the resident Romans and the cities appear in the inscriptions: the former are honoured by the cities as benefactors⁵: a mass meeting (*πανδημει*) of Romans

¹ See the career of Q. Pomponius Q. F. Flaccus at Laodiceia (p. 69 and n.) given in full *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 145. An exact Apamean parallel is wanting, but cp. *πολιτευόμενοι* no. 305: this term is important, it indicates not a mere residence as *incola* in the city, but the performance of the duties and offices of a *πολίτης*. At Isaura *ὁ δ. καὶ οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι* corresponds probably to *cives et Romani qui ibi versantur*.

² This seems to be the case with C. Julius, Niciae F., Fab. Calliphanes, a Cadyandian citizen BCH 1886 p. 59: his father Nicias evidently had no *prae-*

nomen, and therefore was not a Roman.

³ No proconsuls are mentioned on other Apamean coins than those which name the *Koinon*. The *Koinon* still met under Caracalla, Mionnet no. 253.

⁴ Compare *οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι* at Ephesos, and *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες* *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 145. See no. 290.

⁵ So C. Maconius Rufus mentioned without any title on Apamean coins of Augustus (MG p. 393): see no. 298, 299, 301. On Mommsen's opposed view see no. 290, 296.

and Apameans is mentioned no. 299, and probably in the many cases where the *Demos* and the Romans unite in a decree similar mass meetings were held.

In the Apamean inscriptions the Romans are always mentioned after the *demos*. At Laodiceia¹ the Romans ranked above the *demos*; and in one inscription of Assos that order is observed (though in several other cases the *demos* ranks before the Romans)².

§ 18. APAMEIA UNDER THE ROMAN REPUBLIC. In 84 Apameia was definitely incorporated by Sulla in the Roman province Asia; and it became the seat of a *conventus iuridicus*. The strict but equitable administration of Lucullus as proquaestor inaugurated the Roman rule happily; but the true character of the Republican administration as a highly organized system of plunder and extortion was soon manifested to the unhappy provincials. A tax was levied on every householder according to the number of slaves in his family³; the amount which each had to pay was settled by the magistrates in concert with the Roman governor⁴; and the collection of the tax was sold to the *publicani*⁵, who paid the Roman treasury and reimbursed themselves by exacting pretty much what they chose from the people. Lucullus had imposed this tax⁶ in order to make up the heavy contributions imposed by Sulla to punish the province for its share in the Mithridatic war. It seems to have been properly only one per cent.; but in the hands of the *publicani* it became much

¹ See no. 2. It is not exactly the same thing, but bears on it, that another Laodicean inscription begins *οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαοδικέων* κτλ., *Ath. Mitth.* 1891, p. 145.

² Sterrett in *Papers Amer. Sch. Ath.* I p. 50 (but not pp. 30, 32 f, 46).

³ It was styled a tax on doors (*ostia*), as each family had its *ostium*: *ostiaría* (*tributa*) Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 32: *exactionem capitum atque ostiorum* Cic. *Fam.* III 8, 5.

⁴ Cicero *Q. Fr.* I 1, 8, 25; *SC de Asclepiade* 22, 23 (Bruns *Fontes Iur. Rom.* p. 158). The process is referred to by Cicero *Att.* V 16, 2 in the words *imperata ἐπικεφάλια*. The rare word *ἐπικεφάλιον* also occurs in a mutilated inscription of Lampsakos BCH 1893 p. 554, where a benefactor is praised as having diminished by half the *ἐπικεφάλιον* τῆς

πόλεως (perhaps by a successful embassy). The period is uncertain, but cannot be late, and might be even before Christ, if we may judge from the printed lettering. In his commentary on the inscription M. Legrand, following Marquardt V pp. 192-227, points out that a poll-tax in the strict sense never was a Roman institution; the tax was always adapted in some way to fortune or income.

⁵ *Venditio tributorum* Cic. *Fam.* III 8, 5, *ὥς τὰς omnium venditas* Cic. *Att.* V 16, 2. It is doubtful whether the whole tax was thus sold or merely the collecting from those who were unable to pay down at the moment of call. Probably the latter was legal, and the former usual.

⁶ *τέλη ἐπὶ τοῖς θεράπουσι καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις ὠρίζε*. He also fixed a contribution of one-fourth of the harvest.

heavier, and in case of arrears the interest charged soon multiplied the debt enormously. When Cicero passed through Apameia on his entry to his province in 51, and stayed there three days, he heard nothing but complaints about the taxes, the taxgatherers, and the unspeakable conduct of the last governor (*Att.* V 16, 2).

In 80 the conventus of Apameia, Synnada, and Philomelion, along with the Roman parts of Lycaonia and Cappadocia and Pamphylia, were attached to the province Cilicia; in 62-61 Apameia was under the proconsul of Asia; during 56-51 it was again attached to Cilicia¹. Julius Caesar finally placed the three conventus in the province Asia.

§ 19. APAMEIA UNDER THE EMPIRE. On the whole the cities of Phrygia under the Empire were in the happy position of having no history. In place of a history, we may quote the words which Dio Chrysostom² used in a speech at Apameia. 'You take precedence of Phrygia and Lydia, and, further, of Caria³; and other populous nations dwell round you, Cappadocians, and Pamphylians, and Pisidians; and to them all you make your city a market and meeting-place. You have under your authority many towns unknown to fame and many prosperous villages⁴. The amount of your taxation is the greatest proof of your power, for, among cities, those which contribute most money in taxes are naturally the best. Further, the assizes are held among you in alternate years⁵, and there is brought together an endless crowd of people, litigants, judges, lawyers, governors, under-officials, slaves, pimps, muleteers, traders, hetairai and artisans; so that those who have wares sell them at the highest prices, and nothing in the city lies idle, whether two-horse carriages⁶, or houses,

¹ See pp. 11, 341.

² *Or.* XXXV 14 ff., text of Von Arnim.

³ This refers probably to Apameia claiming the right to a place in provincial assemblies above any city of Phrygia, Lydia, or Caria. The coast lands are excepted: Pergamos, Ephesos, Smyrna, ranked confessedly before Apameia; see p. 429. With *προκαθήσθαι* cp. *προκαθεζομένη* applied to Tarsos as capital of Cilicia, Lycaonia, Isauria, and to Seleucia as capital of Isauria (Waddington BCH 1883 p. 285).

⁴ Aurokra, Takina, Sanaos, Kharax, etc.

⁵ If we can press the strict sense of *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ*, this would be a proof that the *conventus* met alternately at Apameia

and Eumeneia (p. 365). Cobet *Misc. Crit.* p. 148 states the strict sense (allowing that Libanius solecistically uses *παρ' ἡμέραν* in the sense of *καθ' ἡμέραν*), as Mr. R. A. Neil points out to me; but perhaps Dio might use *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ*, if the *conventus* met at Apameia only once in three years, alternating with Eumeneia and Akmonia. The extra expense of the Gymnasiarchate in a year when the assizes met (no. 294-297) implies that there were other years when it did not meet in Apameia.

⁶ As in Smyrna at the present day, so of old in Apameia, there were evidently many two-horse carriages plying for hire: the term *ζεύγη* has the same sense that we have argued for on p. 364 n. 3.

or women. Now this makes for prosperity in no small degree. For where the greatest crowd meets together, there the most money necessarily results, and the place naturally flourishes . . . Wherefore the privilege of having the assizes is considered to contribute most to the vigour of a city; and there is nothing that people are so eager for as this; and the leading cities share in the privilege by turns in successive years¹. But they say that the assizes are going to be held at longer intervals, for people cannot bear the incessant journeys in all directions. And in fine you have as great a share in the temples of Asia and in the expense as those in whose cities the temples are².'

It is clear from the legend on coins of Magnesia Mae., ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΤΗC ΑCΙΑC, that there was a generally recognized order of precedence among the cities of Asia³ in the Roman period. Apameia probably stood high in that order, for Strabo says it ranked next to Ephesos as a commercial centre in the province Asia, and Dio Chrysostom gives strong testimony as to its importance in the province, and the wide extent of its authority. Considering these circumstances we must find it strange that it was never honoured either with the Neokorate of the Emperors or with the title of Metropolis, though those complimentary distinctions were granted to inferior cities⁴. See below, § 21, and Ch. XII § 10.

The only alliance mentioned on coins of Apameia is with Ephesos. The alliances between Asian cities seem to have implied certain reciprocal rights in respect of festivals and games, as is shown by

¹ This proves that the meeting of the assizes was held in turns at the leading cities of the *conventus*: further every city in which the assizes were held could claim the title of *πρώτη τῆς διοικήσεως*, just as Smyrna, Pergamos, Ephesos, could claim the title of *πρώτη Ἀσίας*. So Philippi claimed the title *πρώτη τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἄκτους* Acts XVI 12, see my *St. Paul the Traveller* p. 206.

² A clear proof that there was no *ναὸς τῆς Ἀσίας* in Apameia. Further the expenditure on the temples and the provincial cultus of the Emperors was maintained by an assessment on the cities.

³ It was probably observed in the *Koinon* of Asia; but doubtless varied a good deal according to the jealous pride of individual cities. We cannot

say with certainty what six cities Magnesia acknowledged to be superior to itself, certainly Ephesos, Smyrna, and Pergamos (generally acknowledged to be the three most honourable cities), and probably Cyzicos, Sardis, and Apameia. Probably Tralleis was larger than Magnesia, but the latter no doubt vied with it as a neighbour. Laodiceia also was perhaps superior to Magnesia. In placing the title on its coins, probably Magnesia was contesting the seventh place with several cities, such as Miletos, Tralleis, Laodiceia, Alabanda, Aphrodisias, Philadelpheia.

⁴ See no. 284. Synnada became metropolis (probably not earlier than Diocletian): Akmonia, Atzanoi, Hierapolis, &c. were Neokoroi.

an inscription of Poimaneion, mentioning 'those who are in alliance in respect of participation in the Soteria and the Mucia,' i. e. who are in alliance with Pergamos¹. So doubtless Ephesos and Apameia made an agreement about participation in certain festivals.

Apameia ranked as a Greek city; one of its citizens is mentioned, no. 333, as delegate to the Panhellenion or general council of Hellenes, held at Athens. The Panhellenion seems to have been founded by Hadrian, in furtherance of a scheme for reinvigorating Greek feeling and love for Greek antiquities²; and many of the great cities of Asia belonged to it, e. g. Aizanoi LW 867, Magnesia CIG 2910. It is clear that about Hadrian's time native feeling and national pride in the eastern provinces sprang into new and more vigorous life. He seems to have abandoned the earlier idea of romanizing the east, and to have treated the native sentiment as a useful element in a wider conception of the imperial unity of the nations. Now the name Kelainai seems to have been revived in the second century, for Dio Chrysostom, Maximus Tyrius, and Pausanias (two of whom at least had visited the city, while the third belonged to Magnesia Sip. and is full of accurate information about the cities of Asia), all use it and avoid the name Apameia; and we are justified in regarding this revival of the old name as due to the reinvigorated national sentiment. The title Kelaineus was given to gods on the coins § 21, the hero Kelainos was mentioned on them, and the old Kelainian myths were painted on public buildings and represented on the coins, § 20. All this was quite consistent with the Hellenic claims of the city; for the Phrygian Marsyas was treated as almost a Greek hero now.

The powerful Jewish colony in Apameia is described in Ch. XV, and the early history of Christianity in the city comes under Ch. XII.

During the second and the early third century there reigned a wonderful prosperity in Asia. The inscriptions show that there was a general spirit of content and comfort, and a great deal of money in the country. This was due partly to the long-continued peace, partly to the general feeling of security and confidence pro-

¹ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι (cp. inscr. Ephes. BCH 1881 p. 348) καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ αἱ πόλεις καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ (i. e. in *amicorum formulam relati* CIL I 203) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἐν[σπονδοὶ γε]νόμενοι τῶν Σωτηρίων καὶ τῶν Μουκικίων Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 p. 157 (cp. a similar inscr. LW 1761 b,

Mous. Smyrn. πς'). The Mucia at Pergamos (Cicero II *Verr.* II 21, 51) were instituted in honour of Mucius Scaevola *procos.* 98 B. C., the Soteria commemorated Zeus Soter, the saviour from the Gauls.

² Θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς Πανελλήνιος CIG 3832 add, 3833.

duced by the character of the imperial administration, and partly to prudent and skilful cultivation. It appears probable that the prosperity of Asia reached this lofty elevation under Hadrian. An excellent example occurs at Magnesia Mae., where the officials of the Gerousia were paid by certain dues; and in the 'most prosperous times' of Hadrian, it was found that their salaries were increasing, and they were fixed at 750, 500, and 365 denarii, while the surplus was devoted to the purchase of oil¹.

This state of prosperity is indicated in many parts by the inscriptions, which record subscriptions and public gifts of all kinds; and it seems to have lasted more than a century. In the middle of the third century a change began: the government was disorganized and enfeebled; Asia Minor was ravaged by the Scythians, and even the heart of Caria was in dread of invasion²; brigandage increased³; agriculture deteriorated; failure of crops became frequent; and the price of provisions necessarily rose⁴.

Apameia was exposed to earthquakes; and hence it worshipped Poseidon. A serious earthquake is mentioned in the time of Alexander⁵, and another in the time of Mithridates, which is described with fabulous exaggeration by Nicolas of Damascus: lakes were formed and new rivers and springs, and the old ones disappeared, and so much salt water overflowed the land that oysters and other marine shellfish were strewn over it⁶. In A.D. 53 it again suffered so severely that Claudius remitted its taxes for five years⁷.

§ 20. PUBLIC BUILDINGS. (1) A STADIUM is mentioned in inscr. 290, but no remains of it have been observed.

(2) A THEATRE can still be traced; but was more complete in Arundel's time (*Seven Churches* p. 108).

(3) THE PAINTED STOA. The pictorial character of many Phrygian coins has struck M. Imhoof-Blumer⁸; and at Apameia that character is more than usually common. A coin of Severus represents Athena

¹ BCH 1888 pp. 206 ff. With *ἐντυχέ-σταις καιροί* cp. a similar expression at Laodiceia, p. 56. The officials of the Gerousia mentioned are Pragmatikos (no. 232), Antigrapheus, Leitourgos.

² LW 518, CIG 2717.

³ At Stratonicea (BCH 1888 p. 102), at Keretapa no. 133, in the Paroreios Sterrett E. J. p. 166.

⁴ At Stratonicea the stamnos of oil rose in price to 10,000 denarii in conse-

quence of long-continued bad crops (BCH l. c.). The reference to 'bad times' in no. 300 dates from the beginning of the change in Apameia, but the same phrase in no. 299 seems to belong to a much earlier period.

⁵ Strab. p. 579; see no. 108, 109.

⁶ See p. 453.

⁷ Tac. *Ann.* XII 58.

⁸ *Jahrb. des Inst.* III 290, GM p. 206.

sitting on the rocky hill above the lake of Aulokrene; her shield is leaned against her rocky seat; while she plays the double flute, she looks down towards the water, in which her face is mirrored; and Marsyas peeps at her from behind a ridge at a little distance. The scene here is shown so picturesquely and clearly, that one could go to the spot where Athena sat: it is near where Arundel looked down on Aulokrene¹. Marsyas goes up from his fountain on the other side of Djebel-Sultan and peeps over the edge of the ridge: he sees Athena throw away her flute, disgusted with the distortion of her face in playing, and picks it up, unconscious of the curse which she pronounced against the person who handled it after her. A coin of Commodus shows part of the same scene². It is therefore clear that the engravers of the two coins had before their eyes the same model; and the character of the scene, which involves a considerable amount of perspective, proves that the model was a picture. See Pl. I fig. 2.

The coin representing the four rivers is equally picturesque (Pl. I 1). The Noah coins (p. 670) have the pictorial character even more strongly marked: they attempt to represent two different moments in one picture, and thus to set before the spectator the development of an action: moreover they are evidently derived from pictures known to us in copies or in the types of coins. Further, the Noah coins, struck under Severus, Macrinus, and Philip, imply that a permanent model existed for engravers to copy. Other coins show a picturesque scene common on Lydian and Phrygian coins: the infant Zeus is carried in the arms of his nurse Adrasteia³, at her feet is a goat⁴, and three Korybantes grouped around clash their arms to drown the child's cries (Pl. I 5). The legend of the birth of Zeus was known at every seat of his worship; and the traditional type consecrated to the subject was repeated everywhere with slight variations⁵.

That such picturesque coin-types were taken from models, i. e. from pictures in some public buildings, is confirmed by the fact that types occur which seem to be either pendants to one another, or scenes in a story told by a series of pictures. Thus M. Imhoof-Blumer recognizes two pictures balancing one another on two Laodicean coins of Caracalla⁶. On one a kneeling woman (Rheia?) holds high an

¹ See p. 411.

² Both coins Imhoof GM p. 206.

³ The name Adrasteia was Phrygian (p. 169); Amaltheia was a local variety of the idea. Adrasteia was originally a form of the mother-goddess, Roscher *lex. s. v.*, Tümpel in Pauly-Wissowa.

⁴ Called a dog by Mionnet no. 270.

⁵ At Tralleis the nurse sits, at Laodiceia she is running as if in alarm holding the infant high. At Magnesia Mae. the infant is seated on a cippus and two Korybantes dance in front of it.

⁶ *Jahrb. d. Inst.* III p. 289: he takes

infant with both hands; while on the left a mountain-god (Kadmos?) looks on from a height down from which flows a stream, and on the right a woman (Adrasteia?) runs towards the kneeling woman. On the other coin the Korybantes dance round Adrasteia, who runs, with the infant Zeus in her arms, between two river-gods (Lykos and Kapros, probably). The first of these coins seems to represent Rheia in dread of the fate that awaits her child, and Adrasteia coming to save it; while the second shows Zeus brought up in secret by Adrasteia. See Pl. I 3, 4.

These Apamean types are all scenes from Apamean legend. It is therefore probable that they were taken from a set of pictures on the walls of some public building in Apameia; and, if so, the long series suits a Stoa best. This supposed building was erected earlier than the reign of Commodus, under whom examples of these coins appear.

This hypothesis, suggested by the facts as stated, is confirmed by evidence showing that such painted Stoas were common, not merely in the Hellenic period, but also in the Roman period (to which the Apamean Stoa would have to be assigned). In Dacia at Colonia Ulpia Sarmizegetusa we find in the second century the record of the painting of a portico¹. At Thyatira we hear of a Hekatonastyle, obviously a long Stoa with 100 columns, in which there were 25 Erotes: these were probably a series of winged figures painted at regular intervals on the wall². Further, the influence of statues on coin-types in the Phrygian cities is often seen (see Ch. XIV § 2, XVI § 6).

When pictures in the cities were models for coin-engravers, it is easy to see why picturesque types with very slight variations occur on the coins of cities which are not likely to have been in close relations with one another. For example, the battle of Zeus and the serpent-legged giants occurs at Brouzos and Akmonia, which were not in easy communication³. There was evidently a school of painting

the originals to have been wall-paintings in the temple of Zeus, which were either painted or restored in the time of Caracalla, on whose coins only they are copied. Many examples might be given: I prefer to take a recognized instance, to show that I am not pressing the evidence in favour of my theory.

¹ Tib. Cl. Ianuarius Aug. Col., *Patr. dec.* I (i.e. *decuriae* I *collegii fabrum*), *picturam porticus et accubitus (fecit)*:

AEMith. 1877 p. 122, CIL III 7960.

² 25 statues of Erotes can hardly be thought of: *ἑργασίας ἐρώτων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἑκατονταστύλῳ κε'* BCH 1887 p. 100 (probably second century).

³ See Ch. XVI § 4: this subject seems to have been treated at Akmonia in a picturesque relief, a part of which was seen by Hamilton and is reproduced below on p. 626.

during the second century in Asia Minor, whose subjects show general uniformity of style and treatment.

The honorary inscriptions of the Mithridates family seem to have been engraved on the epistyle blocks of a Stoa, no. 296. This need not be identified with the Painted Stoa, for there were doubtless several *stoai* in Apameia, as in Greek cities generally.

(4) SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS. A considerable number of the epitaphs at Apameia are engraved on Altars (*βωμοί*), and belonged to monuments of the same general type as those at Eumeneia (p. 367). But another style was more fashionable. Many of the most elaborate epitaphs are engraved, not on a *bomos*, but on a large slab of stone, which, at a little distance, looks like the ordinary sarcophagus-cover: in the surface of the stone is a sunken panel, in which the inscription is engraved lengthwise¹: there is often some simple incised ornament right and left of the panel. Each slab seems to have formed the side-wall of a small *heroön*, in the shape probably of a tiny temple or large sarcophagus (each side of which was a single slab of stone). The centurion's epitaph, no. 329, was engraved on two blocks, which formed part of the side-wall of a larger *heroön*.

§ 21. NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL CULTUS. About the religion of Kelainai we have little information. A god was worshipped in Kelainai, who continued in the later Apameia to be revered as ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΛΑΙΝΕΥΣ and ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ ΚΕΛΑΙΝΕΥΣ². It is highly probable that his temple was on the acropolis; and on alliance coins with Ephesos, Apameia is represented by Zeus Nikephoros seated. The revival of the name Kelainai, which apparently was commonly employed in the second century (p. 430), was probably the reason why these epithets were placed on the coins. An eponymous hero Kelainos is mentioned on coins³; according to Strabo, Kelaino the Danaid was his mother and Poseidon his father⁴; and by this fiction Kelainai-Apameia gained a mythological justification of its rank as a Greek city (p. 430). Kelainos was an eponymous fiction of a common type, like Xanthos at Xanthos in Lycia, Temenos at Temenothyrai, Alabandos at Ala-

¹ This panel looks at a distance like the hollow side of an inverted sarcophagus-lid.

² Imhoof GM p. 205, Löbbecke *Zft. f. Num.* XV p. 49. I assume that the two names represent different aspects of the same Phrygian deity, see pp. 356 f.

³ Imhoof GM p. 205, and Head.

⁴ So Strabo p. 579. Pausanias X 6, 3 makes Kelaino, daughter of Hyamos [a Phrygo-Carian name], mother of Delphos by Apollo. Another Kelaino was one of the Pleiads, daughters of Atlas.

banda, Pergamos at Pergamos¹. In Christian time such heroes were replaced by local saints, as Phokas of Sinope, Nicolas of Myra.

Probably the form *Κελενεύς*, which appears on coins, is nearer the native Phrygian word. We are thus led back to a stem Kelen-, which may be identified with Klan- in the city-name Klannoudda²; but the meaning must remain uncertain.

The form Kelainai is apparently a modification intended to give a meaning in Greek; but the word is pre-Greek. Hamilton says³ 'I looked in vain for any confirmation of the suggestion thrown out by Leake that the ancient name of Kelainai was derived from the burnt or blackened appearance of the rocks in the neighbourhood⁴: they are all without exception of a greyish white or cream-coloured limestone. The rocks belong to the great scaglia formation, the chief material of the Taurus range, of which indeed these hills may be considered a branch.' If the name were to be taken from the appearance of the country, green seemed to me a more correct description than black.

Athena often occurs on Apamean coins, chiefly in scenes from the legend of Marsyas and the flute. In this character she is merely a hellenization of the native Cybele, in whose cultus the music of the flute was an important element. The native Phrygian goddess is often represented on coins, commonly as Artemis of a similar but not identical type with the archaic Ephesian image. On her head, above the usual headdress, she bears a tetrastyle temple. She also appears as ΚΩΤΕΙΡΑ the goddess of death, the triple-formed Hekate⁵.

It is, however, probable that a new foundation of the worship of Athena was made in Apameia, when Antiochus changed the site of the city. This goddess is represented on coins in the Seleucid style, wearing a Corinthian helmet (as distinguished from the Pergamenian Athena Nikephoros with her Attic helmet)⁶. On one coin she perhaps bears a Victory on her outstretched right hand⁷.

The dedication in gratitude to the Samothracian gods, inscr. 289,

¹ Wadd. 1259 (Xanthos), Cicero *de Nat. D.* III 19 (Alabandos), Fränkel *Inscr. Perg.* II p. 219 (Pergamos).

² With Kelena-Klannoudda, compare Attaia-Attoudda, Alia-Aloudda, Sala-Salouda, Sbida-Sibidonda, Alia-Alinda, see pp. 144, 169 n, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 368. The Carian personal name Keldnassis (where d is euphonic), seems to contain the same element Kelen, with the com-

mon suffix -assis.

³ I p. 500. He found nummulites and other fossils in the rocks over the Marsyas source.

⁴ He derived the idea from one of Strabo's derivations, p. 579, ἡ διὰ τῶν λίθων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκπυρώσεων μελανίαν.

⁵ See pp. 348, 100, and Head p. 553.

⁶ See p. 241.

⁷ Imhoof GM p. 205.

is merely sporadic. The veneration of these deities was widespread in the Roman period. I have copied a dedication to them on the rocks at Fassiller (Dalisandos?) on the frontiers of Lycaonia and Pisidia¹.

There was a priesthood of Rome at Apameia, founded probably not later than the time of Augustus, perhaps even earlier². A priesthood of the Sebastoi, probably the Flavian Emperors, occurs in no. 305. It may seem strange that the foundation did not entitle Apameia to be styled *Neokoros* of the Emperors; but the Neokorate was gained only from an exclusively municipal foundation, whereas the Apamean foundation was aided by the Koinon of Asia, and therefore did not afford a valid claim to the title³. At the same time it is clear that the foundation was not a 'Temple of Asia in Apameia,' for Dio mentions that there was no such temple in the city⁴.

The relation of Apameia to the Koinon is hard to understand. It is clear that the Koinon intentionally passed over Apameia, for it had a meeting-place in Upper Phrygia (perhaps at Synnada or at Akmonia⁵); but the reason for this neglect of a city so important as Apameia is obscure. Apameia had a representative at the meetings of the Koinon; its representative promised at one meeting to make a dedication in the city; another representative obtained a grant for the city from the Koinon; the city was assessed at a high rate to support the Koinon; Apamean High-priests of Asia are mentioned in inscriptions⁶; and there must have been a High-priest of Asia listening to Dio when he spoke at Kelainai, to give any point to his words § 10: 'I do not address everybody, . . . but those who are marked out to you as wise by a train of three or four long-haired pages, like the priests among you—I mean the blissful ones, the chief of all the priests (*Archiereis*), who take their name (*Asiarchai*) from one whole continent of the two: for these are the things that make their bliss, the crown, and the purple, and the long-haired pages bearing frankincense⁷.' See p. 509.

As the Asiarchate involved great expense, it was often hard to find suitable persons to hold office. Probably the duty of finding High-

¹ Published Sterrett WE no. 277.

² See no. 302, 345, and p. 365.

³ See no. 299 and p. 58.

⁴ See the translation, p. 428.

⁵ Arist. XXVI p. 345 (I 531 Dind.), *εἰς Φρυγίαν ἄνω*. Apameia was in *τῇ κάρῳ Φρυγίᾳ* (see Steph. Byz. s.v. *Σαγγάριος*, Strab. p. 49, and my *Church in R. E.*

p. 94 of second or later editions). Upper Phrygia in Arist. I p. 505 Dind. seems to mean Akmonia: see no. 552.

⁶ See no. 292, 293, 312.

⁷ On the crown see pp. 56, 44, *Church in Emp.* pp. 397, 426: on the purple, see pp. 65, 44. Von Arnim's text is followed.

priests of Asia was imposed on the great cities as a burden, in case of difficulty. It was certainly felt to be an honour to the city itself, when one of its citizens filled the Asiarchate with distinction and liberality¹.

If our restoration of no. 304 is right, there was a High-priesthood in Apameia, distinct from the High-priesthood of Asia which was often held by Apamean citizens². If so, this High-priesthood probably belonged to a municipal worship of the Emperors, as almost all High-priesthoods in Asia did. Perhaps the Priesthood of the Emperors mentioned in no. 305 became afterwards a High-priesthood.

§ 22. POPULAR ASSEMBLIES, SOCIETIES, AND GUILDS. (1) SENATE occurs often in common formulae; and a DEKAPROTOS is once mentioned. As has been stated³, the *Dekaprotai* in an Asian city fulfilled a different purpose from the *Decemprimi* in the Roman and western senates, yet they have the same origin. Both imply an arrangement of the senate in a list on the Roman fashion; and both spring from the custom of delegating certain ceremonial duties to the first ten on the list as representative of the whole body. As the character and duties of the senate in the provincial towns changed with the development of the imperial idea and the growth of centralization, so the *dekaprotai* also changed. More and more the senate ceased to be a body in which the city arranged its own business, and became a body that acted for the convenience, and at the direction, of the central government. Then the *dekaprotai* came to be concerned with the collection of taxes, and responsible for loss or deficiency; and probably they ceased to be merely the first on the list, and were selected as men of property able to bear their burden of responsibility (p. 64). The expression used in no. 314 (*βουλευτῇ καὶ δεκαπρώτῳ*) probably indicates that the *dekaprotai* were at the period in question still strictly the *decem primi*.

(2) The DEMOS acts in accordance with the Senate's decrees,

¹ Similarly, in other provinces, it was probably the rule that the cities in rotation provided a Pamphyliarch (ASP p. 36, cp. *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 337), and Kilikarch (for Tarsos boasts itself *τελειομένη μόνη Δημιουργίας τ[ε] καὶ Κι[λ]ικαρχίας ἐπαρχικῶν*, implying that when the duty fell on Tarsos, it alone of all the cities in Cilicia had found an *ex-praefectus-praetorio* [CIA III 48, l. 23, LW 2760] to fill the office BCH 1883

pp. 282, 287).

² The distinction is common, e.g. LW 653 ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ τῆς λαμπροτάτης πατρίδος (Philadelphia), Ch. XVI § 6 (Stektorion), &c. M. Aur. Alexander on coins of Philip was High-priest of Apameia.

³ See pp. 63 f. To the references there given add *Dig.* L 4, 3, 10, Marquardt I pp. 213, 521, BCH 1888 p. 91, Wadd. 1176, Humbert in Daremberg s. v.

no. 304; and, even where no reference is made to the action of the Senate, it must always be understood that the act was initiated in the Senate according to the regular practice. A meeting of the entire population, i. e. both citizens and resident Romans, is mentioned in no. 299; and probably all decrees of 'the Demos and the Romans' were passed in that way.

(3) The GEROUSIA at Apameia was founded between 70 and 79 A.D.¹ Taken in association with the foundation of the Gerousia at Sebaste in 98-9 A.D., this shows that a new step in the diffusion of the Graeco-Roman civilization in the great cities of western Phrygia was taking place about that period. The meaning of that step depends on the character of the institution which was thus naturalized in city after city of Asia². This subject has already been touched on, pp. 110 ff.

A person who approaches this question from the point of view of Roman provincial administration can answer it only in one way. It is inconceivable that the Roman government should have permitted the formation of a new assembly exercising political powers in the cities of the East in the period 70-190 A.D.; such a step is contrary to the spirit of its policy, which distrusted the popular assemblies, curtailed their powers, and turned them gradually into agents of the central administration. The Gerousiai which were founded during that period were not bodies exercising political powers of any kind: Waddington and Mommsen rightly stand firm on that ground, which their opponents do not venture to touch upon, but carefully avoid. M. Lévy in his review of the evidence, p. 235, concludes that during the second century the Gerousia exercised no administrative functions whatever³. At the same time it is clear that admission to the

¹ M. Lévy points out in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 p. 241 n. that no. 305 refers to this foundation and belongs to the latter part of the first century. I had written my argument to the same effect, but fixing a more precise date, before his article appeared.

² M. Lévy has treated the subject in a comprehensive and masterly paper, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 pp. 231 ff. He quotes a paper by M. Fr. Cumont, *Note sur un passage des Actes de S. Mari* (*Rev. de l'Instr. publ. en Belgique* XXXVI pp. 373 ff.), expressing the same view as that stated in these pages: I have not been able to see this paper.

³ He has propounded a very enticing theory (on which I pronounce no opinion) that the Gerousia originated at Ephesos, where Lysimachus instituted a body with large powers religious and political, in which the power of the temple hierarchy might operate in support of his policy. This theory does not affect our study of Phrygia; M. Lévy's arguments are drawn entirely from the great cities of the coast-lands; he admits that 'the sacerdotal senate' (as he calls the Gerousia) was a failure, and that step by step its powers came back to the popular bodies, Ekklesia and Boule; and there is nothing in his reasoning to prove that the

Gerousia was an honour, that membership of the Gerousia is quoted frequently¹ as a permanent mark of rank, and that therefore there must have been conditions of entrance and, probably, restriction of numbers². At Sidyma the Senate and Demos resolve to institute the Gerousia, and draw up the first list of members and officers; and the proconsul approves and authorizes the foundation³. At Apameia an embassy secured the permission of the Emperor. At Sidyma half of the first Gerousia of 100 members was chosen from the Senate, and half from the Demos; probably co-optation came into play afterwards. The imperial Gerousia, then, was a high-class club: admission was not easy to obtain, and involved great advantages to the members: the club became rich, partly because the city in founding it appropriated certain revenues or dues, partly because money or other property was bequeathed to it, partly, doubtless, by entry money and subscriptions: those who caricatured the Gerousia declared that the members did nothing but eat and drink in luxurious and elegant surroundings⁴.

So far from the Gerousia being intended to perform political duties, our view is that it was one of the devices whereby the cities were seduced from their pride in, and love for, the exercise of their autonomous rights. It was the policy of the Emperors, alike in Rome and the provinces, to weaken the popular assemblies, and to turn the attention of the people in other directions than the exercise of political powers; the Gerousia was encouraged by them, because it aided their policy⁵.

Gerousia which was instituted at Apameia in the time of Vespasian retained the slightest trace of that ancient character. M. Lévy with perfect justice blames the mistake of isolating the Gerousia in its later development from its earlier stages. Those who are discussing the Gerousia in the province Asia must take note of his theory. But we, in discussing the Phrygian Gerousia, must naturally take the institution in the imperial form alone.

¹ See no. 361, 364.

² The restriction is certain in some cases.

³ As a *collegium*, it required authorization from the imperial government: moreover revenues were, at least in some cases, appropriated to it; and this also required confirmation.

⁴ According to the account of the Seleucian Gerousia, quoted by M. Lévy from Raabe *Geschichte des Dominus Märi* 1893 (also *Anal. Bolland.* IV p. 90 *tria convivium, unum senum* [Γερουσία], *aliud adolescentium* [Νέοι], *tertium denique puerorum* [Ἐφηβοί], &c.).

⁵ It is unfortunate that M. Lévy has not given any attention to this in his excellent discussion of the Gerousia: he gives too exclusively the impression made by the Gerousia on a student of Greek life, and seems to me not sufficiently to consider that the Gerousia must have been encouraged by the imperial policy. It shows, perhaps, disregard of Roman matters that he dates in 14-29 A. D. an inscr. CIG 3642 mentioning *ἱερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν*: it perhaps belongs to the period of Domitian

The Apamean inscriptions mention an Archon of the Gerousia, and an Advocate; the latter is not an official, but a person who represents and speaks on behalf of the Gerousia as an act of kindness and generosity.

It must not be understood that members of the Gerousia were necessarily old men in the modern sense. They were admitted at an age when they had still sufficient vigour to enjoy athletic exercises¹; they often had a gymnasium as their meeting-place (p. 112); and the gymnasiarch at Hierapolis controlled their funds (p. 113). In general, grown men were classed as Neoi or as Gerontes²; and those who passed out of the class of Neoi were qualified in age for the Gerousia.

(4) EPHEBOI, NEOI. The title *Ephebarch* no. 297 implies a college of Epheboi. The Neoi are not mentioned; but doubtless also formed a college. The college of Neoi never acquired the privileges, influence and wealth of the Gerousia, and hence it makes little show in inscriptions. The Epheboi are, in many respects, a much more important body than the Neoi. In the freely developing Greek cities, the system of education was organized as a primary care of the state; and Epheboi required and received much more oversight than Neoi. The educational system is the finest side of the Greek city constitution³; and we do not find any proof that it received as much attention in the Roman period, while we find clear proof that ease, comfort, and luxurious surroundings received then more attention from the cities. The defect of the Roman imperial system was its disregard of the duty of educating its subjects. It devoted all its care to the work of amusing, and feeding, and managing the business of, the city population; but it left all provision for education to the municipal government, and, as home-rule in the cities decayed, the educational system decayed also.

(5) GUILDS. Tribes are not mentioned in the inscriptions. The reference to Shoemakers' Street, no. 294, suggests that the different trades were apportioned to special streets; and it is possible that

and Julia Augusta, if the time of Caracalla be too late.

¹ γεροντική παλαίστρα BCH 1881 p. 481.

² In some places an intermediate class of *ἀνδρες* was distinguished; but this was less common.

³ See p. 111. A charming example is found at Teos in the third century B. C. Polythrous left 34000 dr. to educate free

children of both sexes: literature, music, and athletics are all regulated in the interesting inscr. BCH 1880 pp. 112 ff, the salaries of the teachers are fixed, and examinations prescribed, the Gymnasiarch and the Paidonomos survey and direct the conduct of teachers and pupils.

the population was divided not by tribes, but by trades or guilds (pp. 105 f). A guild, the head of which was called an *Emporiarches*, is mentioned no. 309: its members were called *συμβιωταί*, and the term is suitable, if there was a street bearing their name.

The classing of trades to streets was not the universal rule in Apameia. One street was called Thermaia, evidently because it led to the Hot-Springs. Another probably was called the 'Sacred Street'¹. The last name may be compared with the 'Golden Street' of Smyrna, which ran across the city from the hill on the west side crowned with a temple (probably of Zeus Akraios) to the hill of Tepejik, crowned with the temple of Meter Sipylene 'before the city'².

§ 23. MAGISTRATES AND OFFICIALS. (1) STRATEGOI³. According to our interpretation of inscr. 290, the supreme board of magistrates in Apameia consisted of five persons. The generic term, *ἀρχαυτες*, which is there used, does not necessarily imply that the title *archontes* was proper to them; but it is possible that that name was sometimes employed⁴, though from no. 300 we see that *Strategoi* was the title used in the third century. The inscriptions throw no light on the titles and duties of the individual members of the supreme board (see p. 67).

(2) GRAMMATEUS. The Secretary to the supreme board of magistrates had the same importance at Apameia as elsewhere. On a coin of Elagabalus, L. Ma(nneius) Sev(erus). Secretary for the second time, is mentioned; and the office is mentioned in the *cursus honorum* no. 302, 333, in a manner implying that it was honourable and important.

(3) ARGYROTAMIAS of the city, no. 281-283 is not the same officer as *Tamias*, who is much more frequently mentioned⁵. According to

¹ See no. 303.

² Arist. I p. 426 Dind. *ὁ χρυσοῦ τε ἐπώνυμοι καὶ ἱερῶν ὁδοί*: the street 'beautiful beyond its name' described in I p. 375 is certainly the Golden Street. It is highly probable that this street ran from the Ephesian to the Sardian Gates (compare the description of M. Weber in Sir C. Wilson's *Handbook to Asia Minor*, Murray, p. 73). The sites of these two temples were discussed in a memoir on Smyrna, which I wrote in 1881, but have never yet found time to publish.

³ Mionnet no. 265 gives an archon

Aur. Anteros, son of Zoticos, on a coin of Otacilia; but the coin is certainly misread, and must be assigned to Appia, for Waddington *Voy. Numism.* p. 13 publishes a coin of Appia, struck under Philip, bearing the same magistrate's name.

⁴ See no. 472, Ch. XIII § 10, X § 5.

⁵ The distinction is clearly brought out in an Elatean inscr. *τῶν ἀργυροταμειτικῶν καὶ ταμειτικῶν χρημάτων* BCH 1886 p. 372 (M. Paris): at Aphrodisias *ταμίας* CIG 2782 and *ἀργυροταμίας* CIG 2787. The latter is found at Tralleis CIG 2930 and *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 p. 329,

M. Paris, the Argyrotamias superintended the debts due to the city, like the *curatores kalendarii* in the west; and, though there is not sufficient evidence to prove this theory, it has probability in its favour.

(4) PANEGYRIARCH is mentioned on coins A.D. 239-259. This official would be needed only in cities¹ where some important Panegyris took place. Doubtless the Panegyriarch, besides directing it, generally was responsible for part of the expense. Thus at Mitylene he was appointed solely for the Panegyris at Therma, at Pergamos for the shows connected with the Asian temples of the Augusti², at Branchidae for the great festival Didymeia, at Nysa probably for the festival at Akharaka. There is no evidence of the nature of the Apamean Panegyris, but the AGONOTHETES who is mentioned on coins³ and in inscr. 300 probably presided at games held in connexion with the same festival. A Panegyris, strictly, was a national gathering; and the name would hardly be applied to an Apamean festival, unless people flocked to it from a much larger district than the mere territory of the city. This suggests that the Koinon of Phrygia, mentioned on earlier coins, is the Panegyris of later coins; but, at present, there is not evidence to prove this theory.

(5) SEITONES. It must have been a difficult thing to keep sufficient supply in stock to feed the population of the large cities of Asia. Means of transport were no doubt highly developed⁴, but without the use of steam the problem must have been a hard one, when the harvest of the neighbourhood was bad. The office of *Seitones* is often mentioned in the Asian cities; and may be assumed at Eumeneia from no. 203. But from the language of that inscription it would appear that at Eumeneia the office was only occasional, a person being appointed to manage the purchase of corn when need arose. In

perhaps at Ilium CIG 3631, at Akmonia no. 549, at Sebastopolis Car. Sterrett E. J. no. 25, at Nysa BCH 1883 p. 273; also in Athens, Nikomedeia, Nikaia, Palmyra. The Argyrotamias of a city must be carefully distinguished from the Argyrotamias of Asia, p. 188.

¹ A Panegyris is mentioned at Nysa BCH 1883 p. 272, 1886 pp. 455, 520, at Pergamos ib. p. 416, at Mitylene CIG 2187, at Branchidai 2885 c, at Aphrodisias 2758, Aizanoi 3831 a 15, Philadelphieia 3418, Sardis 3462, Cnidos 2653. In many of these it is known that

strangers from other cities went in numbers.

² πανηγυριαρχήσαντα ναῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Περγαμηνῶν μητροπόλει. These *Naoi* were the temples of the imperial cultus (from which Pergamos derived the triple neokorate); and the expression suggests that the office was connected with the Koinon Asias.

³ ΕΠΙ . ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ . ΑΡΤΕΜΑ . Γ (i.e. Artemas tris, not agonothetes tris) under Severus, p. 600 n.

⁴ Strab. p. 577 on the transport of Docimian marble.

ordinary years the immensely fertile and highly cultivated valley of the Maeander produced sufficient grain for Eumeneia. Similarly at Apameia, which commanded a wide territory¹, there was perhaps not a regular *seitones* but only an occasional officer (as seems implied by no. 299 f)².

The name *Eutheniarch* was used in some places, apparently as almost equivalent to *Seitones*³; he was apparently the chief of a staff of officials who regulated and provided the supply of corn (εὐθηνία)⁴.

Sitodotes and *Sitometres*, who are occasionally mentioned, were not officials, but persons who made a distribution of corn to any body of citizens⁵.

(6) GYMNASIARCH. The most important duty of this official was to arrange for the distribution of oil. It is difficult for a northern race to understand the importance attached to this by the Greek cities; but oil was in them regarded as practically a necessity of life, and the inscriptions of Asia are full of references to it⁶. A decree of the Gerousia of Magnesia Mae. is instructive in this connexion⁷: after referring to the extreme usefulness of oil for the physical well-being of all, and specially of old men, it enacts that, beyond the allowance of six *choes* given by the state to each individual, the revenues of the Gerousia shall be charged with a further distribution (probably to members only). The allowance made by the state to all citizens was, doubtless, managed by the Gymnasiarch. The system of exercise in the Gymnasia involved the use of great quantities of oil; and hence the Manager of the Gymnasium gradually came to be really an official charged to provide oil for the whole population⁸.

In Apameia the state paid to the Gymnasiarch 15,000 denarii to meet the expense of providing oil⁹. But it is clear that this sum

¹ The plains of Apameia and Aulokra (Dombai-Ova) are both very fertile and of considerable extent (though not like the *Eumeneticus campus*).

² The term *σειρώνια* occurs at Lagina (BCH 1887 p. 32) in a difficult phrase, which perhaps indicates, not an office, but a single donation of money for purchasing corn.

³ *εὐθηνιαρχικότα ἐν στενοχώρῳ καιρῷ* at Stratonicea, about the early part of the third century BCH 1888 p. 86. *ἐπιμελητὴς εὐθηνίας* has the same sense CIG 1186.

⁴ Hence *annona* is rendered *εὐθηνία* in the title *ἐπαρχος εὐθηνίας praefectus annonae* CIG 5895, 5973, Kaibel 917.

⁵ *σειτομέτρης* Wadd. 1228, 1266 b, BCH 1886 p. 58, Aristotle *Pol.* IV 15, 3; *σιτοδότης* CIG 2804.

⁶ LW 1602 a, Le Bas-Foucart 120, 121, 243 d, 237 a &c. Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 47 *gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone, praebitumque oleum equiti ac senatui Graeca facilitate*. See BCH 1888 pp. 91 f.

⁷ BCH 1888 pp. 206 ff. See above, p. 113 n.

⁸ At Colossai this duty was performed by an *ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου θέσεως* LW 1693 b; see p. 212.

⁹ At Magnesia Mae. τὸ διδόμενον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ ἐλαίου ἐξάχουν proves that state money was appropriated to the purchase, and we gather

was far from sufficient; and the Gymnasiarchate could hardly be held by a man who was not prepared to spend his own money. Thus, in no. 297 Ti. Claudius Mithridatianus was prepared to spend 19,000 denarii in the second half of his year of office; and his expenses in the first half must have been much greater, for it was a year in which the *conventus* met at Apameia¹.

The Gymnasiarchate, in its original conception, was an office of far loftier type. The Gymnasiarch in the older Graeco-Asiatic cities² was commissioned, along with the Paidonomos, to superintend the educational system which the city maintained; probably he was especially concerned with the gymnastic side of education; but the physical and intellectual sides of education were never divorced among the Greek races. Nothing could better illustrate the deterioration in moral fibre of the Graeco-Asiatic cities than the transformation of the director of education into the purveyor of oil.

(7) EPHEBARCH. I adopted too hastily on pp. 111 n, 212 n, the alluring suggestion of M. Collignon and M. Th. Reinach that *Ephebarchos* was merely a title of honour, corresponding to the Latin *princeps iuventutis*³. But this view cannot be maintained for the Asian cities, in the face of many cases where Gymnasiarch and Ephebarch seem to denote magistracies of similar character. In no. 297, the ephebarchate and the gymnasiarchate held by Mithridatianus must be understood as offices of the same type. Mommsen points out that the two offices were sometimes held simultaneously by one person⁴: Th. Reinach shows that the son of a gymnasiarch at Iasos sometimes was styled Ephebarch, though he was a mere child not old enough to enter the college of Epheboi⁵. Dittenberger has observed that the Ephebarch was a magistrate subordinate to the Gymnasiarch⁶.

(8) OTHER OFFICIALS. EIRENARCH, PARAPHYLAX, RECORD-KEEPER (*χρεωφύλαξ*, p. 368) and AGORANOMOS⁷ are mentioned. The ERG-

from the Apamean analogy that the money was expended by the Gymnasiarch: BCH 1888 p. 206.

¹ The crowded state of the city during a *conventus* is described by Dio Chrysostom (see above p. 428).

² See an instructive example in the inscr. quoted p. 440 n. 3.

³ *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 162.

⁴ *Eph. Ep.* I p. 438. It is however not probable that they were conjoined in Apameia, for Granianus bears only one title 294, 296, while his father has both,

295, 297.

⁵ Magistrates' titles were borne by infants in other cases besides this.

⁶ *Sylloge Inscript.* no. 246.

⁷ See pp. 68, 629. Eirenarch pp. 68, 450, no. 300. Besides the cities quoted p. 68 n, Paraphylax occurs at Ephesos Br. M. DLXXIX, Sebastopolis Car. St. EJ no. 25, Kadyanda BCH 1886 p. 54, Colossai Wadd. 1693 b (above p. 212), Eumeneia no. 88. On Tralleis refer also to *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 p. 329.

EPISTATES, or Overseer of public works, no. 333, was probably named for each special occasion¹.

§ 24. *APAMEIA IN THE BYZANTINE PERIOD.* When the province Asia was divided by Diocletian, Apameia would naturally form part of Phrygia Pacatiana; but there is no evidence. In Hierocles Apameia appears in Pisidia; but this arrangement is not likely to be so old as Diocletian. In 371-2, Pisidia lost a considerable territory, which was taken from it to be part of the new province Lycaonia; and it is probable that some territory on the west, including Apameia, was then added to it in order to maintain its importance as a province. We may probably connect this transference with the honour paid to Takina by Valens, 364-378, who granted it the title Valentia. The Byzantine policy was to break up the territory of the great cities like Apameia; and moreover the causes described p. 369 must already have affected the prosperity of the city, and benefited some of its dependent villages such as Aurokra. It is probable, therefore, that Valens divided the huge territory of Apameia, cut from it the city Valentia on the one side, and the bishopric Aurokra on the other, and attached the diminished Apameia to the province Pisidia.

In the Byzantine Period Apameia practically disappears from history, and seems to have sunk into a third or fourth rate city. Its decay is a proof that no roads retained any real importance in that period except such as radiated from Constantinople; for any importance that attached to the great highway between the Aegean coast and the interior is concentrated at Apameia. Of the five routes that converged at the city in the Roman period, three² form part of the system of roads connecting Constantinople with the southern districts; but these three run more conveniently along the plain of Aurokra, on the upper plateau; and, though Apameia was so near that energy and resource in the inhabitants might have enabled it to keep its hold on the line of communication, yet these are the qualities which were lacking in the Byzantine cities. Municipal enterprise and initiative were discouraged by the whole character of government; and the centralized ecclesiastical system tended towards the same result. Every one looked to Constantinople for guidance and protection.

As the three roads henceforth passed through Aurokra, it may be expected that it should grow in importance; and, even amid the obscurity that envelops this region in the fourth and following

¹ See p. 70 and BCH 1887 p. 100 γωγίου.
ἐργεπιστάτην Ἐρώτων καὶ οἰκο-
βασιλικοῦ καὶ παρατειχίσματος ὑδρα-

² Those numbered (2), (4), (5) on pp. 396 f.

centuries, we can see that as Apameia decayed, Aurokra grew (§ 25).

Moreover Apameia had not the military character that was needed in the Byzantine administration. Like Laodiceia and Colossai, it was capable of defence with careful fortification, good soldiers, and vigilant discipline; but what was needed in the troubles of the Byzantine period was a fortress that was by nature almost impregnable against a sudden raid without much skill or care among its defenders¹. Such a site was found at Khoma-Siblia; and later history shows that that fortress became the centre of administration for the district under the system of Themata. Accordingly we find that the military capital, Siblia or Soublaion, attracted the roads; and in later centuries, though we hear often of marches and military operations on the line between the Lycos valley and the inner country, Apameia is never mentioned, but only Lampe or Siblia or Khoma. The name Khoma was applied both to the whole military district which had Siblia for its central fortress, and to the fortress itself. Thus everything points to the commanding importance of Siblia, and to the insignificance of Apameia. See pp. 220 f.

The only interesting figure in its later history is Konon, a bishop of the fifth century, who, on the outbreak of the Isaurian revolt against the Emperor Zeno, joined the insurgents, and deserted his Apamean flock. When the rebels had been defeated at Kotiaion, and their leader Ninilingis slain, the warlike bishop helped to lead the relics of the insurgent army to Isauria, and three years later he perished when besieging the Isaurian capital *Claudiopolis*².

Apameia still appears as a bishopric in 787 and 879, when its bishops attended the Councils held in Nicaia and Constantinople: its existence as a city continued unbroken, as we cannot doubt, down to the Turkish conquest.

During the Arab wars, Apameia cannot have suffered so frequently as the cities on or near any of the direct roads towards Constantinople. But the Arab raids were extended over all the country towards the west. In 713 they took and pillaged Antioch of Pisidia, and Apameia probably met the same fate either then or later.

§ 25. THE TURKISH CONQUEST. In the earliest inroads of the Turks into Asia Minor, Apameia passed into their hands. Already in 1070 they swept over the Lycos valley. In the arrangement which they concluded shortly afterwards with the Byzantine government, Apameia formed part of the territory ceded to them; and the frontier

¹ See pp. 14, 213.

² Theophan. p. 138.

seems to have been situated between the Turkish Apameia and the Byzantine Sibia¹. When John Comnenus advanced to Sozopolis-Apollonia, and recaptured it, Apameia perhaps reverted for the time into the Emperor's hands; but his lordship could have only been, at the best, very uncertain. Sozopolis, a very strong fortress, could be held better; but Apameia, open and defenceless, must have fallen an easy prey to the nomad tribes, who gradually spread over the country and reduced it to a state of primitive barbarism. The Pisidian hilly country remained permanently in Turkish possession from 1072 onwards (pp. 299 ff); and Apameia would share the fate of Pisidia. In 1146 Manuel Comnenus, returning from an expedition against the Turkish capital, Iconium, took the road by Bey-Sheher lake². When he reached the open plain along the lake, probably about Selki-Serai, he felt free from urgent danger; but it was not until he reached the great springs which feed the Maeander in the Sibian country that he considered himself safe from the enemy's attacks³. Yet, even here, when he went out from the camp a little way to hunt, he came upon a Turkish encampment. Sibia is here the frontier of Byzantine territory, and the country to the south of Sibia is reckoned as Turkish. The modern name Geiklar⁴, 'the Gazelles,' is perhaps due to the fact that the country round was depopulated, and became a resort for wild animals.

The change of religion is entirely obscure. Probably the Christian population dwindled or fled. The Christian village Lampe near the head of Lake Anava, on the road between the fortresses Sibia and Khonai, probably attracted many of them; and the error of Nicetas, who identifies Lampe with Kelainai, is more easily explicable, if the bishop of Kelainai had migrated with his flock to Lampe.

§ 26. TERRITORY OF APAMEIA. (1) LIMITS. The valley of Apameia, lying round the various branches which unite to form the river, is a comparatively small oval valley 2,800 feet above sea-level in the centre, about 8 miles long (N. to S.) by 3 broad. It is shut in on S. by a mountain chain (with passes over 4,000 ft.), stretching across from Ai-Doghmush to Yan-Dagh, and dividing the basin of Lake Askania from the Phrygian country proper; and on E. by Djebel-Sultan, stretching NW. from Ai-Doghmush to Ak-Dagh. On W. a low

¹ See pp. 15, 16 *note*.

² Called Skleros (the more ancient Karalis) and Pasgousa (or Pougousa) *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 359, 389.

³ The passage of Cinnamus p. 59 (quoted in part p. 454) is very instruc-

tive. It is clear that Manuel marched by the Duz-Bel route, and encamped near Sungurlu below Duz-Bel.

⁴ This name is used alongside of the name Dineir: the latter popular, the former official.

broad ridge protrudes north from the southern chain, and forces the Maeander away towards NW. A few miles down, the Maeander enters a narrow pass, formed by this protruding ridge W. and Djebel-Sultan E., after traversing which it enters the Siblian country (p. 222).

The beautiful peak Ai-Doghmush, 'the Rising Moon,' 5,790 ft., is thus the dominating factor in the geography of the district, visible from a great distance in many directions¹, and a centre from which radiate these two mountain chains and also that far loftier chain which runs to E., bounding the Apollonian valley on the south (being one of the great parallel ridges of Tauros). The name Ai-Doghmush describes well the appearance of this peak, as the traveller sees it rising above an intervening ridge: the name is one of the very rare examples of the imaginative interpretation of nature in Turkish, and may probably be a translation of an older name².

Mons Aulocrenus is given as the ancient name of Djebel-Sultan by Pliny, whose *Mons Signia* must be a single peak in the chain, close to Apameia. We should naturally conjecture that Signia was the acropolis-hill, but Strabo p. 577 says that that hill was called Kelainai, and the Sibylline oracles agree with him (p. 454). Signia, then, is probably Ai-Doghmush.

The Apamean country is described as very large by Dio Chrysostom and Strabo³, containing subject towns as well as villages. The boundary on the side of Apollonia is marked by inscr. 352. On the side of Stektorion, the limit was in the rising ground, north of Bei-Keui and Dombai. On the side of Siblia it was probably the narrows of the Maeander, on the side of Colossai between Graos-Gala and Kharax, and on the side of Keretapa the rising ground west of the lake of Yarishli⁴. Apamean territory touched the Askanian lake, and probably included the entire lake of Anava. On the frontier towards SE. see inscr. 352.

Among the towns or large villages were Kharax p. 229, Anava p. 230, Lampe p. 227, Takina p. 295, Aurokra, Samsado-Kome.

¹ I have taken readings to it from a point several hours west of Ushak, and from the south-west part of the Kyllanian region. On E. a peak which I took for it was visible from some parts of the Apollonian valley: everywhere it seems 'the Rising Moon.'

² A Seljuk general named Ai-Doghmush is mentioned by M. Huart *Inscr. Arabes en As. Min.* p. 25.

³ See the quotations pp. 428, 297.

⁴ Strab. p. 631 says that Milyas extended μέχρι Σαγαλασσοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀπαμέων χώρας: this proves that the territory stretching from the S. end of lake Askania (about the village Deuer, which was Sagalassian) to Keretapa (which was an independent city) must have been Apamean, see p. 297 and no. 165-167.

(2) AUROKRA, according to the strictest local form of the name, was a long narrow plain¹, about 15 miles by 4, stretching nearly N. to S., behind and above the valley of Apameia, and separated from it by the ridge of Djebel-Sultan, which is the outer rim of the great plateau (pp. 236 f). The plain slopes gently downwards towards a point near the southern end, where the stream that flows from several heads in the northern hills² meets the water running from the fine fountains of Bunar-Bashi under the mountains on the east; and their union forms a lake and a marshy reed-bed, stretching across nearly the whole breadth of the plain. The western end is a small lake, which discharges its water through a pair of holes at the NW. corner, and a single hole a mile further S., under the ridge of Djebel-Sultan, to rise again in the various fountains which feed the Maeander arms. The water level is 3,340 ft. above the sea, while the northern end of the valley rises to 3,600 or 3,800 ft. This Aurokran lake and fountain had the name modified by the grecizing tendency to Aulokrene, the fountain of flutes.

The chief ancient centre was probably at Bei-Keui on NE. (no. 350 f); Porsama which lies opposite on the W. side of the valley bears a name that is probably an ancient word, but friends who explored it for me saw no traces of ancient life there. Dombai, which bears the same name as the whole valley Dombai-Ova, and Yerik-Euren, show no ancient remains: Dombai means Buffalo.

Probably in 371-2, Aurokra was separated from Apameia, and formed into a bishopric. The new bishopric seems to have included only the northern half of the valley, with the populous centre at Bei-Keui, while the southern half, containing the fountains which were so closely associated with Apameia, remained attached to that city.

In the later *Notitiae*, which gives the ecclesiastical arrangement, as it was remodelled by Leo VI (886-911), when the empire was recovering from the devastations caused by the Arabs, Aurokra does not occur; and it would appear that the town had sunk into decay in the troubled period of the Arab incursions, and was no longer suitable for a bishopric. Moreover Southern Phrygia and Pisidia

¹ On Aurokra see Appendix III.

² Prof. Kiepert makes this river flow into a second lake at the north end of the valley, near Bei-Keui; and so M. Radet shows it in his work *En Phrygie* 1895 (see his Map II). This is an error: I have crossed the river by

bridges miles lower down the valley. There is a marsh in the north, but the river does not flow into it; the marsh discharges into the river. In summer I have ridden over the ground of the marsh without difficulty.

suffered just in proportion as Northern Phrygia and Galatia flourished under the Constantinopolitan regime¹; and Aurokra could not maintain its importance.

(3) SAMSADO-KOME should probably be included among the villages. Samsun-Dagh is the name given to a part of Djebel-Sultan. Now Samsun has the look of an ancient name². In the *Acta SS. Tryphonis et Respicii*, the saints are said to belong to Samsado-Kome in the territory of a city named Apameia: in some extant forms of the *Acta* this Apameia is conceived as being the Bithynian city; the trial takes place at Nikaia, and Caesareia is the scene of one incident. But in the old Latin version given by Ruinart, no mention is made either of Nikaia³ or of Caesareia, and the saints are said to be Phrygians (*genere Phrygios*). Now it is common to find in the later versions of *Acta* that an obscure city is mistaken for a more famous city of the same name⁴. I conjecture that this has happened in the *Acta Tryphonis*; and that Samsado-Kome⁵ was a village of the Apamean territory. In that case it must be sought on the skirts of Samsun-Dagh. The village was near a lake and a high hill; and geese were tended in the neighbourhood. These particulars suggest that Samsado-Kome was beside the fountains and marshy lake of Besh-Bunar, where it is represented on the maps in vols. I and II.

The martyrs were arrested by Fronto, eirenarch of the city of Apameia (see no. 300).

¹ See my *Hist. Geogr.* p. 74.

² Compare Samsun, the ancient Amisos. In the following notes on the *Acta Tryphonis*, I am much indebted to communications from Rev. H. Thurston in 1890 and 1891.

³ The martyrs are conducted in *civitatem Meetem* for trial.

⁴ Compare *Acta S. Theodori Stratelatae*, where the scene lies at Eukhaita, and yet Herakleia and Nikomedeia are introduced as cities reasonably near Eukhaita. M. Doublet quoted the *Acta* in support of his contention that Eukhaita was situated at Safaramboli (BCH 1889 pp. 297 ff). In *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 318-323 I argued that Eukhaita corresponded to Tchorum, 160 miles further SE., and that these *Acta* were late and valueless. Recently Mr. Conybeare has published *Monuments of Early Christ.* pp. 220 ff an Armenian version of the *Acta*, earlier

and better; and there Nikomedeia is not mentioned, while Herakleia is called 'a city of Cappadocia.' It is therefore clear that Herakleopolis-Sebastopolis, a city adjoining the territory of Tchorum (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 326), is meant. This Herakleia was in later forms of the *Acta* understood as Herakleia Ponti, and Nikomedeia was introduced. Finally Bishop Macarius in his *Travels* (transl. Belfour II p. 424) speaks of Ponto-Herakleia as the place of Theodore's martyrdom.

⁵ *Vicus Sansorus* in Ruinart, who quotes Campsade as the form in the *Acta* publ. by Surius [Sansadocume in the Bollandist Catalogue of the Hagio-graphical MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris I pp. 284 ff: Kamsadon in Vincent of Beauvais, which I quote from Mr. Thurston's letter].

APPENDIX I.

THE APAMEAN RIVERS.

It will be convenient to collect the important evidence.

Herod. VII 26. Κελαινάς ἵνα πηγαὶ ἀναδιδούσι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐτέρου οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢ Μαιάνδρου, τῷ ὄννομα τυγχάνει ἐδὺν Καταβρήκτης, ὃς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγορῆς τῶν Κελαινέων ἀνατέλλων ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον ἐκδιδού, ἐν τῇ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σιλήνου Μαρσύεω ἀσκὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀνακρέμαται (the skin of Marsyas, according to Xenophon, in the cave at the source of the river).

Xen. *Anab.* I 2, 7. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευνεν ἀπὸ ἵππου διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν ελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὖρος εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος . . . ἀπεχώρει λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν.

Livy XXXVIII 13 (from Polybius). *Maeandrum . . . Huius amnis fontes Celaenae oriuntur. Celaenae urbs caput quondam Phrygiae fuit. Migratum inde haud procul veteribus Celaenae novaeque urbi Apameae nomen inditum ab Apama sorore*¹ *Seleuci regis. Et Marsuas amnis, haud procul a Maeandri fontibus oriens, in Maeandrum cadit Maeander, ex arce summa Celaenarum ortus, media urbe decurrens, per Caras primum etc.*

Livy XXXVIII 15. *Agrum Sagalassenum . . . Progressus inde ad Rhotrinos*² *Fontes ad vicum quem Aporidos Comen vocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus ab Apamea postero die venit. Aegros inde . . . cum Apameam dimisisset, profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum processit.*

¹ This should be *uxore*: she was unquestioningly by Hirschfeld, is an daughter of Artabazus. arbitrary and indefensible conjecture.

² *Obrinae* for *Rhotrinos*, accepted

Pliny V 106. *Sita est [Ap.] in radice montis Signiae circumfusa Marsua, Obrima, Orga, fluminibus in Maeandrum cadentibus. Marsuas ibi redditur, ortus ac paulo mox conditus, ubi certavit tibiæ cantu cum Apolline, Aulocrenis: ita vocatur convallis X m. p. ab Apamea Phrygiam petentibus.*

Pliny V 113. *Amnis Maeander ortus e lacu in monte Aulocrene Apamenam primum (p. 236, n. 2).*

The mountain, obviously, must be Djebel-Sultan (in the midst of which is Sheikh-Arab lake), as the localities, as well as the words of Max. Tyr. (quoted below), prove. Hirschfeld understands that the lake on the plain of Aulokra is meant; but that lake could not reasonably be said to be in *monte*.

Pliny XVI 240. *Regionem Aulocrenen diximus, per quam Apamia in Phrygiam itur. Ibi platanus ostenditur ex qua pependerit Marsuas victus ab Apolline, quae iam tum magnitudine electa est: (pependerit is the account given by the guide who pointed out the tree: electa est iam tum implies that there was a clump of trees when Pliny's authority visited Apameia (as there is now), the largest of which was shown as Marsyas's).*

Pliny XXXI 19. *Ait Theophrastus Marsuae fontem in Phrygia ad Celaenarum oppidum saxa egerere. Non procul ab eo duo sunt fontes, Claeon et Gelon ab effectu Graecorum nominum dicti.*

Strab. p. 577, 578. Ἰδρυται δὲ ἡ Ἀπάμεια ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ, καὶ ῥεῖ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ὁ ποταμός, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ¹ ἔχων· κατενεχθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον σφοδρῶ καὶ κατωφέρει τῷ ῥεύματι συμβάλλει πρὸς τὸν Μαίανδρον προσειληφότα καὶ ἄλλον ποταμὸν Ὀργάν δι' ὁμαλοῦ φερόμενον πρῶτον καὶ μαλακόν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη γενόμενος Μαίανδρος τέως μὲν διὰ τῆς Φρυγίας φέρεται, ἔπειτα διορίζει τὴν Καρίαν καὶ τὴν Λυδίαν κτλ. ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ Κελαινῶν λόφου τινὸς ἐν ᾧ πόλις ἦν δμώνυμος τῷ λόφῳ· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀναστήσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Σωτὴρ Ἀντ. κτλ. ὑπέρκειται δὲ καὶ λίμνη φύουσα κάλαμον τὸν εἰς τὰς γλώττας τῶν αὐλῶν ἐπιτήδειον, ἐξ ἧς ὑπολείβεσθαί φασι τὰς πηγὰς τὴν τε τοῦ Μαρσίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μαίανδρου.

Dio Chrysostom XXXV 13. τῶν τε ποταμῶν οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ πολυωφέλεστατοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθένδε ἔχουσιν ὃ τε Μαρσύας οὗτος διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν ῥέων ὃ τε Ὀρβας ² ὃ τε Μαίανδρος πόλιν πάντων ποταμῶν θειότατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς ἐλίττων μυρίας καμπάς κτλ.

Pausanias V 14, 3, πλείσται μὲν ὑπὸ Μαίανδρου μυρίκαι καὶ μάλιστα αὖζονται.

Paus. X 30, 9, οἱ δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς Φρύγες ἐθέλουσι μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς διέξεισιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἐκείνόν ποτε εἶναι τὸν αὐλητήν φασί

¹ Hirschfeld is probably right in accepting ἀκροπόλεως from Kramer.

² See p. 404.

δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν ἀπόσαιτο στρατιάν, τοῦ Μαρσίου σφίσις ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕδαί τε ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μέλει τῶν αἰλῶν ἀμύναντος. *

Paus. II 5, 3, Maeander communicates its water to Asopos (Sicyonian tale).

Paus. II 7, 9. Of the flutes the Sicyonians say τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαρσίαν κατενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν Μαλανδρον, and thence they were borne into Asopos.

Pseudo-Plutarch *de Fluviiis* (*Mae. Mars.*) is valueless.

Nicolas of Damascus *ap. Athen.* VIII p. 332. περὶ Ἀπάμειαν τὴν Φρυγιακὴν κατὰ τὰ Μιθριδατικὰ σεισμῶν γενομένων ἀνεφάνησαν περὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν λίμναι τε πρότερον οὐκ οὔσαι καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πηγαὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἀνοιχθεῖσαι, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν, τοσοῦτόν τε ἄλλο ἀνέβλυσεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ πικρόν τε καὶ γλαυκὸν ὕδωρ . . . ὥστε δστρέων πλησθῆναι τὸν πλησίον τόπον ἅπαντα καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσα τρέφει ἡ θάλασσα. Probably the bitter water is merely an exaggeration of the fact that all the springs but one are undrinkable (p. 400). As to the colour γλαυκόν, cp. Curtius. The fishes are perhaps an exaggeration of the statement of Paus. IV 34, 1, that sea fishes ascended Maeander, Rhine, and Pamisos.

Curtius III 1. *Media . . . moenia interfluebat Marsyas amnis . . . Fons eius ex summo montis cacumine excurrentis in subiectam petram magno strepitu aquarum cadit: inde diffusus circumiectos rigat campos, liquidus et suas dumtaxat undas trahens. Itaque color eius placido mari similis¹ locum poetarum mendacio fecit; quippe traditum est Nymphas amore amnis retentas in illa rupe considerare. Ceterum quamdiu intra muros fluit, nomen suum retinet; at cum extra munimenta se evolvit, . . . Lycum appellant.*

The statement that the Marsyas was diverted for irrigation is repeated by Maximus of Tyre; but it cannot be true literally, for the Marsyas could not be brought to the fields without being taken over the Maeander. Owing to the situation only Maeander and Orgas can be diverted for irrigation purposes.

On the other hand the Marsyas water was probably drawn off to flow through the streets of Apameia: this practice is still a favourite one in Asia Minor, e.g. at Denizli: it may be seen in some streets of Cambridge.

Maximus Tyr. XIII 8. Φρύγες οἱ περὶ Κελαινὰς νεμόμενοι τιμοῦσι ποταμούς δύο, Μαρσίαν καὶ Μαλανδρον. εἶδον τοὺς ποταμούς· ἀφίησιν αὐτοὺς πηγὴ μία, ἥ προελθοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ νότον τῆς πόλεως καθύς ἐκδιδοὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος διελούσα τοῖς ποταμοῖς καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα· ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Λυδίας ῥεῖ ὁ Μαλανδρος, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ πεδία ἀναλίσκεται.

¹ Compare Nic. Damasc.

Like Pliny, Maximus understands that 'the mountain' is Djebel-Sultan. On irrigation from the Marsyas, see Q. Curtius, and cp. § 5.

Lid. Sibyll. I 261 ff.

ἔστι δέ τι Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἡπείροιο Κελαινῆς (οἱ μελαίνης)
 ἡλίσσασον τανύμηκες ὄρος, Ἀραράτ δὲ καλεῖται,
 Μαρσίου ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῖο πέφυκαν.
 τοῦ δὲ κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖοι καρήνῃ
 ληξάντων ὑδάτων.

Nicetas Chon. p. 231. πόλιν Κελαινάς, ἔνθα τοῦ Μαιάνδρου εἰσὶν αἱ ἐκδόσεις καὶ ὁ Μαρσίος ῥεῖ ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλων εἰς Μαίανδρον. This has the appearance of being a merely learned allusion, founded on books, not on description by witnesses¹.

Cinnamus p. 298. ὁ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τὰς ἐπὶ Λάμπης διελθὼν πεδιάδας, φρούριόν τι περὶ πρῶτας πρὸ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἰδρυμένον ἐκβολὰς (Σούβλαιον ὄνομα αὐτῷ) χρόνῳ πεπτωκὸς ἀνεγείρει. I have pointed out p. 228 that this proves Cinnamus to have followed the opinion (entertained still by some of the population) that the Maeander rises in the enormous marshes and springs of the Siblian district. His description of the Siblian country is very good pp. 59, 63, ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τινὰ χώρον ἐγένετο οὗ δὴ Μαίανδρος τὴν ἐκβολὴν ποιεῖται, ἔξω τῶν πολεμίων ἤδη γεγενῆσθαι νομίσας . . . κυνηγεσίῳ ἀνέσει πόνοὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης παραμυθεῖσθαι ἤθελε After the hunting party τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς ταῖς Μαιάνδρου ἐκβολαῖς ἰδρυμένον, ἔνθα πολὺ τε καὶ ἀμετρον ὕδωρ ῥεῖ μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὑπώρειαν πετρῶν ὥς ἐκ μυρίων ἀναδιδόμενον στομάτων, τὸν δὲ παρακείμενον ἐκπελαγοῦν χώρον ἐς λίμνην μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ξυνίσταται, ἔξῃς δὲ προῖδον διώρυχά τε βαθεῖαν τέμνει καὶ ποταμὸν ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖ.

Immediately below the vast marshy lakes the Maeander has cut that deep-lying channel, which is described on p. 236. The whole passage describes so accurately the Eumenian and Siblian district as to constitute a conclusive confirmation of the situation we have assigned to Soublaion. The description of the hunting party is too long to quote; but evidently Manuel went towards Apameia. He stood to watch the Persians either on the mound at Tchandir (*ad Vicum* p. 223) or more probably on the mound of Boz-Eyuk p. 225; and he pursued the Turkish freebooters to the pass dividing the Siblian and Apamean plains, p. 222, where the main body of the Turks met him. See p. 447.

The positive reasons for identifying Dineir-Su with the Marsyas are so overwhelming, that Hirschfeld's error in calling it the Maeander is hardly comprehensible. He recognized the Marsyas in the modern Lidja ('Warm-Springs'). To this identification there are the following ob-

¹ Nonnus mentions both Obrimos (*sic*!) and Orgas, see p. 485.

jections : (1) Lidja is a slow, gentle stream : (2) it contains little water : (3) its breadth is 3 to 6 feet : (4) its springs issue quietly with hardly perceptible sound : (5) it rises at the foot of a bare gentle slope : (6) it does not rise under the acropolis of Kelainai¹ : (7) in order to make it flow through the city, and rise from the Acropolis, the topography of Kelainai and Apameia has to be utterly distorted (Apameia has to be extended into the open plain, all the ancient names have to be crowded together, and yet two acropoleis have to be distinguished, etc.) : (8) the Lidja is evidently the Therma of Apameia : (9) Hirschfeld is forced to conclude that both his Maeander and his Marsyas flow through the middle of his site for Apameia, whereas Strabo implies that only Marsyas flowed through the city.

The only positive reason that Hirschfeld assigns for identifying Dineir-Water with the Maeander is that it carries 'by far the largest body of water².' This statement is erroneous: I doubt if Dineir-Su carries more water than Menderez-Duden or Sheikh-Arab-Su.

Dineir-Water is divided almost from its source into two branches, which run on opposite sides of the glen. This is merely a modern arrangement, to suit the needs of mills on both sides. It has, however, misled Prof. Hirschfeld, who speaks of the two arms as a fact of ancient times; his further error in speaking of two sources of the Dineir-Water probably took its origin from this mistake about the two arms. There is only one source: '*il n'y a qu'une source jaillissant au pied d'un enorme rocher*' (Wadd. *Voyage Numism.* p. 12). Huda-verdi is not a source of the Marsyas; and Hirschfeld is mistaken in thinking that name is given to Dineir-Su (p. 400).

Hirschfeld's identification of Sheikh-Arab-Su with Orgas has proved tempting to many. I long clung to it: as did Hog. Web. This water flows through the low level ground for about two miles before joining the stream from the Duden, and thus fulfils Strabo's description literally. But in that case (1) the most striking characteristics of Sheikh-Arab Water are neglected. (2) There is only a short stream left to bear the name Maeander; and Hogarth, who evaded this difficulty by supposing that there was not any branch called Maeander, but that the ancients applied that name only to the united stream, now recognizes that it is fatal.

The view taken with regard to the Maeander and Orgas by M. Weber

¹ Hirschfeld says that Xenophon's words must be taken *in etwas weiterem Sinne*. But Xen. an eye-witness distinguishes Marsyas as the stream which rises under the Acropolis, from Mae-

ander, which rises from the palace. We are bound to take his words strictly.

² *Der bei weitem wasserreichste Fluss* ist p. 20.

in his *Dinair-Célènes* 1892 agrees exactly with the view stated by myself in a letter in the *Athenaeum* 15 Aug. 1891 p. 233. I at first clung to it, trying to save Hirschfeld's Orgas; but in the closer study required for this book, I had to abandon it. This view is that the Orgas is (as Hirschfeld believed) Sheikh-Arab-Su, and that the Maeander is the short arm, which popular sentiment among the natives of Dineir now selects as the 'Menderez-Duden.' Considering the permanence of popular sentiment in Asia Minor, the modern belief has some force as an argument. But probably popular feeling has changed, as the city has shrunk to a village: Sheikh-Arab-Su, though near Apameia, is far from Dineir, for the sluggishness of the Turks is hopelessly cut off by two miles of rough uncultivated hillside from the Sheikh-Arab source. Hence they call the nearer source Menderez-Duden; and some of them have never seen the other far more beautiful and impressive source. The following reasons show that the Menderez-Duden is not the source of the ancient Maiandros. (1) It is clear that Pliny (or Theophrastus) did not think the Laughing and Weeping Fountains were at the source of the Maeander: this is in itself a strong (though not conclusive) argument, for Pliny, though not an eye-witness, has used an excellent authority. (2) Sheikh-Arab is the nearest source to the acknowledged ultimate common fountain of both Maeander and Marsyas at Bunar-Bashi: therefore it would be unnatural that the connexion of Sheikh-Arab with Bunar-Bashi should be disregarded in ancient belief. (3) Livy says that the Maeander rose from the acropolis of Kelainai (*ex arce summa Celaenarum*); and Strabo also says that the Maeander rises from the hill of Kelainai. Now the Duden rises absolutely in the plain, and has in no sense the character of rising from the hill: whereas Sheikh-Arab rises out of the back of the Acropolis hill. (4) Sheikh-Arab-Su strikes the spectator as *the* river: see Hogarth's words quoted p. 406. (5) The park of Cyrus, with its wild beasts, is likely to have included much of the hills; and his palace is far more likely to have been near Sheikh-Arab in a higher and cooler position than in the bare, unpleasant situation at the Duden. (6) Room is wanted for the different sites, which are specified and distinguished, the two cities, the two palaces and the park. M. Weber finds it necessary to conclude that Apameia and Kelainai had the same situation (*occupaient le même site* p. 27) in spite of the positive statements of Strabo and Livy that Antiochus moved the city to a new site.

The following statistics of published opinions may be found convenient. The identification which has been given in these pages of the Marsyas agrees with Ar. Ham. Wadd.¹, Hog. Web., of the Maeander with Ar.

¹ Waddington quotes Arundel, and therefore evidently agrees with him.

Ham. Wadd.¹, of the Orgas with no one², of the Therma with Hog. Web., of the Laughers and Weeper with no one³, of the Obrimas with no one, of Aulokrene with every one, of the Rhocrini Fontes on the route of Manlius with Hog. Web.⁴ Contradictory identifications have been proposed for Marsyas by Hirschf., for Maeander by Hirschf. Hog. Web. (all disagreeing with one another), for Orgas by Hirschf. Hog. Web. (all agreeing with the identification originated by Hirschf.), for Therma by no one, for the Laughers and Weeper by Hirschf., for Obrimas by Hirschf. Hog. Web. (all disagreeing with one another), for Aulokrene by no one, for Manlius's *Fontes* by Hirschf. Ar. Ham. Wadd. agree, so far as they go, with the views which we have expressed. No identification has been proposed for Orgas by Ar. Ham., for Therma by Ar. Ham. Hirschf. Wadd., for the Laughers and Weeper by Ar. Ham. Hog. Wadd., for Obrimas by Ar. Ham. Wadd.

APPENDIX II.

INSCRIPTIONS OF APAMEIA AND AUOKRA.

281. M. Berard BCH 1893 p. 313. Πλωτῆϊαν Σε[βας]τὴν ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. καθειέρωσεν ἐπιμεληθέντος Μάρκου Ἀττάλου ἀργυροταμέλου τῆς πόλεως.

This inscription was probably erected in A.D. 105, when Plotina was styled Augusta, and when (as is argued by Cavedoni) the same title was conferred on Marciana the sister of Trajan, and her daughter Mattidia (no. 282, 283). On *Argyrotamias* see § 23 (3) and no. 551.

282. (R. 1881). CIG 3958. Μαρκίαν Σεβαστὴν κτλ. (as in no. 281). The engraver, or the official, has erred in the name of Marciana.

¹ Hogarth, who inclined to this opinion on the spot (see p. 406), writes 'I quite agree that Sheikh-Arab-Su must be the Maeander.'

² Mr. Purser held all along the view I adopt. Wadd. probably is to be understood in the same sense.

³ Weber quotes my opinion, and apparently accepts it, but has not verified it by actual hearing.

⁴ M. Radet seems to regard this identification as certain *En Phrygie* map III.

283. (R. 1881). CIG 3959. *Ματτιδιαν Σεβαστήν κτλ.* (as in no. 281 and 282).

284. M. Doublet BCH 1893 p. 304. *τὴν [θ]εοφιλεστάτην Κορνηλίαν Σαλωνεῖναν Σεβαστὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ποπλίου Λικιννίου Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἢ λαμπρὰ τῶν Ἀπαμέων πόλις.* No. 284 is a pendant to 285, 286, where her two sons are honoured.

285-6. (R. 1888). Weber p. 46: cp. no. 286.

<p>Τὸν] θεοφιλέστατον Καίσαρα Λικ[?] Σαλωνεῖνον Οὐαλεριανὸν Σεβαστόν, υἱὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἢ λαμπρὰ τῶν Ἀπαμέων πόλις.</p>	<p>Τὸν θεοφιλέστατον Καίσαρα Κορνήλιον Σαλωνεῖνον Οὐαλεριανὸν Σεβαστόν, υἱὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἢ λαμπρὰ τῶν Ἀπαμέων πόλις.</p>
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The exact names of the two sons of Gallienus are uncertain, and were probably not known even to the Apameans. Mommsen CIL VIII p. 1051 no. 2383 lays down the rule that the younger son did not use the name Valerianus till after his brother's death in 259, and that the elder never used the name Saloninus. This inscr. and CIL III 6956 disagree with other authorities and with one another. The elder son was associated to the Empire in 253, the younger not later than 257. The title Augustus is given them in other inscr. also.

These inscr., dating soon after 253, show that Apameia had not then been styled *metropolis*; probably it never received that honour.

287. Wadd. 1701, CIL III 364. Dedication to Maximianus, 305-11; doubtless this was one of a group, like no. 281-3, and 284-6.

288. (R. 1881). CIL III 7054. Dedication to Jovianus, 363-4. There is an unusual number of dedications to the late emperors.

289. CIG 3961, where it is misunderstood. *Στράτων Ἀρχοντος σωθεῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν Θεοῖς [Μ]εγάλαις Σαμῶθρο[ν] χαιρεστήριον.*

See p. 435. Probably Arundel miscopied *χαριστήριον*. The Great Gods of Samothrace, the Kabeiroi, are here and often elsewhere confused with the twin-gods, the saviours of mariners in peril, the Dioskouroi, who also bore the same title. A temple *Διοσκούρων, καλουμένων δὲ Θεῶν Μεγάλων*, four stadia from Kleitor, is mentioned Paus. 8. 21. 4.

290. (R. 1891). BCH 1893 p. 247¹, part in *Atk. Mitth.* 1891 p. 148.

δῆμον τὸν Ἀπαμέων καθιέρωσαν
 Λεύκιος Μουνάτιος Λευκίου υἱὸς[ς] Καμίλλῃ Τέρτιο[ς],
 Λεύκιος Ἀτίλιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Παλατίνῃ Πρόκλος,
 Πόπλιος Καρουίλιος Μάρκου[ς] υἱὸς Κολλίνῃ Πωλλίων,
 Μάρκος Οὐίκκιος Μάρκου υἱὸς Τηρητίνῃ Ῥούφος,
 Μάρκος Πόρκιος Ὀνησιμίῳ,

ἄρξαντες ἐν τῷ λ' καὶ ρ' ἔτι Ῥωμαῖοι πρώτως, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησαν.
 A.D. 54-5.

This remarkable inscription was published from my copy by Mommsen in *Eph. Ep.* VII p. 442². He considers that the five Romans (the last a freedman) are *curatores* of the *conventus Civium Romanorum*; that the *conventus* was instituted for the first time in A.D. 55; that the resident Romans paid a large annual sum (ἐπιζήμιον inscr. 297) to gain the right of forming such a corporate, self-governing body; that the Apameans regarded with hatred the existence in their midst of such a body; and that they seized the opportunity of a munificent donation some years after to sacrifice this annual income from the Roman residents and rid themselves of this independent body³. The following difficulties tell against this view. (1) Roman officials, making an official dedication in honour of their first year of corporate rights, would not use the Greek language and the purely Greek formula (ἄρξαντες). (2) The donation in no. 296 was given by a Roman⁴, son of a Roman, in order to free the city from the ἐπιζήμιον; but it is improbable that a Roman would give 34,000 den. to the city to prevent the Romans from being independent of the city. (3) The impression given by inscr. is that there was no such serious hatred of the Romans by the Apameans, as Mommsen supposes⁵. (4) The body of resident Romans continues to be mentioned in the same way in no. 300, which is clearly later than no. 297. (5) We can hardly believe that the Romans derived their rights to corporate government

¹ MM. Legrand and Chamonard's independent confirmatory reading of a rather difficult text is very welcome. My copy differs slightly. The engraver made an error in the eighth word, reading νίοῦ: this I noted carefully. BCH has Τέρπος for Τέρτιο[ς], Καρουίδιος for Καρουίλιος, Πολλίων for Πωλλίων, and τῶν as second word (Weber confirms τόν).

² Not observed by M. Legrand.

³ In Ephesus no *C. R. consistentes* are mentioned in the inscriptions; and Mommsen understands that the city was rich enough to do without the ἐπιζήμιον.

⁴ Ti. Claudius Ti. F.

⁵ Mitteis *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht* p. 150 agrees with our view that the resident Romans were in accord and amity with the Apameans (p. 425).

from the Apamean state, and had to pay for their right¹, considering that the Jews before A.D. 70 had the right to choose their own archons and administer their internal affairs by their own laws, in spite of the strong desire of the cities to take the right away from them².

What then does the inscription mean? It appears to me that the meaning, which the Greek words conveyed to me when I first read them, is the correct one. The five Romans hold a Greek office (*ἀρχαῖρες*), as the supreme board of magistrates (p. 441) in the city; and they mark the fact, that for the first time³ in the history of the city the whole board has been composed of Romans, by this dedication to the Demos, amid which they hold office. Only in this way does it seem possible to account for a board of five Roman officials using Greek forms and language. The inscription marks an interesting period in the romanization of a Phrygian city.

Schulten, in his excellent treatise *de conventibus C. R.* p. 32, inclines to this view of this difficult inscr. The only difficulty is that the Apamean Italians are not found actually holding magistracies in no. 298, 299, 305, though Apameia is called their *patris*, and they serve it in various ways (see p. 426). An exact parallel to no. 290 on this interpretation is found at Ephesos, where Mr. Hicks restores no. 517 very plausibly as a dedication of the Metropolis Ephesos by [οἱ κατὰ τῇ]ν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι], who presumably met in Ephesos as the *Commune C. R. in Phrygia* met at Apameia, § 17.

The spelling *Λεύκιος* here (also no. 298) and *Λούκιος* in no. 305 is characteristic. M. Foucart considers that *Λεύκιος* *n'a guère persisté au-delà du règne d'Auguste* (BCH 1887 p. 93); but M. S. Reinach more correctly dates the change about the middle of the first century after Christ. See also no. 552 and Dittenberger *Hermes* VI 282 ff.

291. (R. 1891). M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 305. Senate, Demos, and Romans honoured Sossia Polla, *ἡρωίδα*, daughter of Q. Sossius Senecio, twice consul (99, 107), grand-daughter of Sextus Julius Frontinus, thrice consul (74, 98, 100), wife of Q. Roscius Pompeius Falco, proconsul of Asia (c. 128). Their son Q. Pompeius Sosius Priscus cos., and his

¹ M. S. Reinach remarked *les Apamiotes ne se seraient jamais permis d'agir aussi cavalièrement envers leur Romains* (*Chron. d'Orient*).

² See Mommsen in *Histor. Zft.* 1890 pp. 425 f and 'the Archons of the Synagogue' in *Expositor* April 1894. The

Jews of Asia could meet and present common resolutions to a Roman governor, just as the Romans of Asia did (see p. 426 note).

³ *πρώτως* has a similar sense in the inscr. published in Benndorf *Lykia* I no. 51.

daughter Sosia Falconilla, are mentioned (CIL VIII 6066). Alexander, son of Attalus, superintended this statue.

292. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 306. Statue of Sossia Polla; ἀναστήσαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Κλαυδίου Μιθριδάτου ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας καθὼς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Μιλήτῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπέσχετο. In a meeting of the Koinon of Asia held in Miletos c. A.D. 128 Mithridates promised this statue on behalf of his city. The Senate and Demos ratified his promise in this inscription. Miletos was not hitherto known as a meeting-place of the *Koinon*, see Monceaux *de Comm. Asiae* p. 38.

293. CIG 3960. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀπολλωνιατῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥυνδάκου ἐτείμησεν Τιβερίον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Μιθριδάτην ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἑαυτῶν προστάτην καὶ εὐεργέτην κτλ., superintendent Xenon son of Apollonius. The date is about 128 (no. 292).

294, 295. (R. 1887). Mommsen *Erh. Ep.* VII p. 437, Weber p. 45.

<p>ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Τιβερίον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου Κλαυ- 5 δίου Πείσωνος Μιθρι- δατιανοῦ υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Γρανιανὸν, γυμνασιαρχοῦντα δι' ἀγοραίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῇ γλυκυτά- 10 τῃ πατρίδι δέχα τοῦ πό- ρου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδομένου τὴν ἀνάσ- τασιν ποιησαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν τῇ 15 Σκυτικῇ Πλατείᾳ τεχνει- τῶν</p>	<p>[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν] Τι. Κλαύδιον Τι. Κλαυδίου [Μιθρι- δάτου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Πείσωνα 5 Μιθριδατιανὸν, ἱερέα διὰ βίου Διὸς Κελαινέως, ἐφηβαρχήσαντα καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καὶ ἀγορα- νομήσαντα διὰ ἀγοραίας καὶ ὑπεσ- χημένον ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλαυδίου 10 Γρανιανοῦ γυμνασιαρχίαν δι' ἀγο- ραίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δέχα πόρου τοῦ διδομένου ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δηνα- ρίων μυρίων πεντακ. χελίων τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένων 15 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ Πλατείᾳ τεχνειτῶν</p>
<p>Ἐπιμεληθέντων Παπίου Δείδα τοῦ Αἰδούχου καὶ Τυράννου Μύτα καὶ Λουκίου Μουνατίου Ἀνθου καὶ Τρύφωνος Διογᾶ¹.</p>	

¹ I could not attain certainty about the name Αἰδούχου. On a coin of Siocharax, the name Φιλίσκου Αἰδούχου is read (p. 633); but M. Doublet BCH 1893

p. 304 confirms Αἰδούχου in this inscription. I read Αἰδῶ with much hesitation, but M. Doublet's Δείδα is preferable.

The *stemma* with approximate dates (no. 292) is

Ti. Claudius — ?

Ti. Claudius Mithridates *natus* c. 80 (no. 293).

Ti. Claudius Piso Mithridatianus *n. c.* 105.

Ti. Claudius Granianus *n. c.* 130.

The different trades resided apparently in different streets of the city, e.g. here ἡ σκυτικὴ πλατεία. This 'Shoemaker Street' is a guild with revenues of its own, erecting honorary statues at its own expense. In several other cities of Asia Minor a division according to trades instead of tribes is observed: in all cases the basis of the division is no doubt local, founded on the fact that special streets were appropriated to special trades.

The *conventus* (ἡ ἀγοραῖος, cp. *Act. Apost.* 19, 38, *Strab.* p. 629, *procos. ap. Joseph. Ant.* XIV 10, 21) met at Apameia not oftener than every second year, probably more rarely (as was contemplated when Dion wrote), § 19. In the crowded city, as described in § 19, the expense of the Gymnasiarchate was increased (which proves that something was done for the comfort of the strangers who came).

The name Μύρας occurs no. 302 (*Móρας* no. 78), and Δίδας at Julia-Gordos BCH 1884 p. 382 (M. Paris).

The Zeus of the ancient city of Kelainai, beside Apameia, is known from coins with the legend ΖΕΥC ΚΕΛΑΝΕΥC. The early Christian Church, whose ruins are still seen on the summit of the citadel, has perhaps taken the place of the temple of Zeus (p. 513).

296, 297. (R. 1890, 1891). Hogarth and Headlam 1890. Mommsen from our copy in *Eph. Ep.* VII p. 436, M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 308¹, Weber p. 45. These two inscriptions are engraved side by side on a large block, not on different faces (as M. Bérard wrongly says: M. Weber is right). A. 'Η β. καὶ ὁ δ. καὶ οἱ κατ. 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Π[είσω]νος Μιθριδατιανοῦ υἱὸν Κυρ[ε]ίνῳ Γρανιανὸν, γυμνασιαρχοῦντα δι' ἀγοράας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ πατρίδι δίχα τοῦ πόρου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου διδομένου δηναρίων μυρίων πεντακισχειλίων τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θερμαλῇ Πλατείᾳ. Ἐπιμεληθέντων Μάρκου Μάρκου τοῦ Οὐικκίου² καὶ Δαμᾶ Ἀβασκάντου καὶ Τρύφωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου τῶν ἀνδριάντων. B. 'Η β. καὶ ὁ δ. καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐτεί-

¹ M. Bérard has not observed the previous publication by Mommsen.

² This is perhaps an error of the Greek

engraver for the proper Latin form, Μάρκου Οὐικκίου Μάρκου υἱοῦ (cp. no. 290, which is about a century earlier).

μησαν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μιθριδάτου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Πείσωνα Μιθριδατιανὸν, ἱερέα διὰ βίου Διὸς Κελαινέως, γυμνασιαρχήσαντα δι' ἀγοράας καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα δι' ἀγοράας, καὶ ἐφηβαρχήσαντα καὶ ὑποσχόμενον ὑπὲρ Κλαυδίου Γραβιανοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυμνασιάρχαν δι' ἀγοράας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ χαρισάμενον τῇ πόλει τὸν ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ γυμνασιαρχοῦντι πόρον δηνάρια μύρια πεντακισχέλια, καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐξαμήνῃ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ἀγόραιος ἤχθη, θέντα τὸ ἔλαιον, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν μ[η]νῶν ἐξ δεδωκότα καθὼς ἡ πόλις ἤξιωσεν δηνάρια μύρια ἑνακισχέλια, ὥστε προστεθέντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν πόρον τοῖς μυρίοις πεντακισχελίοις δηναρίοις σώζειν τόκον δραχμαίων εἰς τὸ τῶν κουρατόρων ἐπιζήμιον τὸ κατὰ ἔτος ὑπ' αὐτῶν διδόμενον, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου μηκέτι εἶναι κουράτορας, καθὼς ἡ πόλις ἐψηφίσατο, δι' ὅλου τοῦ αἰῶνος. Τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θερμαλῇ Πλατείᾳ.

No. 294 and 296 were engraved during the gymnasiarchate of Granianus, 295 and 297 after the father's gymnasiarchate: clearly all four were erected at the same time. The stone on which 296 f are engraved formed part of the epistyle of some building, doubtless a Stoa, as is proved by the *lacunaria* on its under side. Probably this stone, along with 294 f, was placed in the front of a stoa, which ran along one side of a street in Apameia; the stone was exposed to view on the under side, and must therefore have stood immediately over the supporting columns. The ceiling of the Stoa was cut in deep panels; and it is not impossible that the paintings described in § 20 adorned the wall at the back. It is probable also that the Stoa was long, and that many other inscriptions besides these were engraved in front of it: the situation is conspicuous and honourable¹; they must however have been so high that the man in the street could not read them, but probably nobody ever read honorary inscriptions.

There was another member above the block containing no. 296 f, as is shown by the dowel holes in its upper surface; and perhaps the names of the persons honoured in the inscriptions below may have been cut in larger letters on the upper stone.

Had Granianus filled any office in the state before he became Gymnasiarch, this would have been mentioned in the inscriptions: probably he was still under 25 at the time, and, if the *stemma* no. 294 is dated nearly correctly, his gymnasiarchate was in A. D. 155.

Some difficult questions with regard to the constitution of Apameia turn on no. 297. Mithridatianus² engaged that, if his son Granianus

¹ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανιστάτῳ τόπῳ.

² Such promises made to secure election to an office are often mentioned.

They show that there was keen competition for municipal office in the middle of the second century.

were appointed Gymnasiarch, he would not take advantage of the allowance of 15,000 denarii for expenses made to the Gymnasiarch by the state. For the first half of his son's office, Mithridatianus gave oil to the citizens at his own expense, and for the second half, at the request of the city, he gave 19,000 den. to the city (instead of spending it on oil), so that the state thus gained 34,000 den. through his generosity. This capital sum yielded at 9 p. c.¹ 3060 den., which was to be devoted to the penalty (ἐπιζήμιον) of the Curators. What, then, was the ἐπιζήμιον? Mommsen, carrying out the theory from which we dissent (no. 290), understands that the penalty was paid by the Curators to the city Apameia². This, though the simplest construction of the Greek words, seems to me unacceptable. It seems too awkward to understand εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον 'to enable the city to do without the penalty'³. It seems to me necessary to suppose that the interest went to make up the annual penalty. For some reason Apameia was burdened with the payment of an annual sum (ἐπιζήμιον): a curator⁴ (or curators) was appointed by the emperor to control the revenue of the city, but there was a provision that, if the state could devote a certain capital sum towards this annual burden, curators should no longer be imposed on them, and the state should resume unfettered control of its own finances.

The Apamean curators, then, are officials of the same class which have been already described, see p. 370.

298. (R. 1891). Dikedji. 'Η β. κ. ὁ [δ. κ. οἱ] κατ. 'Ρω[μαῖοι] ἐτεζήσαν Λεύκιον 'Ρουτε[λίον] Λευκίου υἱὸν Οὐελινᾶ Πρόκλο[ν] ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ζήσαν[τα] κοσμίως καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐμ παντὶ καιρῷ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα φιλοδόξως.

The spelling Λεύκιος indicates an early date, no. 290: so also does the assimilation ἐμ παντί.

299. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 314. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. καὶ οἱ κατ.] 'Ρωμαῖοι

¹ Mommsen explains τόκον δραχμιαίων as interest of one dr. per month on 100 den., i. e. 12 dr. (9 den.) *per annum* Eph. Ep. VII p. 439.

² ἢ αὐτῶν διδόμενον: (1) does this mean 'paid by the curators' or 'paid by the Apameans'? Grammatical ease suggests the former, but probably the latter was intended, αὐτῶν being used for the idea latent in the sentence; the city made the request to Mithridatianus, and the penalty was paid by the citizens to the curators. That πόλις should be

resumed by αὐτῶν is quite in accordance with the style of municipal deeds, and might be paralleled from even higher kinds of Greek. [It seems hardly allowable to render, 'devoted regularly by the Curators towards outlay due by the city': this, if allowable, suits our theory well.]

³ Schulten *de Conventibus C. R.* p. 31 makes the same criticism.

⁴ The use of the Latin term may at this period be taken as a proof that the office was Roman and imperial.

ἐτείμῃσαν Πρόκλον¹ Μαννήιον Ποπλίον Ῥωμιλίᾳ Ῥούσωνα, ἀγομένης πανδήμου ἐκκλησίας, ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρονᾶ δι(ά) τε τὰς ἐκ προγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συνκρίτους εὐεργεσίας, θρέψαντά τε τὴν πόλιν ἐν δυσχρήστοις πολλάκις καιροῖς, καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων πραγμάτων, καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων φιλοδοσίας, [ὑπέρ] τε τῆς πόλεως ἐν παντὶ [καί] ῥῳ δημοφελέως² γενόμε[νο]ν, καὶ συναυξήσαντα τὰς [δημ]οσίους προσόδους · ἀνασ[τη]σάντων τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Θερμαίας Πλατείας ἐργαστῶν, ὑπὸ ἐπιμέλειαν Εὐμένου[ς] Διονυσίου καὶ Ἰουλ. Δουβασσίωνος³, κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ψήφισμα.

The name Manneius is not uncommon in Italian inscriptions. The family was probably settled at Apameia; M. Manneius, named on coins of Livia Augusta, may perhaps be grandfather of P. Manneius Ruso; cp. Λ · ΜΑΝΝΗΙΟΣ ΣΕΥΓΗΡΟΣ ΓΡΑ · ΤΟ · Β on coins of Elagabalus. The inscr. seems not to be late in style; and the Augusti are perhaps Vespasian and Titus⁴. The embassy to the Emperors is perhaps connected with the next item, the liberality of the *Archiereis*. The latter is a difficult, and perhaps unique expression: the *Archiereis* are implied to be a body possessing control over money, and making, on the request of Manneius, a grant to Apameia; M. Bérard is clearly right that they are Ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς Ἀσίας. We must, therefore, understand that there was a Council of High-priests of Asia, controlling funds belonging to the *Koinon*, and empowered to make grants to Asian cities⁵. This Council of *Archiereis* must be distinguished, probably, from the general meeting of the *Koinon*, at which representatives of the cities (sitting in an order of precedence p. 429) were present. The Council of *Archiereis* or Asiarchs must be alluded to in *Acts* XIX 31, where it is implied to be assembled in Ephesus; but there is no evidence whether it always met in the capital of Asia or alternately in the great cities. A grant from this Council could hardly be for any purpose outside of the Imperial cultus: probably, therefore, Apameia was proposing to erect a temple to the Emperor (if our dating is correct, the Flavian Emperors). Manneius obtained the consent of the Emperors and a grant from the *Archiereis*. If this theory is right, the priest of the new temple is mentioned in no. 305.

¹ As the Roman nomenclature is otherwise correct, this is probably an error for Ποπλίον: perhaps the engraver's copy had Π., which he expanded wrongly.

² Another engraver's error: δημοφελῆ and δημοφελῶς were both in his mind.

³ Perhaps an engraver's error for Ἰουλίῳ Βασσίῳ.

⁴ πολλάκις ἐν δυσχρ. καιροῖς perhaps points to the third century, § 19; but the tribe would hardly be mentioned then.

⁵ The income of the *Koinon* was managed by an *Argyrotamias Asiae* no. 345, probably in the way described no. 549.

Manneius, an Italian, not an Apamean Roman, has not engaged in the ordinary service of the Apamean city. Probably he was often in Rome, and therefore no stress is laid on his undertaking the embassy at his own expense, as is the case with L. Atilius Proclus, a resident no. 305.

300. (R. 1891). M. Doublet BCH 1893 p. 303 with differences. ἡ β. κέ δ δ. κέ οἱ κατ. 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐτέλεψαν ταῖς ἀρίσταῖς τειμαῖς M. Αὐρ. 'Αρίστωνα Εὐκλειανόν¹ ἀνδρα ἀγαθόν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων εὐεργέτην γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος κέ ἐν πᾶσι δημοφελῇ κέ θρέψαντα τὴν πόλιν ἐν δυσχρήστοις² καιροῖς σείτου τε π[ρά]σσει³ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐνοίᾳ χρησάμενον ἀδιαλείπτως⁴, στρατηγήσαντα γ'⁵ ἀγνώως, ἀγνωστοθήσαντα φιλοτείμως, εἰρηναρχήσαντα κοσμίως, ἀργυροταμιεύσαντα πιστῶς, κέ ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου ἐπαινεθέντα.

M. Aur. Ariston Euklianos is clearly an Apamean Greek, who either inherited or himself acquired the *civitas*. He probably belongs to the early third century.

On σειτωνία p. 70. The repeated reference to times of need (no. 299) points perhaps to the disorganization of the third century (p. 431). The supreme board, στρατηγοί, comes first among the magistracies proper. ἀργυροταμίης no. 281, εἰρηναρχία p. 68.

301. (R. 1888). ἡ β. καὶ δ δ. καὶ οἱ κατ. 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐτέλεψαν 'Ιούλ. Λίγυν τὸν κράτιστον ΠΠ· εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως M. Αἰλ. Σεργίῳ 'Απολλιναρίου γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου.

M. Aelius Apollinarius is mentioned on a coin of the elder Faustina ab. 140 A.D., where M. Imhoof-Blumer GM p. 205 reads ΕΠΙΜ? Π· ΑΙΑ· ΑΠΟΛΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ, but his reading must probably be corrected from another coin published by the Prince of Saxe-Coburg with the reading ΕΠΙΜ· Μ· ΑΙΑ· ΑΠΟΛΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ⁶. We may probably infer that ΕΠΙΜεληθέντος on the coin does not refer to his holding an office styled ἐπιμελητής, but to his superintending some work at the order of the senate, whose name and effigy appear on obverse. He is called Μ· ΑΙΑ· ΚΡΑ(τίστου, monogram) ΙΠπικοῦ ΑCΙδρχου on an *auton.* coin in Br. Mus. See no. 304.

Julius Ligys was an equestrian *primipilarius*, if we are right in taking ΠΠ in that sense. This would suggest that the inscr. is of the third century, when the centurionship was the first grade of equestrian service, and the *primipilatus* formed a step towards the procuratorial office.

¹ Εὐκλαιανόν in BCH 'peut-être Εὐκλαδιανός, cf. Pape: Εὐκλάδιος.'

² ΔΥΧΕΡΕ in BCH, with the needed correction in transcript.

³ τε ἐπ[ιδό]σει in BCH.

⁴ ΑΕΙΤΩC in BCH.

⁵ BCH in place of γ' (thrice acting as *strategos*) reads an otiose Γ.

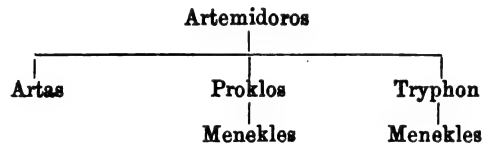
⁶ *Rev. Numism.* 1892 p. 82. He read ΕΠΙ· Μ· ΜΑΙΑ, but the photographic reproduction shows a stop after the second Μ.

302. (R. 1887). 'Ο δ. καὶ οἱ κατ. 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν Μύταν Διοκλέους ἱερέα 'Ρώμης καὶ γραμματέα δῆμον γυμνασιάρχῃσαντα καλῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως.

A priesthood of Rome simply is rarely found after the early times of the empire: afterwards it was usual for the provincials to address their worship to the Emperors personally. Mutas, son of Diokles, cannot therefore be identical with Mutas, father of Tyrannos, in no. 294 (see no. 199).

303. CIG 3960 b. 'Αρτᾶς 'Αρτεμιδώρου μετὰ πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ σελίδων δύο ΝΑC . . . Ν¹ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τ[ῆ] ἱεροτάτῃ (sic!) πλατίᾳ ἐπιμεληθέντων τῇ[s] ἀναστάσεως Μενεκλέους Πραόκλου² τοῦ 'Αρτεμιδώρου καὶ Μενεκλέους Τρύφωνος τῶν ἀνεψιῶν αὐτοῦ.

ἀνεψιός is used in the later sense of *nephew*, as appears from the genealogy.



Probably σελίδων is an error of copyist or engraver for ψελίδων. The Pselides are explained by Waddington 1586 as the *vomitoria*, the arched passages by which spectators entered or left the theatre and the stadium. The form ψαλῖς is regularly used in literature.

Perhaps, as is suggested in CIG 3960 b, the Platea bore the name Hierôtatê; but the possibility must be left open that this inscription stood in a street, whose name is not mentioned, being obvious to the spectator, the adj. being used as in ἱεροτάτῃ βουλή.

304. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 319, restores differently. [κατὰ τὰ δόγμα]α[τ]α τῆς βουλῆς] ὁ λαμπρότατος δῆμος ἐτίμησαν τοὺς εὐγενεστάτους [καὶ] ἀξιολογωτάτους υἱοὺς [Πρ?]οκλιανοῦ Τρύφωνος [ἀρχι]ερέως καὶ Αἰλ[ι]αν[ῆ]ς [Ρη]γ[ε]ίης 'Ασίας ἀρχιερέων, ἐγγόνου[s]³ τῆς ἀρχιερ[ε]ίης(?), Μ. Αὐρ. 'Αντώνιον Τρύφωνος [Ρη]γ[ε]ῖνον καὶ Μ. Α[ύ]ρ. 'Αντώνιον Τρυφωνιαν[ο]ν 'Απολλινάριον. The text is very uncertain, as here restored; and two lines remain in which the copy is unintelligible. I restore on the supposition that Tryphon and his wife were high-priest and high-priestess of Asia, as is customary; but the wife's second name is doubtful. She was the second wife of Proklianios, see no. 334. M. Bérard saw that no. 304 and 334 mention the same person, and his observation is confirmed by the restoration of the wife's name in our text.

¹ Perhaps ἀνε[θήκε], supposing the copyist has transposed A and N.

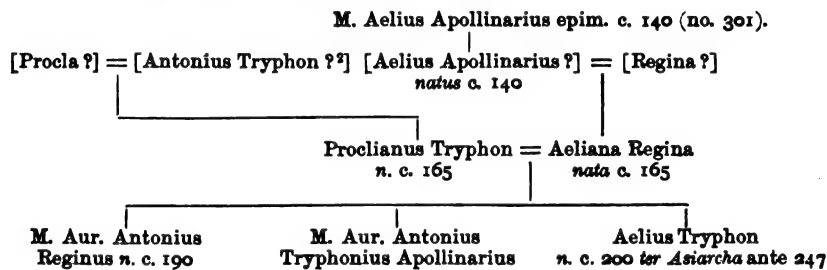
² Probably Πράκλου.

³ Cp. ἐγγονον ἀρχιερέων no. 306.

Aeliana Regina belonged to the family of M. Aelius Apollinarius no. 301; for her second son was called Apollinarios¹. Her eldest son formed one of her names into a *cognomen*, and her second son revived a *cognomen* of her family.

A person named Aelius Tryphon, thrice Asiarch, is mentioned A. D. 247-8 in no. 312; and the same person occurs on a coin of Gallienus ΕΠΙ·ΤΡΥΦ[Ω]ΝΟC A. D. 253-68. His name shows that he belonged to the family of Proklianor Tryphon and Aeliana Regina; but he is evidently not the same as either of the two sons here mentioned. He may have been either a grandson or a third son; and in the latter case all three sons took *cognomina* from the mother's family.

The *stemma* may be conjecturally restored



305. (R. 1891). MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 247. Οἱ Γέροντες ἐτίμησαν Λούκιον Ἀτίλιον Λουκίου υἱὸν Παλατίνῃ Πρόκλῳ νεώτερον, ἱερέα τῶν σεβαστῶν, φιλογέροντα καὶ φιλόπατριν, πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς σεβαστοὺς δωρεᾶ³ ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τὴν κτίσιν διαφερόντων, ἔν τε ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῆς πολέως καὶ τῆς γερονσίας χρεῖαις ἀγνώως καὶ δικαίως ἐκ προγόνων πολιτευόμενον, συνήγορον τῆς γερονσίας.

L. Atilius L. F. Pal. Proclus was son of the L. Atilius mentioned in no. 290. It is not possible to identify them, both because this one is distinguished as νεώτερος, and because the spelling (Λούκιος, but Λεύκιος 290, 298) shows that this inscription is later. The change probably occurred in the middle of the first century. Hence the Augusti here are probably Vespasian and Titus. Between 70 and 79 A. D. Atilius, being then an elderly man, and a member of the Gerousia, acted as envoy to Rome on some matter connected with 'the foundation' (obviously of the

¹ The practice was widespread that the second son took as *cognomen* either the *gentilicium* or a *cognomen* of his mother's family; and we have seen already p. 289 a case in which a child revived a name belonging to the mother's family but not actually borne by her.

In the eastern provinces examples occur, as here, where all the children share in the names of both parents.

² Antonius seems needed in order to introduce the name.

³ δωρεὰ[ν] BCH against the epigraphic text.

Gerousia)¹, giving his services at his own expense. The Gerousia of Apameia, then, was founded 70-79 A.D., which represents an important stage in the hellenization of this Phrygian city²: I assume that *κτίσις* here may be pressed in the sense of the founding of the Gerousia, for if some refoundation or rebuilding after the earthquake of A.D. 53 (p. 431) had been meant, it would have been more clearly defined³. L. Atilius Proclus, whose name is purely Italian, belonged to a family that was settled for some generations at Apameia, which is his *πατρίς*. He, like his ancestors, performed his duty as a citizen⁴, whenever either the city or the Gerousia had need of him; but he had apparently not held any magistracy. The interpretation of no. 290, therefore, as indicating that his father had served on the supreme board of magistrates (*συναρχία*) in 45-6, is in general agreement with what is here recorded of the son, though it goes beyond what is recorded.

The *συνήγορος* was a '*sorte d'ambassadeur chargé d'aller défendre au dehors les intérêts de la corporation*' (Lévy *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 p. 249).

Ambassadors were sent by Asian cities to the Emperors, sometimes on municipal business (cp. no. 299, perh. 138), but often on formal and complimentary duties, such as on the occasion of important events joyous or sad in the life of the emperors: cp. the condolence of the Coroneans to Pius on the death of Hadrian, BCH 1881 p. 455, the congratulation of the Aezanitæ to Septimius on the elevation of Caracalla to the rank of Caesar (LW 874). The Emperor's rescript often contains a permission to pay the ambassador's expenses (*ἐφ'ὅδιον*), 'provided he did not promise his services free' (BCH 1881 p. 454).

A singular proof of municipal vanity is the embassy to inform the emperor of the liberal conduct of Sempronius Clemens to his native city Stratonikaia⁵, BCH 1888 p. 96.

306. (R. 1888). Hogarth's copy, 1887, was compared by me with the stone; and the archon's name, though much defaced, seemed clearly not to be Φου[τ]ανοῦ. A text differing in many respects is published by M. Doublet BCH 1893 p. 301. [τὸ σε]μν[ό]τ[α]ρ[ο]ν συνέδριον τῶν γερόν-

¹ It cannot be maintained that the *κτίσις* is the foundation of the temple of the Sebastoi: it must be connected with the donors, the Gerontes. See M. Lévy *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 p. 241.

² The Gerousia of Sebaste was founded 99 A.D. (no. 475), that of Sidyma not until the time of Commodus (Benndorf *Lykia* I pp. 71 f).

³ It is of course impossible to take *κτίσις* in the sense of *κτίσμα*, 'the institution': it must mean 'the act of founding.'

⁴ *πολιτευόμενον* is emphatic. See no. 290 and pp. 425 f.

⁵ Other Stratonicean embassies BCH 1887 pp. 155 f, LW 525, CIG 2719, 2721.

των [Τι]β[έριον Αἴλιον Σα[το]ρνεῖν[ο]ν Μαρ[ε]ν[ια]νὸν τὸν ἴδιον [κτ]ιστην, ἑγγονον ἀρχιερέων, καὶ ὑπατικῶν συν[ε]ν[η]. ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως Μάρκου Φο[ρ]βιανοῦ ἀρχοντος τῶν γερόντων¹. Φοιβιανός for Φο[ρ]βιανός is perhaps the true text; the upper part of the letter is destroyed.

Ti. Aelius Saturninus Marinianus probably belonged to an Italian resident, not a Greek, family. He had done some benefit to the Gerousia, and therefore ranks as *klistes*.

The elaborate title given to the Gerousia here is probably later than the simple title οἱ γέροντες in no. 305. The title 'archon of the Gerontes' is unusual. The president, here ἀρχων², is perhaps to be identified with the προστάτης elsewhere³. On the nature of the Gerousia see pp. 110, 438, M. Lévy *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 pp. 231 ff. The office of the Gerousia most frequently mentioned is the γραμματεὺς.

307. (R. 1891). [Γάϊον Ἀντίστιον Γα]ίου υἱὸν Οὐέτερα [τὸν ἐαυτῶν⁴ δικαιοτά?]τον πατρῶνα [Μνησίφιλος⁵ Ἀττά]λου καὶ Φίλισκος καὶ [Διοκλῆς Διοκλ]έους Μητροπολίτ[αι]. [C. Antis]tium C. F. Veterem [Mnesi?]philus A[tt]ali F. et [Phili]scus et Dioc[es] Diocli F. [Met]ropolita[e].

Three natives of Metropolis place this inscription in Apameia (as the meeting-place of the *conventus*, Pliny V 106) to a Roman official. Vetus was a cognomen of the gens *Antistia*; though the restoration Antistius must remain uncertain. Consuls C. Antistius Vetus are known in B.C. 30, 6, A.D. 23, 50, 96, and L. Antistius Vetus A.D. 55. This inscr. can hardly be placed later than the first century. See no. 329.

308. (Hogarth-Headlam 1890). M. Berard BCH 1893 p. 320. Αὔρ. Ἀμία Αὐξάνοντος to her husband Aur. Auxanon: fine payable to tameion⁶. Auxanon and Amia are very common names: cp. 312, 320.

309. (R. 1881). Ἀπφία Παπίου μήτηρ Ἡσύχῃ ἐνποριάρχῃ τέκνῃ καὶ αἰαυτῇ ἐποίησε τὸ ἥρῳον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, σπουδασάντων κὲ τῶν συνβιωτῶν κὲ λβ' ἄλλων. Ἡρως χρηστὲ χάριε.

The *συνβιωταί* were the members of a *συνβίωσις*, an association of

¹ M. Doublet omits *σεμνότατον*, reads [Τί]ρον for [Τι]β[έριον, Σα[το]ρνεῖν[ιο]ν, reads Φονιανού (nom inconnu, peut-être altéré), and omits much of the relationship of Marinianus.

² ἀρχων at Sinope CIG 4157, three at Erythrai LW 53 and at Tralleis BCH X 517, ἀρχας τοῦ πρεσβυτικοῦ at Chios CIG 2220, 2221.

³ Miletos CIG 2881, Prousa LW 1112, Ancyra (Mordtmann *Marm. Anc.* p. 16).

⁴ Tentative restoration to show length of lacuna.

⁵ The first half of the name is uncertain.

⁶ The last line mentioning the fine is tacitly omitted by M. Bérard.

ἐμποροι, the head of which was Hesychos, son of Apphia (see pp. 105, 441). σπουδάσειν cp. no. 60, CIG 9898.

M. Foucart, *Asoc. Relig.* p. 113, appears to consider συμβιώσεις as purely religious associations; but probably they were usually trades associated in the worship of a deity. They are most commonly found in Lydia, the country of trade and trading societies § 12. The old Lydian name seems to have been δοῦμος (grecized as συμβ. or συνεργασία or ἐργ.) LW 668, 667 (CIG 3439, 3438). A συμβ. τῶν χαλκῶν CIG 3639 (Ilium): cp. 3304 (Smyrna), 3540 (Pergamos), 2339 ὁ (Teos). Societies of porters Ἀσκληπιασταί and of ἐνβάται Κόρης μύσται at Smyrna belong to the same general category (*Amer. Journ. Arch.* I p. 140, *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 95). See the list of trade-guilds given by Oehler in *Eranos Vindob.* p. 276; some of them, from their names, were united in the worship of some god, and we must suppose that all were so united.

310. (R. 1882, 1891). Αὐρη. Ἀρτέμων δις Εὐκαρπεὺς οἰκῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείῳ ζῶν ἐποίησεν τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μο[υ] καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ εἰς δ' ἕτερο[ς] οὐ τεθήσεται κ.τ.λ.].

Artemon, a citizen of Eukarpia, had settled as an *incola* at Apameia.

311. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 321. D.M. M. Aur. Athenio veteranus ex leg. IV Fl(avia), ex-b(eneficiarius), sibi vivos et coniugi suae Aur. Ammiae sarcophagum posuit in aram quam ipse construxit, in quo iam positus est filius eorum; alter enim non ponetur in eum [ni]si ipse con coniugi sua; si quis atferitaverit¹, inferet poenae nom[ini]ne den. duo millia.

Legio IV Flavia was formed in 71, styled Felix by Hadrian. It was stationed in Moesia.

Athenio was proud of his citizenship and his Latin, but had learned the language imperfectly.

312. (R. 1887). Ἔτους τλβ'. Τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώων ἐστὶν Αὐξάνουτος τοῦ καὶ Ἑλλαδίου, πραγματευτοῦ Αἰλ. Τρύφωνος Ἀσιάρχου τρίς, ὃ ἐποίησεν ζῶν ἐαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί αὐτοῦ Ἀπάμῃ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς Ἀμμί[α]· εἰ δὲ ἐπιτηδεύσει ἕτερος νεκρὸν ἐνθάδε θάψαι, δώσει εἰς τὸν φύσκον δηνάρια χεῖλια, κὲ χωρὶς τούτων τὸ[ν] θεόν² κεχολωμένον [ἔξει]. ζῶμεν.

Aelius Tryphon, here mentioned as thrice Asiarch in A.D. 247–8, is probably the same person that is named on a coin of Gallienus (253–68) with legend ΕΠΙ ΤΡΥΦ[Ω]ΝΟC (type Zeus Nikephoros, Imhoof GM p. 206); and he was related to Proclianus Tryphon no. 304 and 334.

On the curse at the end see Zingerle *Philol.* 1894 p. 344, Cumont p. 51, Sterrett E. J. no. 211 (ἔχοι, which was perhaps used here). The

¹ Indicated as doubtful in copy.

² τὸν Μῆνα Cumont.

name *θεόν* was not engraved on the stone, being omitted by an engraver's error, as I saw on re-examination in 1891. Perhaps Chr., pp. 498 ff.

ζῶμεν: when the body of the inscription does not expressly mention that the persons who have prepared the tomb are still living and are therefore masters and legal owners of it, a statement to that effect is often added. So we find *ζῶμεν* added later and in different lettering from the main inscription at Iasos (BCH 1889 p. 36): *ζῆ* and *ζῶσι* occur in the same sense, e.g. in the musical inscr. of Seikilos: *χαῖρε, ζῶ*, twice BCH 1884 p. 443.

313. (R. 1881, 1888). *ἔτους τκδ', μ(ηνὸς) η', κ'.* *Αὐρ. Γάιος Ζωσίμου* to my wife Aur. Tatiane: fine payable to *tameion* 500 den. A.D. 240.

314. (R. 1891). Dikeji. *ἔτους τκη', μ(ηνὸς) δ' η'.* *Αὐρήλιοι Δάμας καὶ Μενεκράτης καὶ Ἀρίστω[ν] Ἑρμῆπι πατρὶ βουλευτῇ καὶ δεκαπρώτῳ Ἀπαμ[έ]ω.* A.D. 244. On *δεκάπρωτος* pp. 63, 437.

315. (R. 1881, 1888). *Διόφαντος Γλύκωνος ἐποίησεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰουστίλῃ καὶ εἴ τιμι συνχωρήσει τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον δην. α.* Jewish origin may be suspected, no. 394.

316. (R. 1888). CIG 3962 c. *Αὐρ. Ἐπάγαθος Ὠφελίου Αὐξάνοντος ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώων ἐμαντῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις· ἰς δ' ἕτερος οὐ τεθῆ¹? εἰ δέ τι (!) ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον δην. φ'.*

317. (R. 1888). CIG 3962 d. *Ἐφεσία κατε[σκεύασε] τὸ ἡρώων ἑαυτῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Αἰλ. Ἀλκ[έ]τα καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις· [εἰς δ' ἕτε]ρος οὐ τεθῆ¹· εἰ δ' [οὖν, θήσει] εἰς τὸν φίσκον δην.[.] Εὐγραφί χερε καὶ μὴ φρόν[τιζε]².*

Perhaps *τεθῆ*, intended as a warning form in bad Phrygian Greek, should be read here, no. 316, 391, 395, 399 *bis*. Eugraphis is the pet name of Alketas. The ethnic Ephesia has here become a personal name.

318. (R. 1891). Dikeji: *Αὐρ. Ζώσιμος Δημητρίου ζῶν ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώων ἐμαντῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Τατία καὶ τῷ υἱῷ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ τῷ θρεπτῷ Αὐξάνοντι μ.χ.* Over the inscr. are two busts. The relief does not correspond to the inscr., but this is very common and arises from gravestones being purchased with reliefs ready cut: sometimes there is utter discrepancy, e.g. Reinach *Biblioth. des Mon. Figurés* I p. 114 and pl. 130, 2 III p. xv, Kaibel *Ep. e Iapp.* no. 133.

¹ Probably οὐ[δεῖς] *τεθῆ[σεν]* was intended, and the engraver omitted *CETE* before *ΕΙΔΕ* (as he has engraved *ΤΙΕ* for *ΤΙCE*); but οὐ *τεθῆ* is certain in

no. 317, 391, 395, 399.

² Hamilton reads *ΦPONT*, while I have *ΦPONI*: the stone has suffered since Hamilton copied it.

319. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 319 with different restoration. [ὁ δέῳνα], Αὔρηλιον Ζωσίμου πραγματευτῆς, ἐποίησα τὸ ἐξυκοδόμητον καὶ τὸν βωμὸν τέκνῳ Χρυστέρωτι αὐτῶρ μ.χ. At Aizanoi the same description of the tomb occurs (Wadd. 921): it probably implies a similar monument to those at Eumeneia p. 367. αὐωρος is probably a local Phrygian pronunciation of ἄωρος; it occurs also in no. 670. Another steward of a wealthy Apamean no. 312.

320. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 320 (omitting wife's name).

Aur. Zosimos to his wife Pe[lagia]: fine payable to *tameion* den. 500.

321. (R. 1888). Αὐρ. Θεοδώρα Φιλαδέλφου ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώων ἐμαντῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ μου Αὐρ. Δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου· εἰς δ' ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται· ὅς δ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσει ἐπισενευκεῖν τινά, θήσει εἰς τὸ ἱερώατον ταμεῖον Ἀττικὰς φ'. Ἐγένετο ἔτους τκζ', μη(νὸς) ι', ι'. A.D. 243.

The fine is payable in Attic drachmae, as at Thyatira BCH 1887 p. 481 and in the neighbouring parts of Lydia ib. 397. The names are suggestive of Chr. origin.

322. (R. 1882, 1890). Dikeji: letters faint and worn. Κλ. Ὑλας ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώων ἐμαντῇ καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ συνβίῳ μου Ἀγριππίνῃ ἡτῆς, κατ(α)στραφ[ῆ]ς (l) τυχοῦσα, συντόμως ἔλυσεν τὸν [γ]άμον¹. ἐτῶν γ(α)ρ οὐδὲ τριῶν συν[ε]βίω[σ]έ μοι χρόνον[ν]; νέα δὲ κῖτε ὀκτωκ[ε]δεκαετῆς ἐνθάδε· εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώων ἕτερος οὐ ταφήσετε· ὅς [δ' ἂν] κακούργως ἐπιβουλεύῃ τῷ τόπῳ, ταμίῳ δώσι δὴν. φ'.

Agrippina was married at the age of 15 to [Ti.?] Claudius Hylas; and in the third year of her married life she died suddenly. καταστροφή (read by Hogarth very ingeniously²) is common in the sense of death. ἔλυσεν φάος (on the analogy of βίον λύειν) at Cyzicos *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 129.

323. (R. 1888). Ἀρ. Κοσμία τῷ ἀνδρὶ — καὶ ἐμαντῇ [ἐποίησεν — εἰ] δέ τις ἕτερος ἐπιτηδεύσει τεθῆ[ναι, θή]σει ἰς τὸν φίσκον δην. φ'. [τοῦ]του ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέ[θη ἰς τὸ] ἀρχεῖον· ἔτους σοή, μη(νὸς) β', α'. A.D. 193.

The abbreviation Ἀρ. also in no. 332.

324. (R. 1891). [—] Λούκιος Πρ[εῖμου?] καὶ Ἀφφία Διδύμου ζῶν[τες] [ἐποίησαν] τὸν βωμὸν κ[αὶ τὴν ἐπὶ] αὐτοῦ σορὸν· [εἰς δ' ἕτε]ρος οὐ τεθή[σεται. ἔτει] τιδ'. A.D. 229–230.

325. (R. 1888). *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 p. 35. Aur. Mordios to his wife Artemonis: fine to *tameion* 500 den.

¹ [γ]άμον JGCAnderson.

² ΚΑΙ ΠΑΚΤΡΑΦΕC in our copy.

Mordios as a personal name seems to occur only here: it is connected with Mordiaion, the old name of Apollonia Pisidia. Morzios and Morzeos, which are found in Asia Minor, are variants of Mordios; cf. Nazianzos and Nadiandos (Philostorg. *Hist. Eccles.* VIII 11), Ζιζιμηνή and Διδυμηνή as epithets of Cybele (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 227 n, *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 p. 237).

326. (R. 1891). M. Bérard in BCH 1893 p. 320. Ἀργηλία Νύσα to mother Satournina and brother Auxanon: fine payable to *tameion* 500 den.

327. (Hogarth-Headlam 1890). M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 320. Xenon to his father Gaios.

328. (R. 1888). CIL III 7055¹. *L. Vario L. F. Fab. Maximo L. Varius L. F. Fab. Maximus pater (centurio) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)*.

This inscription must be later than 42 when *legio* VII received from Claudius the titles *Claudia Pia Fidelis*. The legion was stationed in Moesia from 71 onwards. Varius Maximus was probably detached on some special duty and stationed at Apameia, perhaps to be at the orders of the fiscal officials.

329. (R. 1888). CIL III 367, 7056, omitting the Greek text (which Ar. puts on the wrong side). (A) [Οὐαλέριος Ἰουλιανὸς Ἰουλιαν?]οῦ καὶ [Κασσία Κουαρτεῖνα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ] ζῶν[τες καὶ φρονοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς] ἐποίησαν [τὸ ἡρώον καὶ — καὶ] τὴν κατὰ[γαίον καμάραν — ἐ]ς ἣν ἐ[τερος οὐ τεθήσεται· ἐ]ὰν δέ τις ἕτερον πῶμα εἰσενέγκῃ, θήσῃ ἐς [τὸν Καίσαρος φίσκον δη. φ'. ἐγράφη] ἔτι σνέ'.

(B) *D. M. Cassia M. [F.] Quartina vi[xi]t annos XXV. Valerius Jul[i]anus (centurio) Leg. VII Cl. coi[u]gi. H(ic) s(ita) e(st)*.

The Latin inscription is the work of an uneducated person, who could not use the formulae correctly; and the letters are rudely engraved. The letter F was omitted by the engraver in the first line; and parts of *vixit* and *Julianus* were omitted. In bilingual inscr. the Latin generally comes first; another exception occurs no. 307.

Here again as in no. 328 we have a centurion detached from *legio* VII and residing with his family at Apameia.

This bilingual inscription was engraved on two blocks of limestone in the wall of a heroön. The Greek inscription was engraved in long lines extending over one stone and encroaching on the next. It is dated A.D. 170–1, and was composed when husband and wife were both living;

¹ Less correctly CIL III 366.

owing to the loss of the left-hand stone the names are uncertain. I have restored it approximately on the supposition that the Latin inscription was composed by the husband after his wife died, and was placed alongside of the older joint inscription: this seems probable from the arrangement on the stone, which seems to mark the two texts as companions. The date A.D. 170-171 is an important addition.

330. (R. 1890). C. Vennonio C. L. Eroti heredes ex testamento. Γαίῳ Οὐεννωσίῳ Ἐρωτί κληρονόμοι κατὰ διαθήκην.

Eros was freedman of a resident Italian.

331. (R. 1891). Αὐρ. Παπιαυ[ῆ] Παπίου [κατεσκεύασε]ν τὸ ἡρώ[το]ν ἔμμεντῇ [καὶ] τῷ ἀνδρὶ μου Ζωτικῷ [καὶ] τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν· εἰ δέ τις ἄλλος ἐπιτηδεύσι, θήσι ἰς τὸ ταμίον (δηνάρια) φ'.

332. (Hogarth-Headlam 1890). Dikeji. AP. Πολυχρό[νιος] τῷ γλυκυτότῳ [νίῳ] Πολυχρονίῳ τ[ὸν] βωμόν ζήσαντι ἔ[τη] δ' καὶ ἡμέρας Π \ ΕΙΝΑΙΑΥΞ \ ANE ΔΙΑΣΤΟ ὅς δ' ἂν σκυλῇ δώσει τῷ [ἱερωτάτῳ] ταμίῳ [δην. ? See no. 661.

333. (Hogarth 1890). ἡ δεῖνα ἔστησε ἑ[α]υτῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ [αὐτῆς] Πρεῖμῳ Πρεῖμο ?]ν¹, ἀρχάς τε τετελεκότι πάσας καὶ [χ]ρεοφυλακήσ[αν]τι καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντι, γρα[μματεύσαντι], ἐργεπιστατήσαντι, καὶ Πανέλληνι γενομ[ένῳ]· ζήσ[αν]τι καλῶς. Π[ρ]εῖμε, ἥρως χρηστέ, χαῖρε.

On the *χρεοφύλαξ* see p. 368. Primus has been a member of the Panhellenic Council instituted at Athens by Hadrian see p. 430.

334. (R. 1881). BCH 1883 p. 308. [Π]ροκλιανὸς Τρύφων to my wife Cecillia Ammia, with permission to a later wife Ailiane to be buried: fine payable to *tameion* 2,500 den.

Proklianios and his second wife are mentioned no. 304.

335. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 249. Αὐρ. Σευήρα. to my son Apollonides: fine to *tameion* 500 den.

336. (R. 1888). *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 p. 35.

A. Αὐρηλία Τάτα ἡ καὶ Εὐτυχὺς Ἀϊτάλῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκ(κ) τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώφον, [ἐπ]ὶ δ' ² καὶ αὐτὴ τεθήσεται, ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν μοι κὲ τῶν τέκνων ἰδ' [ἐ]τ[ε]ρος ³ ἐπιτηδεύσι, θήσι ἰς τὸ ταμίον δην. φ'. (ἰδ' for εἰδ'.)

B. Ἔτι τρεακοσιόστῳ πέμπτῳ Αὐρ. Τάτα κατεθέμην Αὐρ. Ἀφφριανὸν τὸν υἱόν μου ἀγύναιον καὶ ἄτεκνον (A.D. 220-221).

¹ The father's name is uncertain.

² This reading is necessary, not *eis* δ: the letter before O is I.

³ ΤΡΟΣ in copy.

337. (R. 1891). Dikeji. *ἔτι τιη'. μη(ν)ς θ', ιε'. Αὐρ. Τατῖα Ἀρτέμωνος ἐπόησα τὸ ἡρώων τῷ ἀνδρί μου Φιλίππῳ ἀγορανόμῳ [ἐν φ'] καὶ αὐτῇ τεθήσομαι· οὐ [ἐ]ξουσίου ἐξουσι τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν [Φ]ίλιππος καὶ Ἀρτέμων οὐς ἦασε πατήρ τὸν [μ]ὲν Φίλιππον ἐτῶν ἑξ, τὸν δὲ Ἀρτέμωνα ἐτῶν δύο. Εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει ἰς τὸ ταμίον δην. φ'.*

338. (R. 1891). Sakiji. *Αὐρ. Τατια[ν]ος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Θαλία Τροφίμῳ μ. χ.*

Kiepert gives the name of the village as Tchakibdj, more correctly.

339. (R. 1891). Sakiji. [—] καὶ Ἀππᾶ[s? οὐτερ?]ανος Ἀπ[αμεί]ς ζῶντες [ἐποίησαν] τὸ ἡρώων ἐα[υτοῖς] καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις· ἰς δ' ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει ἰς τὸ ταμίον δην. χεῖλια. This seems to be the tomb of two brothers.

340. (R. 1888). [Μ]ενεδήμου τὸ ἀνγείον¹. The word ἀνγείον in the sense of 'sarcophagus' often occurs in Lycia²; it is also found in Lesbos³. In this formula the genitive generally follows: e.g. at Magnesia Mae. ἡ προμετωπίς Γναίου Δεκμίου Φιλέρωτος καὶ Κασκε[λλ]ίας Πώλ(λ)ης (Kontoleon *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 106).

341. M. Bérard BCH 1893 p. 321. *D. M. P. Aelio Maximo filio P. Aelius Maximus M. [F.] pater memoriae⁴ posuit.*

342. (R. 1882, 1890, 1891). Dikeji: worn and faint lettering.

*ἐνθάδε τὸν χρηστὸν πατέρα κατὰ γὰρ ἐ[κ]ά[λ]υ[ψ]ε
τὸν σοφὸν ἐν⁵ φιλή καὶ πίστε[ι] πάσης μνήμην [χ?]άριτος⁶
γράμμασι μνηύσας· Μυρισμὸς δὲ κέκλητο⁷
Αἴλιος, οὗ κἀγὼ τοῦνομ' ἔχω [πατρόθεν].*

The word πίστει does not point to a Christian origin: the meaning is uncertain; and in verse, of course, a wider choice of terms was practised than in ordinary pagan epitaphs. The person who is here buried and his father were both called Ailios Myrismos: cp. no. 263 and LW 815.

343. (R. 1882). Welcker *Philologus* 1845 pp. 265 f, CIG 3964 better Kaibel *Ep. e Iapp.* no. 387. The letters are rather worn; but it

¹ The letters ΑΙΔΗ·Η...ΩΝ in a line before may belong to this inscr., but the stone has been twice used.

² Petersen, *Reisen in Lykien* II no. 75, 76, 103, 104, 149, 179, 185.

³ Conze, *Reisen auf Lesbos* pl. XVII 4 p. 54; Cichorius, *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 259.

⁴ *causa* is wanted here.

⁵ My copy in 1890 suggests τόν [τε] σοφὸν φιλή, but there is a gap between ω and ν.

⁶ The reading is certain; ἀριστος was not engraved, but may be intended.

⁷ ΔΕ comes at the beginning of a line. Probably a word has been omitted by the engraver.

is hard to understand why such difficulty has been found in making a trustworthy text¹.

- τὸ ζῆν ὁ ζήσας καὶ θανὼν ζῇ τοῖς φίλοις·
 ὁ κτώμενος δὲ πολλὰ μὴ τρυφῶν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις,
 οὗτος τέθνηκε πε[ρι]πατῶν καὶ ζῇ νεκ[ροῦ βίον ?]
 4 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐτρύφησα Μηνογένους ὁ κὲ Εὐσταθῆς
 μετέδωκ[α] ἐμαυτ[οῦ] πάντα τῇ ψυχῇ καλὰ·
 ἀμάχως ἐβίωσα μετὰ φίλων κὲ συγγενῶν·
 μηδέποθ' ὑπούλως ἢ δολίως λαλῶ(ν) τινί.
 8 οὗτος ὁ βίος μοι γέγονεν ὅταν ἔζων ἐγώ·
 ἐς πάντα δ' ἠτύχησα, ἐμαυτὸν πιστεύσας θεῶ,
 τὸ δ' [ὀφ]ει[λ]όμενον ἀπέδωκα τῇ φύσει τέλος.
 'Ροῦφ[ος] ἐπήυσα Μηνογένει μου γλυκυτάτῳ πατρί
 12 κὲ Παύλει Μ[η]νο[γ]ένου φιλάνδρῳ μέχ(ρ)ι τέλους.

11-12 show that Rufus erected the tomb to his father Menogenes and Paulis wife of Menogenes: the reading Παυλεῖ is certain. The gen. form Μηνογένου is common in Asia Minor.

The chief interest of the inscr. lies in the first ten lines, the composition of Menogenes himself. Menogenes Eustathes was an epicurean in philosophy, and the lines express his views on life, in a tone very similar to no. 232, and like it bearing the stamp of anti-Christian feeling. The Christian spirit which objected to free enjoyment of life for self and friends is stigmatized as 'death in life.'

344. Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 388 after Hirschfeld.

βαῖον μέινον, ξεῖνε, καὶ ὕστερον ξυθα πορεύσῃ
 μὴ προλιπὼν στήλῃν, ἀλλὰ μαθὼν [τ]ί λέγει.
 Νάρκισσος νεώτερος ἐνθάδε κείμει,
 δν [ἐ]τ[ε]ξε Ζωτικὴ Παρθ[εν]ί[α] κ[α]τ[ε]άνον φιλίσ.
 λείψα δὲ τέκνα καὶ σύνβιον· τοῦτο ποιήσας²
 τοῦτο μόνον λύπησ εἰς Ἀίδην ἔμολον.

¹ Hirschfeld's copy is better than Hamilton's, but the following corrections (to mention only important differences) are needed in it. 1, ΤΟΙΣΦ. 2, ΝΥΝΤΟΙΣ. 3, ΤΕΟΝ. 4, ΕΥΣΤ. 6, ΩΣΑΜΕ. 11, ΥΗΑ. 12, ΑΥΛΙΜ· ΝΟΙΕΝΟΥΦΙ and ΜΕΧΙ (clear on the stone). In 7 his λαλῶν and in 6 his ἀμάχος may be preferable; but the reading seemed to me certain on the stone (I had his copy before me). I found the end of 3 indecipherable, but

the parts which I copied do not suit the restoration given above from Kaibel (whose edition was unknown to me when I copied the text). In 3 my copy has ΠΕΝΠΑΤ, in 10 ΕΙΔ for ΕΙΑ.

² A whole line containing about 12 letters is erased with deep horizontal cutting, evidently intentionally, whether in ancient time or not. Kaibel's supplement το ποιήσας is evidently wrong; the space demands more; but I have nothing better.

The epigram has been copied from some older form, and the metre is ruined by the change of names.

345-349. These important inscriptions open up many difficult questions, which lie apart from our proper subject, and demand too much space to be given here. They consist of (1) a letter in Latin from Paullus Fabius Maximus, Proconsul of Asia between 10 and 1 B.C.¹, regulating the calendar, enumerating the months in order with the number of days, and fixing the opening of the year on IX Kal. Oct., the birthday of Augustus. This Asian year, beginning from 23 Sept. as New Year's Day, is given in the table p. 204: the first day of each month was distinguished by the name Σεβαστή²: probably also certain important anniversaries in Augustus's life were called Σεβαστή, see p. 205 (5): the first month was μὴν Καίσαρος. The letter was probably addressed to the *Koinon* of Asia. (2) Various Greek documents, including perhaps a translation of the Latin letter, certainly a decree of the *Koinon* (οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες), and perhaps a decree of the city where the monument was erected. In the decree of the *Koinon* it was ordered that copies of the Proconsul's letter should be engraved on marble stelai in the leading cities of each Conventus (ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγουμέναις τῶν διοικήσεων πόλεσιν); and fragments of the monuments on which they were engraved have been found at Apameia, Eumeneia, and Dorylaion. The decree of the *Koinon* was proposed by the Argyrotamias.

The Apamean inscribed stones were in some building like a temple. The Latin inscription was engraved in four very long lines (perhaps running round the whole four sides of the building) on the epistyle. On the epistyle below the four Latin lines was a single line of Greek, which, though lowest, is larger than the Latin (letters in highest Latin line $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. high, Greek letters $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. high). This Greek line must have been the most important, being the one intended to be conspicuous: probably it was a sort of summary or title. The Greek inscriptions were engraved in columns of thirteen lines on the blocks of the side walls: the block which is published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 pp. 282 f was $26\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and $20\frac{1}{2}$ in. broad³. The columns of the inscription were broader than the blocks; hence each block bears incomplete lines. Three blocks

¹ Perhaps 8-7 B.C.

² The name Sebaste for some day of the month is found in Asia Minor at Iasos, see inscr. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 161 (Th. Reinach): at Pergamos *Inscr.* no. 374 (Fränkel): at Magnesia Mae. BCH 1888 p. 329, *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 318: at Ephesos *Brit. Mus.* 481 l. 321 (2nd An-

theaterion): at Trajanopolis LW 1676 (6th Daisios) in the Lycian and Egyptian Calendar (the first of each month, Usener *Bull. dell. Inst.* 1874 pp. 73 ff).

³ The holes in the top show that another stone stood upon it. None of the other copyists give measurements of the blocks.

are given CIG 3957 (one repeated better BCH 1893 pp. 314 ff), one CIG 3902 b, one *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 pp. 282 f, one epistyle block ib. pp. 235 ff. Another part of the same inscr. has been found at Dorylaion; it is published by M. Radet *En Phrygie* p. 136 and by Mommsen CIL III *Suppl. Auctar.* 13651¹ from a different copy.

Paullus Fabius Maximus left his mark on the province of Asia in other ways: the Sminthian games bore his name for two centuries or more, as *Σμίνθεια Παύλεια*², probably as having been organized or remodelled by him. It is not unlikely that he had worked them into a general scheme for romanizing the province, of which the remodelling of the calendar formed a part. Hence the temple of Rome no. 302 may have been the building on which this inscr. was engraved.

350. (R. 1883). Bey-Keui. [τ]μα'. Αὐρ. Ὁφέλλης ἐποίησα τὸ ἥρωον Αὐρ. Εἴτα τῇ θυγατρὶ μου μ. χ. καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μου Αὐρ. Κελευομένη· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος [ἐπιτη]δεύσει, θήσει ἰς τὸν φίσκον δην. φ'.

////// Μ·ΑΔΑΥΔΡ
ΟΦΕΛΛΙΣΕΠΟΙΗ
ΣΑΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΑΥΔΡ
ΕΙΔΘΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΜΟΥ
ΜΝΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΚΑΙ
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΤΙΓΥ
ΝΕΚΙΜΟΥΔΑΥΔΡΔΚΕ
ΛΕΥΟΜΕΝΗΕΙΔΕ
ΤΙΣΕΤΕΡΩΣ//////
ΔΕΥΣΙΘΗΣΕΙΙΣΡ
ΤΟΝΦΙΣΚΟΝΧ'Φ

The curious name Keleuomene, elsewhere unknown, may suggest, but is far from proving, Christian origin. For the form cp. Sozomene, Agapo-

¹ The proofsheets were sent to me early in 1895 by Prof. Mommsen; it has not yet been published.

² Wadd. 1730 b, which is probably not earlier than the end of the second century.

menos (no. 357), both given in Pape. The palmettes inserted so often are perhaps a Chr. symbol, see no. 465 and § 2. See p. 493.

The date by letters without *ετους* occurs no. 646, not far away.

351. Bey-Keui. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 255.

Αὐρ. Κυρίων Δαμ[άλου?] Φρόντων to his wife Domna and children : Fine to tameion [α]φ'. ἐγένετο ἔτι τκδ', μ(ηνὶ) α' (A.D. 239).

352. (R. 1888). At the top of the steep slope leading up from Tchapali two miles beyond Bunar-Bashi (*Fontes Aurocreni*) on the road from Apameia to Apollonia : boundary stone of Apollonia in the form of a dedication Θεοῖς [Ε]νορίοις on behalf of Hadrian A.D. 135 (text *Hist. Geogr.* p. 172), marking at the same time the limits of the province Asia and of Apamean territory. I once thought that no. 164 may mark the limit of Asia (and of Apameia) on SE., but more probably it is the limit between an imperial estate and the territory of Konana.

APPENDIX III.

AUOKRA.

AUOKRA is mentioned as a bishopric in several *Notitiae*: in I, VII, VIII, IX and in De Boor's *Notitia* it is called Aurokla, at *Concil. Chalced.* A.D. 451 Aulokra and Aurokra, and in Hierocles Αὐράκλεια¹. Wesseling recognized that the name which appears in these various forms must be the noun from which was derived the adjectival form Aulokrene; and this seems so obvious that I should have assumed it without a word, had not M. Radet disputed it. He identifies Aurakleia-Aurokla with Akroēnos²; but I doubt whether any philologist will follow him in identifying two names so different in character. The essential element in Αὐροκλα cannot be compared by any reasonable philological process with that in Ἀκρο-ηγός (where -ηγός is the widely spread adjectival suffix).

¹ So Parthey: Αὐρακλεία Burckhardt: ὁ Αὐρόκλων *Notitiae*: ὁ Αὐροκρῶν and Αὐλόκρων *Conc. Chalced.*: τῆς Αὐροκλέων πόλεως *Conc. Const.* A.D. 448. Hierocles probably deduces Αὐράκλεια from the entry in his authority ὁ Αὐροκλέων (ἐπίσκοπος). Similar wrong inferences are his Βριάννα (ὁ Βριανῶν).

² *Il est évident qu'Αὐρακλεία est Ἀκρο-ηγός*, see his *En Phrygie* p. 118. I regret to have to differ so widely from M. Radet in topographical questions (but I can at least admire and agree with him in historical questions): his topography is founded on principles which are often in contradiction with mine, and Aurokla

The forms used at the Council of Chalcedon are the most important, because there we have the actual signatures of the bishop: his regular formula is 'Ακύλας ἐπίσκοπος Αὐροκρῶν ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα, *Aquilas episcopus Aurocorum subscripsi*¹. Hence Αὐροκρά must be taken as the native name, with ethnic Αὐροκρεὺς, and local adjective Αὐροκρηνός. Now it is universally admitted, as beyond question, that the fountains in the plain above Apameia were usually called Aulokrene, and the mountain range beside the lake was called *mons Aulocrenus*, as Pliny mentions. The latter name shows plainly that *Aulocrenus* is a local adjective. Now, even without laying special stress on the Chalcedonian form *Aulokra*², it is obvious that a lake, which produced reeds used for making flutes and was associated with a legend about the origin of the flute, was sure to originate the grecization of Αὐροκρηνή into Αὔλο-κρήνη (where the change of accent is facilitated by the change of category, an adjective to a noun).

Again, it is, in my opinion, a matter not admitting of doubt that the springs at which Manlius encamped in his march from the shores of Lake Askania to the plain of Metropolis and thence to Synnada, called by Livy *Rhotrini Fontes*, are the fountain Aulokrene. The line of march is beyond question: there is one road, and no other. Prof. G. Hirschfeld's identification of Aporidos-Kome confirms it. There are no other important springs in the whole district, except those of the Maeander-branches; and of these only Aulokrene could be on the march of Manlius. This identification is tacitly admitted by M. Radet; though he has not spoken in his text about it, yet his map shows that he regards Livy's *Rhotrini Fontes* as the common Aulokrene; and, when he admits the identity of the fountains, I presume that he accepts my argument identifying the names Rhocrini³ Fontes and Aulokrene, through an intermediate form Αὐροκρηναὶ Πηγαί, a form which in all probability

is a typical case. His identification could be justified only by supposing that Aurokra or Aurokla is a seriously corrupted form; but it is supported by so many diverse authorities that the supposition is inadmissible.

¹ The form shows that the native pronunciation was Αὐροκρά, not Αὔροκρα (the latter being probably a grecized pronunciation). The signature is given in *Actiones* III, VI, and XVI (in III Αὐροκρῶν in margin, Αὐροκλῶν in text, Latin column *Aurocorum*). In the general list of bishops in *Actio* I, the form is

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Αὔλοκρων. In the Latin the forms *Auto-clinus* (*Act.* XV) and *Androsiorum* (*Act.* XVI, I) are mere corruptions.

² Involving an adjective Αὔλοκρηνός, Αὔλοκρηνή.

³ The corruption *t* for *c* is a common phenomenon in MSS. Mayhoff quotes the same corruption in Pliny XVI 240, where three MSS. have *Aulotrene*, an exact parallel to *Rhotrini*. Probably the MS. of Polybius, which Livy had before him, was blurred, so that he read POKPHNAI in place of AYPO-KPHNAI.

K

Polybius (from whom Livy borrowed) used. But *Αὐροκρηναὶ Πηγαί* are obviously the Fountains of Aurokra; and it would be perverse to distinguish the bishopric of Aurokra-Aurokla-Aulokra from the Aurokra-Aulokra which gave its name to the fountains.

The sole reason that M. Radet gives for denying this identification is that the Apamean and Metropolitan Plains were assigned to Pisidia, and therefore the plain of Aulokrene, which lies between them must also have been in Pisidia. But this argument is very weak. (1) The boundary between two provinces is often very irregular; and it is often difficult to give a good reason why a district was assigned to one province rather than to another. (2) Moreover, if the theory stated on p. 445 as to the extension of Pisidia in A. D. 372 to include Apameia is correct, we can understand how the frontier that resulted from the operation was irregular at this point. (3) Finally it is not necessary to suppose that the bishopric Aurokra included the whole of the valley. The valley extends well up to the north and is divided from the Pentapolis by undulating ground, over which easy carriage roads can be carried at almost any point. I have always supposed that the centre of population was at Bei-Keui, where the only inscriptions of the valley were found; and that the northern part of the valley was classed in Salutaris with the Pentapolis, while the southern part with the lake and the fountains continued subject to Apameia (as it certainly was when Maximus Tyrius visited the lake and springs). Already in the map accompanying my paper JHS 188 the boundary between Salutaris and Pisidia is marked in this way. The frontier between Byzantine provinces often crosses the middle of a valley.

APPENDIX IV.

BISHOPS OF APAMEIA-KELAINAI AND AUROKRA.

1. JULIANUS acted in company with Zoticus of Comama (Conana?) against the Montanists about A. D. 180-90, Euseb. *H.E.* V 16.

2. Tharsicius Apamenus 325. Le Quien attributes to Apameia Kibotos (which he wrongly gives as a separate bishopric under Phrygia Pacatiana) Paulus Apamenus or Apameensis (classed to Phrygia) who was also present at this Council, and who must probably be bishop of Apia or Appia (on p. 1045 he suggests Acmoniensis for Apameensis, but Apianensis seems the easiest correction).

3. Theodoulos, who signed the will of Gregory Nazianzen, was perhaps

of the Bithynian Apameia; but is placed in Pisidia by Le Quien. This is improbable from the following name.

4. Auxanon *presbyter Apameae* was present at Conc. Constantinop. 381, which suggests that there was no bishop at the time.
5. Paulinus 451 and 458.
6. Conon Apameae in Phrygia episcopus, see p. 446.
7. Joannes Apamenorum civ. Pisidiae prov. 553.
8. Sisinnius Ἀπαμείας τῆς Κιβωτοῦ Conc. Nicaen. II 787.
9. Theognostus } rival Ignatian and Photian bishops, 879.
Theodorus }
10. Akylas Ἀυροκρῶν 451 (p. 482) called Abrostota by Le Quien.

APPENDIX V.

MAPS OF APAMEIA AND EUMENEIA.

THESE maps are adapted from the surveys of the O. R. C. engineers, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Purser. The heights are marked for the most part according to the careful railway measurements, and are therefore of the highest authority. On the heights of the lofty mountains, see note p. 2. A few heights are added from my aneroid reckonings. In the plan of Apameia and the surroundings the chief irrigation channels, *arik*, are indicated. The two profiles indicating height are adapted from Hirschfeld: everything else on this plan is due to Mr. S. Watkins.

NOTE. Nonnus mentions several features of Apameia *Dion. XXIII*,

- 512 οἱ τ' ἔλαχον Βούδειαν, ἀειδομένην τε πολίχνην
δενδροκόμον Τεμένειαν, εὐσκιον ἄλσος ἀρούρης,
οἱ Δρεσίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀβριμον, ὅστε βεῖθροις
Μαιάνδρου σκολιοῖσιν ἐὼν παραβάλλεται ὕδωρ,
516 καὶ δάπεδον Δοίαντος ἐπώνυμον, οἱ τε Κελαινάς
εὐρυχόρους ἐνέμοντο καὶ εὐναστήριον Ὀργοῦ.

(Ὀβριμον and Ὀργοῦ are conjectures, the former nearly certain.) These are contrasted with the Sangarios cities, and must therefore be placed in W. and S. Phrygia. Steph. mentions Boudeia, Temeneia (towards Lycaonia), Dresia and Doiantos Pedion (p. 623).

CHAPTER XII

THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTH-WESTERN PHRYGIA¹

§ 1. Christians and Pagans p. 484. § 2. Criteria of Christian Epitaphs p. 488.
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§ 1. CHRISTIANS AND PAGANS. The subject of this chapter is the most difficult and slippery in the whole range of the present work. In following up the epigraphic traces of people who aimed at avoiding obtrusiveness and escaping notice, we shall find many delicate cases, where Christianity may be suspected but cannot be proved; and it will be far from easy to distinguish the cases in which suspicion may be strengthened into comparative confidence from those in which it remains as yet a mere vague suspicion. I should formerly have felt disposed to say that in many inscr. the Christian tone is a certainty; but, since Drs. Ficker and Harnack and Hilgenfeld and others have declared that the epitaph of Avircius Marcellus marked the tomb of a priest of Cybele or of some eclectic with a smattering of Chr. knowledge mingled with his paganism, it has become clear that for the present certainty must not be assumed². It is, however, evident that these scholars have not thought of examining the other scattered Chr. epitaphs of the district; and the hope may be entertained that the series given in Ch. XII and XVII may affect their opinion.

The important article by M. Cumont *les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure*³ reached me in time to aid in making these chapters

¹ My friend Rev. A. F. Findlay hoped at one time to co-operate in this subject and began to transcribe the Chr. inscr., but other duties interrupted his work.

I am however indebted to him in many cases.

² See no. 657.

³ *Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Hist.* 1895.

better than they would otherwise have been. In several points his results have modified or guided my opinion; in many his independent agreement has strengthened my confidence in my own results. M. Cumont had not seen the articles on *Early Chr. Monuments in Phrygia* I-V, which I wrote in the *Expositor* some years ago; and the agreement in our main views¹ may perhaps be considered as a proof that they are natural and necessary inferences from the facts. M. Cumont has included in his Catalogue only those inscr. which he counts certainly Chr., a prudent and wise restriction. I have had the advantage of a wider range of facts (possessing several unpublished inscr. which throw some important side-lights on the problem); and the attempt will here be made to show that several inscr. which he left out of his list may be either reckoned as probably Chr. or suspected. In the former case they are printed among the Chr. inscr.; in the latter they are placed among the non-Chr., but the suspicion is stated and justified.

The progress of our knowledge tends, in general, to push back the dates which I at first ventured to name. In several cases the 'third' has to be substituted for the 'fourth' century, and the 'second' for the 'third.' Desirous not to exaggerate the antiquity of the documents, I erred sometimes in stating too late a date.

Christianity, when establishing itself amid an alien society, did not immediately re-make the whole life and manners of its converts. They continued to live in many respects as before: they were characterized by most of the habits, and some, or many even, of the faults, of their old life and of the society in which they lived. That is clearly shown in St. Paul's letters to his early converts: it is the experience of missionaries in pagan countries: it is the lesson we learn from the Chr. inscriptions of Phrygia. 'It took centuries for Christianity to disengage itself from its surroundings and to re-make society and the rules of life².' We find very few strictly Chr. names or social customs in the early period; we watch the gradual creation of a Chr. system of names during the third and fourth centuries.

Even Tertullian, who was disposed to go further than most in the direction of separating Chr. from pagan society, speaks of the former

¹ My theory there stated of the diffusion of Christianity over Phrygia from different sources is not within the scope of M. Cumont's article. One inscr., which I admit as Chr., is not accepted as such by him (no. 412).

² See my *St. Paul* p. 208; the picture

given there of the typical early convert will be justified in the following chapter. I believe that the above paragraph, which is fundamental in this investigation, is admitted in a general way by all. It is essentially the Pauline principle of life.

as men living in company with the latter, similar in respect of food, dress, surroundings and appliances, frequenting the same forum, market, baths, shops, fairs, &c.¹ We cannot doubt that the shopkeeper or trader who was converted did not, as a rule, alter the outward appearance of his life. People might converse with him in the street or the forum, and observe no reason to suspect him of Christianity. He did not break with 'all his old thoughts and habits and feelings and friends when he was converted. He lived in externals much as before; he observed the same laws of politeness in society; his house, his surroundings continued much the same; he kept up the same family names, and when he died his grave, his tombstone and his epitaph were in the ordinary style².' Yet we are now to essay the task of separating the Chr. from the pagan epitaphs, by observing the slight variations through which the Chr. avoided using the too pronounced pagan forms, while preserving the general character of the pagan epitaphs.

This picture of quiet, peaceful development will be found justified by everything which we find in the early Chr. inscr., but it is very different from the account given by Aelius Aristides in the second century. According to him the Christians cut themselves off from all Greek culture, from everything that was good and noble; they broke up family ties, and set brother against brother; their words, thoughts, and acts were alike void of good result for society; they stood aloof from the pleasures, the religion, and the duties of educated or loyal citizens; held no official position; comforted none who were in sorrow; healed no dissensions; gave no good counsel; made poverty and beggary into virtues; practised robbery under the guise of equality, and shameless vice under the cloak of rigid virtue; made evil into good, and reckoned ugliness as beauty; laid claim to be the true philosophers; and spoke villainous Greek³. But the whole tone of this description, together with the fact that Aristides classes the Chr. along with the Cynics as belonging on the whole to the same type,

¹ *Apol. 42 homines vobiscum degentes eiusdem victus, habitus, instructus, eiusdem ad vitam necessitatis itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis tabernis officinis stabulis mundinis vestris ceterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc saeculo.*

² *St. Paul the Traveller* pp. 208 f.

³ The last fault is the only one that is shown in the inscr. (see no. 354).

Arist. *ὑπὲρ τῶν τετραίων* II pp. 400f Dind.; Lightfoot refuses to accept this shocking picture as even intended for the Christians; but Neumann *der röm. Staat und die allgem. Kirche* pp. 35 f takes a more correct view, following Bernays *Gesamm. Abhandl.* II p. 362 (a fragment implying a change from Bernays's earlier view in *Lucian und die Kyniker*). See my *Church in R. E.* pp. 351 ff.

shows how exaggerated his picture was. Moreover, he spoke only from superficial acquaintance with the extreme partisans and the prominent martyrs; but he had no knowledge of the mass of undistinguished and obscure Chr., whose very existence was probably unknown to him except by rumour. It is this unknown multitude of common persons (who, as a rule, had not the courage and heroism to stand forth prominently as martyrs, or the intellectual power to shine as leaders and teachers), that are revealed to us in the sepulchral inscr. They are not represented to us in the Chr. literature, except when their errors and backslidings have to be castigated; but if we want to see what Christianity practically was as a working influence in the Roman Empire, these common men are well worthy of some share of the attention that is given usually only to the leaders.

The extreme Chr. attitude became the rule in the church of the fourth and fifth centuries. The results of this changed tone were by no means entirely good; the reasons for the change are worth study; and study must begin from the epitaphs, which were revolutionized in character during the course of the fourth century. M. Le Blant I p. 126¹ points out that in the Gaulish and other later Chr. inscr. the parentage of the deceased is rarely mentioned; and he explains this as a deduction from the orders given to the faithful to renounce all family ties and devote themselves entirely to God², and especially from the words of *Matthew XXIII 9, Call no man your father upon the earth; for one is your Father which is in heaven.* He quotes various examples of the martyrs (c. A.D. 270–300³) literally carrying out this precept, and declaring that they had neither parents nor family. From these more enthusiastic (and also bigoted⁴) Christians, the fashion spread; and Le Blant's examples show that in the fourth and fifth centuries the custom became common and at last almost universal. Along with parentage they also disclaimed all the other relations of

¹ Once for all I may here express my admiration for his great work *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, together with his *Nouveau Recueil*: the frequent references in the following pages show with what profit I have read it.

² *Matth. XIX 29, Mark X 29, Luke XIV 26, XVIII 29.*

³ S. Irenaeus of Sirmium *AA SS* March vol. III p. 555, Ruinart p. 433, S. Petrus Balsamus in Ruinart p. 526, S. Lucianus of Antioch, Ruinart p. 530: these examples belong to the period of Probus

and Diocletian. The answer of Hierax of Iconium about 163 A.D. (Ruinart p. 106) shows an earlier style (which might readily harden into the later custom) *verus pater noster Christus est et mater Fides qua in ipsum credimus; terreni vero parentes mei mortui sunt.*

⁴ It is not unfair to apply this last epithet to many of the martyrs. Along with their splendid heroism and devotion they showed sometimes traits, excusable in their situation, but not admirable, *Church in R. E.*, pp. 374, 351.

ordinary life, country, occupation, and rank : the one fact, *Christianus* *est*, superseded them all. But it is only in the language of the martyrs and other extremists that we find any traces of this custom so early as the third century : it had not yet affected ordinary society, and it does not appear in epitaphs.

M. Le Blant observes that the Greek Christian inscriptions state parentage far more frequently than the Latin, and he explains this from the non-existence in Greek of family names. But though this may have been a contributory cause, yet the earlier date of the Greek inscriptions is the principal reason, for the fourth and fifth century Greek inscriptions often omit the parentage. In fact the majority of the Phrygian Chr. inscr. are older than the formation of the distinctive Chr. customs. I know no example of a pre-Constantinian inscr. in the province of Asia, in which the parent's name is omitted.

M. Le Blant II p. 306 shows himself quite aware that the dislike to the mention of the father's name was only gradually developed, as Christianity established its own special formulae, and he dates inscriptions on which the name of the father is added *antérieure à la création du premier formulaire chrétien*.

§ 2. CRITERIA OF CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS. M. Le Blant II pp. 152 f has insisted on the local characteristics of inscriptions. Each district has its own style, its own 'formulae, symbols, writing, arrangement, ornamentation,' apart from characteristics due to difference of period. A careful study of them is one of the essentials of scientific epigraphy; and M. Le Blant has given a preliminary list of the local characteristics of Christian inscriptions known to him. In the eastern provinces his list naturally is very scanty¹. He mentions at Athens *κοιμητήριον* at the beginning of the epitaph, in Galatia *θείσις*, in Mopsouestia, Tarsos, Korykos, and Seleuceia *τόπος*, in Seleuceia and Tyana *μνημία*, in Mopsouestia and Tarsos *μνήμα διαφέρον*, in Seleuceia *χαμοσόριν* and *παραστατικόν*, in Korykos and Seleuceia *θήκη*, and in Korykos *σωματοθήκη*. But hardly any of these characteristics had come into use before the time of Constantine : they belong to a later period than we have to treat of in this essay. M. Le Blant would distinguish the Gaulish epitaphs which show these characteristics as early; but in his work the term 'early' denotes the fourth century, whereas in this essay, that period is considered late.

Inscriptions, in which the words used have absolutely nothing to mark the epitaph as Christian, but a cross or other symbol beside the text shows the religion, are frequently found in the western provinces

¹ They are also in some cases premature.

(Gaul and Italy). A few cases occur also in Asia Minor; e.g. CIG 3857 t, LW 780, appears to be an ordinary pagan inscr., as it is there published, *Εὐφρων καὶ Τατιάς Ἀσκληπιάδῃ τῷ τέκνῳ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες. Ὀνήσιμος* [καὶ ———] *τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονεῖς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐτείμησαν.* But fortunately M. Perrot¹ made a fresh copy, and observed the cross at the top marking the religion of the deceased, while mason's tools at the bottom indicate his occupation. We then observe that Euphron and Onesimos are suitable Chr. names; while Tatias and Asklepiades, though only ordinary pagan names, are often used by Chr. in other cases². But had it not been for M. Perrot's improved copy, these slender indications would have been insufficient to justify even a conjecture. In Gaul M. Le Blant mentions a number of inscriptions (II pp. 197, 255, 146, 263, 311, I 365), which have nothing decisive of Chr. origin in their language, but are indicated to his scrutiny as Chr. by their date, or situation or accompanying symbols.

An inscr. of later period may be classed as probably Chr. from its date alone: see no. 453.

Inscriptions which have nothing in their form or symbolism or language to mark them as Christian are sometimes proved to be Christian by their place of origin. Thus in the Catacomb of Priscilla *τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ θυγατρὶ Πούλχρῃ οἱ γόνεῖς μ. χ.*, and others occur of exactly the same type (Kaibel 1961, 1872, 1933, 1950, 1975). This criterion is, at present, useless in Asia Minor, where all the monuments as yet known (with perhaps the single exception of no. 393) were placed in a public and conspicuous situation amid the ordinary pagan monuments. Hereafter, in the course of excavation, discoveries may, perhaps, be made of specially Chr. cemeteries; but none are now known.

The cross is occasionally³ used in Phrygia, other symbols more rarely. The symbolism, which is so common on the Christian tombs of the West, hardly occurs on the grave-stones of Asia Minor. The ship, the anchor, the pharos, and the horse, which are common in Italy, but rare in Gaul⁴, are unknown to me in Phrygia. Only one example of the fish sculptured on a Phrygian monument occurs

¹ *Explor. Arch. de la Galatie* &c., p. 126.

² See no. 372, 355 (Tatia).

³ See no. 384, 427, 429, 434, 436, 441, 454, 458 f, 653, 662 f, 665-670, 676 f, 680: all these are of the fourth century or later.

⁴ The anchor occurs occasionally (only at Arles and Marseille Le Blant II

p. 158), but not the ship or the pharos Le Blant I p. 149. A pair of horses are once represented below a Gaulish Christian inscription, but more commonly in Italy, Le Blant I p. 402; the idea of course is the race and the victory, and a palm-branch is sometimes represented beside the horses.

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no. 404 (the monument probably was sepulchral, but its mutilated state makes certainty impossible). The monograms *, ✠, Α✠Ω, ΑΩ, occur sometimes, no. 371, 443, 673, 690; the dove only in no. 690.

The palm and the vase, though common in the West, are rare in Phrygia: the vase occurs in no. 388, and the palm no. 401, 662. Moreover the palm is perhaps intended in no. 654¹ (in which case no. 350, which I have long suspected for other reasons, would also be Chr.).

Probably none of these symbols was exclusively Christian. The fish, the anchor, &c. are found on pagan monuments, though very rarely (Le Blant II p. 312); and probably every symbol which was publicly used by the Chr. during the third century was selected, because it was also in pagan use and would therefore be less likely to attract special attention.

But it may probably be found that such symbols are commoner than is supposed in the Phrygian inscr. They are generally rude in outline, and so unobtrusive, that they often escape the notice of travellers, even of archaeologists, who are not on the outlook for them; and I am quite prepared to learn that later travellers discover Chr. symbols accompanying several of the inscr. published in this chapter. For example, no. 401 is published in BCH 1893 p. 246; but the palm-branch and other symbols shown in my illustration are not noticed. When I copied the inscr. I did not recognize the importance of the palm; but, being struck with the number of marks and symbols, half effaced by time, above and below the inscr., I made the rough sketch reproduced on p. 540. It was only when the study of De Rossi's and Le Blant's and Cumont's works had revealed to me the importance of the monumental symbolism, that I observed in this and other rough sketches in my note-books early examples of symbols well known in other lands.

In a few Phrygian inscr., chiefly N., but also sporadically S. (no. 393), the dead and the survivors are proclaimed as Christians.

¹ M. Cumont p. 11 note 1 takes these palmettes unhesitatingly as palms; but they are also used as ornaments in pagan inscriptions, sometimes apparently as punctuation marks, and I did not connect them even by hypothesis with Chr. symbolism, till I read his note. These symbols occur on inscr. which are certainly Chr. no. 654 and Le Blant I fig. 15, 38, 44 &c. Certainly, where a single palmette is used in the text of an inscr. to mark the end of

a line (as in BCH 1893 p. 274 no. 70), or to fill up a blank space at the end of an inscr., or where two palmettes form a symmetrical ornament at each end of a short line (as is the case with the last line of no. 78), it would be unjustifiable to dream of Chr. origin: but where the palmette is used very often in the text (as in no. 350) or is employed as a symbol apart from the text (as in no. 654), it may be adduced in confirmation of other signs of Chr. feeling.

There is every reason to think that these stones were publicly and openly set up, not hidden in private Chr. cemeteries¹. It was contrary to all the principles of the Church to proclaim the religion so openly, for it might imperil the whole Church of a district to draw attention so pointedly to the Chr. On the other hand Montanism inculcated unshrinking public confession and profession; and probably this small class of epitaphs may be attributed to that sect, though it is a difficulty in this theory that no specimen of this class has been found in the Montanist centre at Pepouza (where, however, inscr. are very rare).

Apart from a small number of cases, then, the Christians in Phrygia did not on their tombstones proclaim the religion of the deceased and of the survivors by words or symbols. We are left to infer that certain epitaphs are Christian by indirect reasoning.

§ 3. CHRISTIAN NAMES. In some cases the sort of names used is almost the only indication of Christianity, e.g. Pascasia in Le Blant II p. 262. In this case M. Le Blant finds another proof of Christianity in the double name *Optatine Reticiae sive Pascasie*; but, though it is certain that the Christians at baptism commonly took an additional name, and though the addition of a surname is far more the rule in Christian than in Pagan inscriptions, yet the custom was also not infrequent in non-Chr. society and is far from constituting in the East so sure a proof of Christianity as M. Le Blant² finds it to be in the West. Except with the formula *ἐπίκλην* no. 400, the possession of an alternative name cannot be taken in Phrygia as a proof of Chr. origin, unless it has the character of a distinctively Chr. baptismal name. There are however some names, which were greatly favoured among the Chr., and others which were exclusively (or almost exclusively) Chr. The presence of several of the former, and even of one of the latter, may be taken as justifying the hypothesis that the inscr. is Chr.; and if, in addition, we find in the text some other sign of Christianity, or even some slight peculiarity that differs from the usual pagan style (as e.g. greater freedom regarding admission to the tomb no. 380), we may regard the hypothesis as raised to a much higher degree of probability.

¹ No. 393 is in a retired position, but above ground and not far from the public road leading from Apameia to S., and not much more than a mile from the city: it is probably in its original position.

² The formulae *qui et, sive, qui vocatur*,

mentioned by him as only Christian are all known in the case of Pagans. *Super nomen* is not known to me except in Christian inscriptions; and the same is the case with *ἐπίκλην* (which M. Le Blant does not include in his list).

When a pagan was converted he did not change his name publicly. To do so would have been to proclaim his change of religion, and such publicity was discouraged strongly by the Church. Hence the common pagan names continued to be used by the Chr. The use of obviously pagan names was proscribed at the Nicene Council A.D. 325¹, and biblical names were ordered to be given at baptism. Yet such names as Mercurina, Jovina, persisted much later; and names like Phoebe, Nereus, Hermas or Hermes, &c., were consecrated in virtue of the early saints and martyrs who bore them, and escaped any such proscription.

Though in the pre-Constantinian period there had not yet been formed a distinctively Christian nomenclature, yet, even in the third century, the beginnings of a Christian system of names can be traced. Certain names were favoured, which, though common to the pagans, either conveyed a meaning that suited the new religion, or had been consecrated by some martyr, or in some other way pleased the Christians. Converts retained their old names; but they would favour Chr. names for their children. Hence we should expect to find in a family which had been Chr. for a generation or two a mixture of old family names with names of a more marked type. Lists have not been made, and cannot as yet be made usefully, for each district would vary. Alexander and Zotikos were evidently favourite names among the Eumenian and Apamean Chr., the former perhaps partly because of the Eumenian martyr², the latter because of its meaning. Tatia and Ammia are also very common in Eumeneia, and the reason here probably is that they were names belonging to certain Chr. families.

Such names as Agape and Pistis are exclusively Chr., while Elpis and Eirene, though used among the pagans, became by adoption characteristically Christian³. *Σωζομένη*⁴ and Redemptus seem ob-

¹ Le Blant I p. 76 quotes Concil. Nicaeno-Arab. cap. XXX *Fideles nomina gentilium filiis suis non imponant; sed potius omnis natio Christianorum suis nominibus utatur, ut gentiles suis utuntur* Labbe II 299.

² See no. 355. Of the other martyrs' names, Thraseas is unknown in the inscr., and Gaios is not very common in Chr. use (Gaios no. 354, Gaiane no. 358): see p. 494. Hence it was probably rather from its being hereditary in some Chr. family that Alexander is so frequent.

³ Le Blant I p. 45, who has collected most of the examples quoted in these two paragraphs, refers to Eusebius *H.E.* V 24 and *Acta Agapes, Chioniae et Eirenae* (in Ruinart). Eirene in Kaibel 1563 (quoted p. 497). Such names as A-deo-datus, Quod-vult-Deus (male and female), Deus-det, Servus-Dei, Homo-dei, which he also quotes, are of a later order than those mentioned in the text.

⁴ Sozomenos, however, is also pagan: so perhaps Agapomenos see no. 357, 350.

viously marked out as Christian: perhaps Agapomenos and Keleuomene, certainly Anastasios, Kyriakos (with its Latin by-forms Quiriacus, Quiracos, Hyracius, &c.), and in the Latin-speaking provinces Renatus and Benedictus. None of these names occur often in Phrygia: Agape perhaps no. 270, Elpis 260, Irene 408, Agapomenos 357, Keleuomene 350, Anastasios 416, Kyriakos and Kyriake 421, Sozomenos 400. But the subject must be studied in the detailed comparison of inscr. in the *Appendices*.

The strictly Chr. formations were at first only used as baptismal names (which at first seem, as a general rule, to have been treated as private and not engraved on the tombstone¹); but it is useful to glance at them, in order to detect the first traces of their appearance in the epitaphs.

The most remarkable class of names consisted of those which express self-depreciation, humility, and resignation to insult. The terms of contempt which were hurled at the Christians by the pagan populace, were accepted with a proud humility and adopted as personal names. Le Blant II pp. 66 f quotes many examples of this class, such as Credula, Alogius, Alogia (springing from the charge of folly); Injurius, Calumniosus, Contumeliosus (the charge of disloyalty and impiety); Importunus, Exitiosus (the charge of bringing misfortune on the state); Foedulus, Foedula, Malus, Mala, Maliciosus, Pecus, Ima, Molesta, Praejectus, Projectus, Projecticius, Fugitivus, Stercorius, Stercus (general expressions of hatred and loathing). Among this class may be reckoned Asbolos no. 412, Amerimnos no. 465, Acholios 462², Keleuomene 350. Such names as Onesimos³ have something of the same character. Euphron and others approximate more to the pagan favourite names, which were selected as bright, joyous, and of good omen, in remarkable contrast to the self-abasement of this Chr. class.

Names indicative of joy or victory, however, are very characteristic of the Christians. In Gaul and Italy Vincentius, Victor, Nice⁴, Gaudentius, Gaudiosus, Hilaris, Hilaritas⁵ are widely used. Hence there is rarely found in the fourth or later centuries any indication of

¹ Exceptions no. 385, 400, 412, 462, 465.

² Acholios bishop of Thessalonica, died A. D. 383.

³ A suitable name for slaves.

⁴ The Christian is the victor, *Apocal.* II 7, 11, III 12, 21. Most of these names are also found among the pagans,

but comparatively rarely Le Blant I p. 155 (who mentions that in the Ethiopian Church newly-baptized persons were crowned in token of victory).

⁵ Le Blant compares *Rom.* XII 12, XIV 17, 1 *Thess.* V 16; and allusions to the joy of the Christian life are innumerable.

sorrow or mourning on sepulchral monuments. As Christianity established for itself a definite set of customs and forms, it encouraged the view that death was the end of exile from God and the birth into a happier life.

Hardly any example of this class of name can be detected in the Phrygian inscriptions: it belongs to the post-Constantinian time, and had not begun to show itself in the third century.

Except those which were in common use, like Onesimos, Gaios, &c., biblical names are very rare in the early Phrygian inscr. Maria occurs no. 365, 413, 439, 440; and its early public appearance may be due to its being identical in form with a Roman name and more likely to escape notice.

The names of the following martyrs belonging to the district embraced in this chapter may be looked for in the inscr.

At Eumeneia, Thraseas, Polykarpos, Gaios, Neon¹, Longus, Diodoros, Metrobios² (27 Oct.), Alexander (Euseb. *H. E.* V 16).

At Apameia, Poenis? Euphrasia or Eupraxia³ (11 Feb.), Tryphon p. 450.

At Hierapolis Kyriakos⁴, Claudianus (25 Oct.), Victor, Alpheus, Romola (17 Nov.)⁵.

At Laodiceia Theophilos (bishop), Philippos, Auxentios, Pudens, Alexander, Zotikos, Bessia, Secunda (27 June *M. Syr.*, 28 July *M. Hieron.*), Herakleon, Diodoros (9 Oct.), Menas (23 June *M. Syr.*, 23 July *M. Hieron.*), Artemon or Artemius⁶, Fabianus, Sabianus, Sidon (Rhodon) (26 Jan.), Anteon (Antonion, Artheon, Antigonos) (14 June), Jovianus, Julianus, Aemilius?, Felix, Marcianus, Maxima, Saturnina (26 July).

§ 4. CHRISTIAN TITLES, SENTIMENTS AND EXPRESSIONS. In the pre-Constantinian period the mention of distinctively Chr. offices can hardly be expected. When we find in inscr. of that period *diakonoi* or *episkopoi*, they are usually officials of a pagan temple, not of

¹ With v. l. Konon.

² Polykarpos, probably an erroneous inference from Eusebius *H. E.* V 24.

³ In *Mart. Hieron.* the readings in different MSS. are (1) IN APAMIA. Poenis . Eophraxi . IN CAMPANIA Basiliani. (2) in campā poenis et eupraxi et in armenī basili et in vulturno| castrensis in camp̄ basiliani. (3) In appamia . poenae . et | eupraxi. Et in armenia . basilii. (4) In apimia eopraxi

In campania basiliani.

⁴ Eugari or Eucarie *M. Hieron.*

⁵ Perhaps not Hierapolis Phr.

⁶ Artemon is given on 8 Oct. in *Act. Sanct.* Artemius 26 Jan. in *Mart. Hieron.* may be a different person. If there is any historical groundwork for the legend of Artemon, it belongs to an early period, and the date assigned under Diocletian must be a late addition. But the *Acta* is a late and poor document, p. 512.

a Chr. church¹. The *episkopos* in no. 362 is a solitary exception, unless no. 443 also belongs to the third century².

As M. Cumont observes, of all the terms used for the sepulchre in early inscr., none but *κοιμητήριον* is exclusively Chr. It had come into occasional use by the middle of the third century (no. 445), but it never supplanted entirely even the obviously pagan name *ἡρώων* (no. 354). At Thessalonica in CIG 9439 the formula of dedicating *τὸ κοιμητήριον ἕως ἀναστάσεως* is dated by Kirchhoff as early as 'the third or even the second century after Christ'; but I could not accept such a date, for the inscr. seems to me obviously not earlier than the middle of the fourth century.

M. Le Blant II p. 123 finds a few cases in which such expressions as *mancipiis benigna*, *famulis benignus*, *blandus eras servis*, occur on Christian gravestones³; but it is only very rarely that such sentiments can be taken as a proof of Chr. origin. In many cases similar lofty moral sentiments were used by pagans; and in some cases (e.g. no. 232) they were inscribed on non-Chr. tombstones as a counterblast to Christianity. Kaibel remarks on no. 1588 (*Ἐρμολύνη χαῖρε, ἔτη βιώσας μέ, καλῶς πράξας, μηδένα λυπήσας μηδενὶ προσκρούσας*) *videtur Christiana*, and inscr. 387 is betrayed by a Chr. sentiment. But few such cases occur, and those only sporadically.

In the closer study of epitaphs certain formulae catch the student's eye as differing from the familiar type. Wherever anything strikes him as unusual, wherever there is anything that rises above the ordinary dull level, wherever there is the slightest trace of deeper thought or human feeling, the epitaph is worthy of being set aside, and labelled: analogous cases must be sought for and placed alongside of it, and the origin of the peculiarity must be sought for. In most cases, we shall find distinct evidence that the origin lies in the new

¹ A diakonos at Cyzicos *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 204, at Metropolis of Ionia *Smyrn. Mous.* no. σπδ', σπθ'. *Episkopoi* occur not rarely in Syrian pagan inscr. of the third century: see LW 1911, 1989, 1990, 2298, and Charisius in *Dig.* L 4, 18 (which is quoted by Waddington to prove that in Syria the *episkopoi* corresponded to the *agoranomoi* in Greek and Asian cities). *Episkopoi* were also known among the religious fraternities or *θίασοι*.

² No. 443 is probably later than

Constantine.

³ Formulae such as *πᾶσι φίλος καὶ οὐδενὶ ἐχθρὸς*, or *μηδένα λυπήσας μηδενὶ προσκρούσας*, or *amicus omnium*, or *omnes pie diligens*, *odio habens neminem*, are not uncommon in epitaphs, especially Chr.; but CIG 3865 at Temenothyraï, *Μάρκου Πολιίτου φιλοσόφου πάντων φίλου*, clearly belongs to the pagan philosophical reaction. On the whole subject see Le Blant II p. 209, and on the similar declarations of kindness to the poor and to slaves I p. 123.

religion; and that the inscr. is either Chr., or provoked from the opponents and rivals of Christianity.

This method requires great care, for mistakes have been made. There is a class of inscriptions, like *Νίκη Γλαύκου*, *Νίκη Νικολάου*, &c., found chiefly on the coast at Branchidai, Halikarnassos, Mylasa, Iasos, and in the island of Cos. Sir C. Newton first observed them, and interpreted them of victories in the games. MM. Cousin and Diehl¹ suggested that they were the epitaphs of Chr. martyrs, and their view was taken up and reinforced by Prof. G. Hirschfeld². In addition to other peculiarities which seemed to these scholars to be suspicious, they pointed out that the palm-branch (a well-known Chr. symbol) was in one case engraved beside the inscr.³, and that the father's name was never added. The latter point is an admitted characteristic of later Chr. inscr., but not of pre-Constantinian inscr.; and some of the Nike inscr. are as early as the first century. The reasoning of M. Duchesne, Mr. Paton⁴, M. Th. Reinach, and M. Cumont seems to me conclusive against the Chr. origin of this class of inscr. No Chr. accompaniments or names have been detected among them; and, where the class is so numerous, that objection alone would be fatal.

§ 5. THE RECKONING WITH GOD. From the pagan Phrygian conception of the nature of a grave, it follows that intrusion of any other corpse into the grave was a diminution of the prerogative and the rites of the first occupant. Christianity rejected such a conception of the grave. But it is always difficult to eradicate from the popular mind its conception and principles in the treatment of the dead; moreover, from a different cause, Christianity was naturally disposed to attach great sanctity to the sepulchre. There was, however, one marked difference: the burial of different families in one grave was essentially opposed to the Phrygian conception, whereas it was in perfect accordance with the Christian ideas of brotherhood and communion. Especially, the Christians longed to be buried close to the grave of a martyr or saint; and richer Christians often provided that their grave should be open to others or to the poor. Hence in any case where the epitaph gives wider admission to the grave, Christian character is probable, and will in many cases be found to be confirmed

¹ BCH 1890 p. 115: to which M. Duchesne replied, *Bull. Crit.* 1890 p. 138 (an article which I have not seen).

² *Philologus* 1891 pp. 430 ff: to which M. Th. Reinach replied, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*

1893 pp. 202 ff. New examples at Iasos BCH 1894 p. 24.

³ The goal (*meta*) is indicated beside it; and an agonistic sense is quite as natural as a Chr.

⁴ Paton and Hicks *Inscr. of Cos* p. 121.

by other indications. Even the admission of a friend outside the household¹ is a sign, at least, of wider and more educated ideas than the pure Phrygian, and epitaphs containing such a provision should be carefully studied: see, e.g., no 232 (which is not Chr., but also is not of the ordinary pagan type).

Apart from this difference, the pagans and the Christians during the second and third century attempted alike to guarantee the sanctity of the grave and deter all persons from unlawful intrusion into it: both alike enacted legal penalties, and invoked divine punishment, in case of intrusion. The legal penalty was usually a fine made payable to the fiscus, the city, or some other body, which gave that body an interest in protecting the tomb: occasionally the penalty was made payable to any one who took up the case and prosecuted². In such enactments no religious scruple was violated; Christians and pagans met here on common ground; and their epitaphs are undistinguishable, so far as legal penalties are concerned³.

The pagans often sought Divine protection for their graves⁴. But it was not possible for even the least instructed Christian to appeal to Helios, or Leto, or Soteira, to guard their graves; and, as the desire to trust the safety of their graves to God was probably even stronger among the Christians than among the pagans, they sought after forms of adjuration which would conform to their religious views. Further it was necessary that these forms should not be too openly Christian: they must be so general in expression as not to constitute an open declaration of their religion. Hence such an expression about the violator as 'may he not inherit the life to come'⁵ was not engraved on a Eumenian tomb. It might have been used by a martyr on his trial, who was boldly declaring his principles when challenged⁶; but in ordinary circumstances declarations of that kind were not made in public. Various expressions were devised to suit this need, to avoid at once offence against the common public feeling and outrage to

¹ See no. 380, 231, 232.

² τῷ ἐκδικήσαντι CIG 3915, &c.

³ This (which seems so impossible to *a priori* theorists about early Christian history) is attested by many epitaphs, whose religion is beyond doubt, no. 362.

⁴ It was usual to prepare one's own grave in one's lifetime.

⁵ Εἰρήνη ἐξήσεν ἔτη ζ'. εἰς οὖν τις αὐτὴν θελήσῃ ἀνορύξαι, τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα μὴ

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κληρονομίῃ, on which Kaibel 1563 remarks 'Christiana, opinor' (cp. Kaibel 625). M. Le Blant I pp. 290 f. collects many other examples, e.g. *coniuro vos per tremendum diem iudicii* or *habeat inquisitionem ante tribunal Dei nostri* (or *aeterni iudicis*). These belong to a later period and different circumstances.

⁶ See e.g. *Passio S. Bonifacii* § 2 ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ (Ruinart *Act. Sinc.*).

private Christian feeling; but by far the most important was one which seems to have been originated in Eumeneia, and to have thence spread to some of the surrounding cities, 'the violator shall have to account to the God.' The pagans often used the term 'the God' to indicate the great local deity; and it is also common in the Christian books. In no respect could it jar on the most susceptible of pagans; and yet it contains an idea, which was rarely expressed by them, while it has been at all times ready to the lips of every person trained in a Christian society. The pagans often appealed to their God, but rarely to him as the Judge: they often ask him to punish their enemy, but they rarely ask for fair treatment according to a reckoning of deserts.

It was probably during the first quarter of the third century that this formula was struck out; and it soon passed into very general use. There are twenty-six examples of it in Eumeneia alone, all obviously belonging to the third century¹. It is found all round Eumeneia, and spread N.E. as far as Dokimion and Pessinus, N.W. as far as Cyzicos, S.E. as far as Pisidian Antioch.

As M. Cumont has pointed out, this formula was modified from one which was occasionally used by pagans, though only one example is known, 'the violator shall have to account to the departed' (see no. 354). It is a characteristic feature that the pagan form is adopted with the smallest possible change, and the least perceptible modification of its spirit.

§ 6. OTHER FORMULAE AGAINST VIOLATION OF THE TOMB. Other Christian formulae were employed, probably originating in different places, and spreading out from their original home. In Phrygia Paroreios, Pessinus, and Herakleia-Perinthos², there occurs another rendering of the same sense: *δώσει θεῷ λόγον*: we cannot prove with such certainty the date of this formula, and it is probably not so early as the Eumenian form, for the examples known seem all to belong to the fourth century. Yet it also perhaps springs from a pagan expression, for in the example from Philomelion, the protasis retains the old semi-metrical form, which is used in the pagan epitaphs³.

In Melos inscriptions containing an adjuration to the public not

¹ It occurs in fourth century inscr. at Apameia no. 399, at Dokimion no. 684; but all other known examples are probably third century (in which period several are dated). See no. 373.

² See no. 354 note. Cp. Dumont no. 46 *πρὸς θεὸν ὁ λόγος*.

³ *ὅς ἂν ταύτῃ σορ[φ] κακοεργία χεῖρα προσοίσει, δώσει τῷ θεῷ λόγον τῷ μέλλοντι κρίνειν ζῶ[ν]τας καὶ νεκρούς* at Korase near Philomelion. Kaibel 625 is probably Chr.; *εἰ τις ἐπάνο θελήσει τεθῆναι, λόγον ἀποδύσει εἰς τὸ μέλλον* (if pagan, it shows the form in pagan use).

to do violence to, or intrude any corpse into, the tomb, are assigned by Ross and by Kirchhoff CIG 9288 f to the third or fourth century. One of these, containing a reference to 'the Angel here standing on (the tomb)¹, i.e. a relief or other representation of an Angel as guardian of the grave, mentions three presbyters, a deacon, and two vowed virgins², children of one mother. The names³ point to an early period, and support the date assigned by Ross and Kirchhoff on the ground of style and lettering; but the open reference to Church officials by title, and the concluding formula (*Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, βοήθει τῷ γράψαντι πανοικί*) make me unwilling to place it earlier than Constantine, while all other arguments are against the idea of a later date. We thus get an approximate date 320-340 for the concluding formula, and for the opening formula *ἐν Κ(υρί)ῳ*.

A third analogous expression takes an imperative form, 'thou shalt not wrong the God.' It occurs only in the Tembris valley, and once in Pisidian Antioch; and it is neither so obviously Christian as the second formula, nor capable of being certainly demonstrated by its varieties and accompaniments to be Christian, like the first formula; but its character seems highly probable. It will come up in a later chapter⁴.

A fourth similar form is found perhaps only once near Acrae in Sicily, 'may he not escape the notice of the God⁵.'

It has never been a characteristic of healthy Christian society to be satisfied with a few stereotyped formulae: the more vigorous it is the more varied is its expression. In Eumeneia there are, I believe, many Christian inscriptions, which do not employ the 'Eumenian formula.' For example, there occurs one outlying example of what we may call the 'Akmonian formula,' no. 231, which probably arose among the Jews or Jewish Christians.

§ 7. SECOND CENTURY CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS. The 26 epitaphs no. 354-380 all obviously belong to the third century; and there is no epitaph demonstrably Chr., which can be placed earlier. Yet it is obvious that there must have been epitaphs of Chr. at Eumeneia for more than a century before. Where are they? It seems unreasonable

¹ ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν ὄδε ἐφεστῶτα ἄγγελον, μή τις ποτε τολμῇ ἐνθάδε τινα καταθέσθαι CIG 9288.

² παρθελεύσασα, *ibid*.

³ Asklepis, Elpizon, Asklepiodotos, Agaliasia, Eutychia, Klaudiane, Eutychia. The name Asklepiodotos, which is got by slight variations from the

copy (reading Δ for Α and Ο for Ε), is badly maltreated by Kirchhoff *ibid*.

⁴ σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσεις τὸν θεόν. See also my *Early Chr. Mon.* I pp. 255 ff in *Expositor* 1888. An example of the pagan model may perhaps be recognized in Kaibel 772 μηθένα ἀδικῆσαι κατὰ τῶν θεῶν.

⁵ μὴ λάθοιτο τὸν θεόν Kaibel 254.

to suppose that the Chr. buried in concealed graves until about 220, and then altered their custom and buried openly¹. Much more probable is it that in the older epitaphs the Chr. character was even more completely suppressed; and thus they escape our notice. That is the case with no. 657, at Hieropolis, whose Chr. origin and second century date are practically certain: yet Dr. Ficker and others have demonstrated in a very ingenious way that there is no single phrase or word in the inscr. which might not conceivably be used by a pagan². That example may be studied as a specimen of the way in which the deepest facts of Chr. faith might be expressed publicly, in language that would not offend pagan feeling, on a monument that stood plain before the eyes of the world as a witness to the faith.

Probably, as the use of names by the early Chr. in Asia Minor becomes more familiar to us through the discovery of more monuments, it will be possible to identify some of the earlier Eumenian Chr. epitaphs. In the mean time, however, we must be content to remain in ignorance; but the suspicion haunts me that many, which probably belong to the second century, are Chr.³ Such epitaphs as no. 243 or 235, in which the statement of any penalty is carefully avoided (even at the expense of grammar in no. 235), suggests that before the Chr. formula was struck out, the Chr. sometimes contented themselves with mere omission of pagan elements.

In Hierapolis there occur two inscr. no. 411 f, in which the Chr. tone may probably be detected at an earlier date than in Eumeneia. If we rightly interpret them, one important fact results: the Hierapolitan Chr., late in the second century, still took shelter behind the permission accorded to the Jewish religion. These inscr. mention three feasts: two of them bear Jewish titles, while the third is concealed beneath an obscure name. The significance of this fact becomes apparent when the situation of the Chr. in Phrygia is considered: what they aimed at was legality in outward appearance more than

¹ No change in their relation to the pagans and the government occurred about that time to make such alteration in their customs probable: moreover in surrounding cities open sepulture was practised by the Chr., no. 411 f, 656.

² Their arguments make it unnecessary to press the point here. But when they go on to argue that therefore the inscr. is not Chr., we can only regard this as an extreme example among

scholars of the perception of the details blurring the conception of the whole. The progress of discovery will soon make it unnecessary to argue against this ingenious fantasy. But if German theologians are deceived, pagans of the year 200 might be so also. See no. 657.

³ See the list p. 532. For example in no. 265, of four names, two belong to Eumenian martyrs, Neon and Gaios, and the others are Teimotheos and Theophila.

absolute concealment. It is certain that the Chr. were numerous in Phrygia even in the second century; and it may be assumed that their strength was known in a general way to the whole population. But their religion was forbidden, and any convicted Chr. was put to death. Such was the theoretical principle; but in practice there was great laxity in carrying it out. Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius¹ practically ordered provincial governors not to observe Chr., unless their attention was called to them by a prosecutor, who formally accused them. But persecution in the Roman world could not be really effective, except where the government took the initiative, and sought out the Christians. In Rome there was no official prosecutor; rewards were given to volunteers who prosecuted successfully; and the carrying out of the laws in general was left to private initiative². Where Christianity was very strong, it would probably be rarely possible to find any private person ready both to brave the feeling generally entertained in ancient times against all volunteer prosecutors (*delatores*), and to incur 'the hatred of a united and energetic body like the Christians³.' The rarity of martyrs in Phrygia after the Antonine period⁴ (until the time of Diocletian) conspires with all other signs to show that the Church in Phrygia developed in peace and prosperity for more than a century before A.D. 303. There was a general indisposition among the officials and the pagans to begin any open action against the Chr.; and the Church, on its side, studied to use all the outward forms that would give legality, and to avoid anything which would tend to draw attention to it or to provoke prosecution. A spirit of forbearance in practice was encouraged on both sides, and in the course of generations this became the rule of practical life.

In pursuance of this policy, the Chr. put nothing in public documents, such as their epitaphs, which could be quoted as evidence of Christianity: if an official was mentioned, a title common to the pagans was used, as *episkopos* no. 362, perhaps *geraios* no. 361, 364. Jewish festivals were legal; and their names could therefore be used.

¹ The whole subject is discussed in my *Church in R. E.* Ch. XIV, XV; and I continue to think that where my view differs from those of recent scholars, such as Neumann and Hardy, it is nearer the truth than theirs. M. Aurelius exercised the acknowledged principles of state action much more severely, at least in his earlier years.

² It is doubtful whether successful prosecutors of Chr. were rewarded before the time of M. Aurelius; but the practice is vouched for at that period by Melito, see *Church in R. E.* p. 336.

³ *Church in R. E.* p. 326; cp. p. 480.

⁴ Neumann in his list *der röm. Staat u. d. allgem. Kirche* p. 283 finds none later than 184.

Benefit-societies were allowed by law under certain restrictions; and the communities of Chr. in the cities were therefore registered under suitable names, assimilated to those of trades or local guilds no. 411 f, 455. Where anything clearly Chr. was mentioned, it was hidden under a monogram, a symbol, or a strange name; and in all cases these resembled in appearance something that was pagan. For example, the Chr. sign * was very like the pagan *; and the readiness with which the one might be taken for the other is shown by the fact that a skilful and learned epigraphist like Franz actually interpreted * in no. 371 as *, and conjecturally rewrote a correctly copied inscr. in order to support his interpretation. That may be taken as an example of the errors which spring from the failure to recognize the true origin and character of the Chr. inscr.

We are therefore forced to look for meanings hidden beneath the surface in the early Chr. epitaphs. In doing so mistakes are inevitable in the earlier steps; but the material for study will increase, and errors will be corrected. For the present, the attempt to explain the Chr. inscr. in the *Appendix* to this chapter is offered as a tentative step in a difficult path. It is hoped that the remarks in this chapter, being founded on the impression conveyed by the evidence as a whole, will not be affected by some errors in single inscr.

§ 8. EUMENEIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY. To judge from the proportion of epitaphs, the population of Eumeneia in the third century was in great part Chr. Of the 71 epitaphs classed as pagan or doubtful, only 11¹ are clearly marked as later than A.D. 215, and most of these are suspected of Christianity (no. 380). In the same period we possess 26 epitaphs that are certainly Chr. Three persons are mentioned as senators in the second century², and six in the third³; the three are probably pagans, the six are Chr.

These facts show that Eumeneia was to a large extent a Chr. city during the third century. Naturally we should expect that the predominance of the Chr. element would be more marked in the second half of the century; for the more vigorous and resolute character of the Christians would make them advance steadily in influence⁴; and the lighter elements would be drawn after them. The

¹ No. 218, 223, 229, 231, 235, 236, 243-245, 256, 265.

² No. 204, 210, 219 (text and religion doubtful).

³ No. 359, 361, 364, 368, 371.

⁴ No one that has seen the difference between Chr. and non-Chr. population

in the East can doubt that the Chr. religion produces a far more energetic type of people: the Chr. everywhere are the successful and the wealthy people (so far as wealth can exist under Mohammedan rule).

coinage of the city continued to bear the old types; but that does not prove the city to be pagan. The Fortune of the city is a very common type; but, in the spirit of concession which evidently ruled at Eumeneia, probably a Chr. would not hesitate to authorize such types. The coinage ends about 260 A.D.; and it is not very varied. About 250-260, when persecution was being renewed, several Diana types occur, as if some acknowledgement of the established religion were necessitated at that crisis.

Further the inscr. convey the impression that there was no violent break between Greek and Chr. culture in Eumeneia. There is no sign of bitterness on either side. Even no. 232, which is distinctly anti-Christian, savours more of argument than of persecution; it seems to indicate deliberate choice of the better of two alternatives. The inscr. bring before us a picture of rich and generous development, of concession, of liberality, in which people of diverse thoughts were practically reconciled in a single society. But they also show us Eumeneia as mainly a city of Christians. Nothing similar to this is known throughout the ancient world: Eumeneia stands before us as the earliest Chr. city of which record remains, exemplifying the practical conciliation of two hostile religions in a peaceful and orderly city. The first requirement exacted from every Asian city by the Imperial government was order and quiet: the citizens felt this, and in ordinary circumstances the citizens seem to have confined themselves to verbal disagreement, while each section avoided extremes. The ordinary class of municipal inscr., empty honorary decrees and the like, are conspicuously absent in Eumeneia during the third century, though the epigraphic harvest is unusually rich: the decrees published in Ch. X *App. I* are all obviously earlier, except no. 197, which perhaps belongs to the philosophic reaction. This suggests that attention was withdrawn from the rather silly style of business that seems generally to have occupied much time in the meetings of Senate and Demos; and that energy was concentrated on the practical problem of working out, within the bounds of 'the Roman peace,' a balance between the stronger Chr. and the diminishing pagan party.

It would be interesting to trace the character of this practical compromise of interests; but evidence does not exist as to details. It was necessary to keep up the forms of the established worship of the Emperors, for that cultus was 'the key-stone of the Imperial policy¹,' and the maintenance of it was the test of loyalty: to the ancient mind

¹ *Church in R. E.* p. 324; quoted with approval by Mommsen in *Expositor* 1893 VIII p. 2.

'patriotism was another form of adherence to the national religion'.¹ Thus it was necessary for the city either to keep up the forms, or to break with the Imperial government and proceed to extremes. How the State religion was maintained in practice, we are denied all evidence; how far some Christians might go in acceptance of the recognized Roman forms we need not speculate; opinion and conduct varied widely, as we know, and as is natural; some doubtless condemned as sinful what others justified as mere acceptance of outward forms of politeness. The courtesies of society and ordinary life, as well as of municipal administration, had a non-Chr. form; and a wise toleration will always permit great variety of opinion as to how far politeness might honestly be carried in accepting the ordinary practices. In the course of the following centuries the forms of politeness became Christianized; but the process was only beginning in the third century. Probably the same policy which placed on the gravestone an appeal to 'the god,' leaving the reader to understand in his own sense a term common to both Chr. and Pagans, modified in similar slight ways many of the other forms of social and municipal life. But one thing we may take as certain: if Chr. entered the Imperial service or the municipal career, some sacrifice of strictest principle was required of them, and as magistrates they had to comply with many non-Chr. religious forms in a public way, for religion entered far more closely into the details of life in ancient times than it does in modern society and government. The simple fact that so many Chr. senators at Eumeneia are known to us, shows that the spirit of accommodation ruled there.

It has perhaps some bearing on this topic that so many of the Chr. inscr. are found at the villages near the site of Attanassos², marked by a fine old mosque with the tomb of a Dede³. The centre of the old Phrygian religion seems to have become also the centre of Chr. feeling. Religious emotion always clings to the old localities, taking on a Christianized form. It was doubtless this deep-lying religious feeling that made Attanassos the seat of a bishopric, as is mentioned

¹ *Church in R. E.* p. 190.

² Dede-Keui, or the Dede, is the now solitary mosque, which probably marks the site: Aidan is close to it: Tchivril and Yakasimak are a little further W. Fourteen of the 30 Chr. inscr. in App. were found in these villages (including 373).

³ The Dede or heroized ancestor,

among the Turks, is often a mere expression of vague religious awe, inspired by striking natural surroundings or by the presence of a decayed ancient civilization. See my paper on the *Permanent Attachment of Religious Veneration*, &c. in *Oriental Congress*. London 1892. Above, pp. 29 f.

above, p. 242. The mosque of the Dede shows evident traces of early Byzantine work. The bishop's chair and the Bema, which are at Aidan (no. 381, 382), are relics of the cathedral church of Attanassos, which was in all probability at or close to the mosque. The buildings attached to the mosque would well repay careful examination. In 1887 I was unable to effect an entrance, as the doors were locked, and the whole place was deserted¹. Relics may yet be found of a Chr. building earlier than Constantine at this site.

This outline which we have drawn of a Chr. Eumeneia is in accordance with historical record. Eusebius² mentions incidentally a city of Phrygia in which about A.D. 303 the entire population was Chr. Taken as a general expression, this may be accepted as quite trustworthy, confirmed as it is by archaeological evidence; and if one city was entirely governed by Christians, it is evident that the country in general must have been very strongly affected by the same religion.

§ 9. THE MASSACRE BY DIOCLETIAN. Even a mere casual glance over the list of Chr. inscr. in the *Appendix* must suggest the question, Where are the post-Constantinian inscr.? At Eumeneia 26 Chr. epitaphs certainly, and several others probably, belong to the third century, while only four can be classed to the fourth and succeeding centuries. The contrast between the rich intellectual and political life of the Christians in the third century and the inarticulate monotony of the many centuries that succeeded is painful: one recognizes in the numbers of our catalogue the signs of a great misfortune to the human race, the destruction of a vigorous and varied life.

Two facts stand out prominently with regard to this change. In the first place, it evidently did not happen by a gradual process. The inscr. are arrested suddenly; and there are no examples of an intermediate class between the earlier and the later. The time when the change occurred was the end of the third century, for no. 371 dates about 270 and no. 373 probably 290-300. As M. Cumont has pointed out, the reason for the change must lie in the great massacre by Diocletian and his coadjutors and successors A.D. 303-313.

In the second place, while it was a sudden calamity that arrested

¹ The Vakuf, or religious revenues for the maintenance of such buildings, were charged in the old Roman way described on no. 549; but as the value of the piastre diminished, the revenues grew less. The Turkish government some time ago took almost all these

revenues, charging itself with the maintenance; the situation was certainly a difficult one; but the result of the government action has been that most of these buildings are deserted and left to decay.

² *H. E.* VIII 11.

the development of this Chr. city, the effects were permanent and irreparable. The life of the city was destroyed. Up till A.D. 300 we can recover some idea of its development, we can read even on its gravestones the signs of active thought and work. After 300 there is a blank, dotted with the names of an archdeacon and a few bishops present at councils, with one epitaph. To a certain extent the stagnation of the Byzantine period is due to those causes, which we have sketched in preceding pages¹, the over-centralization of government, the decay of municipal self-government, the indifference of the Imperial administration to the duty of educating the people. But these causes were acting during the third century, and yet thought was apparently more active and varied in the city during that century than ever before. There seems no adequate explanation of the obvious facts except in some great calamity, which destroyed the active and progressive section of the population, and gave free play to the forces that were making for stagnation and ignorance.

These considerations suggest that the persecution by Diocletian must have taken in Eumeneia the form of a thorough-going massacre; and a massacre cannot be thorough unless it is deliberately and carefully planned. This is in perfect agreement with what is recorded about the measures carried out under the sanction of Diocletian. It is an established fact that prosecution was no longer left to private initiative, but the Chr. were actively sought out by the government in pursuance of a policy, resolved on after long deliberation, for exterminating the Chr. and destroying their religion. To this end was directed all the power of a highly organized government, moved by a single will, commanding almost unlimited resources, for the space of ten years. The government took advantage of a marked philosophic revival, characterized by strong anti-Chr. feeling; and employed for its own ends the power of a fervid emotion acting on men often of high and strongly religious motives. In the first two centuries of its history, Christianity had to deal with a decaying and spiritless paganism; but now it met a re-invigorated and desperate religion, educated and spiritualized in the conflict with the Christians. Inscr. 467 is a quaint and striking example of this spirit. In the *Acta* of Theodotus of Ancyra², we have an instance of the way in which the devoted fanaticism of such men made them convenient tools for carrying out the purposes of the government: the approach of the new

¹ See Ch. X § 6, and pp. 440, 444.

² This document is among the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, and has all the

character of personal knowledge and contemporary narrative.

governor of Galatia and the announcement of his intentions struck terror into the hearts of the Chr.: his name was Theotecnus, 'the Child of God,' in which we recognize one of those by-names, which were assumed by some of the philosophic reactionaries, in competition with the Chr. confidence in their divine mission, and the Chr. religious names assumed at baptism.

As an example of what took place in Phrygia, Eusebius mentions that the Chr. city, which was alluded to in § 8, was burned to the ground with its people, even women and children, 'calling upon the God who is over all'.¹ The exact circumstances are a little doubtful, for Lactantius is perhaps alluding to the same atrocity, when he speaks of a whole people in Phrygia being burned along with their meeting-place²; and Lactantius must here rank as the better authority, if they are describing the same incident. But it is only the blindness of uncritical prejudice, which sets aside such an incident merely because it is liable to become distorted or exaggerated in repetition. That is part of human nature. The essential fact is that the entire population of a city was destroyed by fire; and on that two excellent authorities are agreed. We must of course take the fact in its surroundings. We need have no doubt that the invariable choice was offered, compliance or death³, and equally little doubt that many would in ordinary circumstances have chosen the former alternative; but it lies in human nature that the general spirit of a crowd exercises a powerful influence on the persons in it, and many, who, taken singly, would have shrunk from death, accepted it boldly when inspired by the courage of the whole mass. Lactantius's statement implies that the people had assembled at their church: this would in itself be an act of defiance of the Imperial government, and probably the less staunch adherents would not venture on such an extreme course.

Moreover, to one who has by the patient toil of years tracked out these Chr. communities by their formula of appealing to 'the god,' it comes as one of those startling and convincing details of real life and truth, that the one thing recorded about the destroyed people is

¹ H. E. VIII 11 ὁλην Χριστιανῶν πολί-
χην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ
περιβαλόντες ὁπλῖται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες,
κατέφλεξαν αὐτοὺς ἅμα νηπίους καὶ γυναῖξί,
τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἐπιβοωμένοι· ὅτι δὴ
πανδημεὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες,
λογιστὴς τε αὐτὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ἐν
τέλει πᾶσι καὶ ὅλῳ δήμῳ, Χριστιανοὺς σφᾶς
ῥομολογοῦντες, οὐδ' ὅπως τοῖς προστάτ-

τουσιν εἰδωλολατρεῖν ἐπειθάρχουν.

² Inst. Div. V 11 sicut unus in Phrygia
qui universum populum cum ipso pariter
concentriculo concremavit.

³ Lactantius goes on to point out that
it was a point of pride and honour to
succeed in forcing any Chr. to comply:
any one ready to comply was always
welcomed.

that they died 'appealing to the god over all.' Unconsciously Eusebius writes as the epitaph over the ashes of the destroyed people the words by which we have recognized the epitaphs which they themselves habitually composed.

Lactantius mentions that this was done by a governor, and no governor could have ventured on such an act, unless he had a full commission to exterminate the Christians. A general massacre, evidently, was deliberately planned by the central government, and carried out by suitable agents. While this case has been selected as an extreme example of barbarity on the one side and of steadfastness on the other, it must be taken as indicative of the policy carried out everywhere. It may perhaps hereafter be proved that Eumeneia was the very city that suffered in this way; but, at any rate, the punishment was everywhere proportioned to the guilt, and Eumeneia, as being certainly more deeply infected than any of the surrounding cities, would be treated with proportionate severity as an example to the rest. We may confidently say that historical and archaeological evidence is agreed as to the fate of Eumeneia: the active and courageous element in the population was annihilated with fire and sword in the years following A.D. 303, and the development of the city was suddenly terminated.

While the government used the revival of anti-Chr. fanaticism for its own purpose, and while the revival was a contributory cause of the massacre, the main reason that induced Diocletian to give a reluctant consent to it was certainly not fanaticism. The measure which he carried out was chosen after long consideration as politically expedient. The Christians were opposed to the government policy: they were the party of reform, and, though they advocated their policy, as a rule, within the limits of the strictest constitutional agitation, yet the Roman government was never very tolerant of divergent political opinions. The Christians, as a whole, were necessarily desirous of change in the State policy: they were, as a rule, energetic as individuals and as a body, and therefore they naturally were opposed, whether consciously or not, to the centralized and paternal government policy, which more and more arrogated the right of ordering everything, managing everything, and thinking for everybody. That policy, which ultimately ruined the Empire, was endangered by the growth of freedom and individuality among the Christians; and it resolved to destroy the opposing element.

Freedom of spirit is a more delicate plant in the East than in Europe, in ancient than in modern time. Perhaps some persons may consider us mistaken in believing that the spread of Christianity

between A.D. 47 and 303 had fostered that tender and frail plant in the soil of Phrygia, and especially those who have least weighed the newly accumulated evidence will be most ready to condemn as fanciful the picture which we have drawn of the new Phrygian life as full of promise of a healthy and vigorous development for the Roman Empire; but none will deny that after the time of Diocletian there are few signs of such a spirit, and that, if the plant had shown any signs of growth before, it was effectually destroyed then. Individual estimates are more liable to vary in matters of religious history than in any other subject; but few, probably, who study the Chr. history of the first five centuries, can fail to be struck with the strong contrast between the Church of the fourth century and the Church of the earlier period, regarded simply as a force in society and in politics. From being the champion of education, it became more and more markedly the opponent of education, and looked on culture and literature and art with growing disfavour; its bishops were worse educated, till in 448 we find a Phrygian bishop unable to sign his name¹, but able to frame canons to bind the whole Christian world at the Council of Constantinople¹; and it became identified with the policy of centralized despotism and the destruction of individual freedom. The massacre of Diocletian, by exterminating the most progressive party in the eastern cities, destroyed the last chance that the Empire had of regaining vitality and health; education had always been dependent on the vigour of municipal life, and henceforth it sickened and died; when the pagan philosophic reaction had spent its force, there was no power left to withstand the barbarizing anti-Grecian tendencies which some of the Chr. party had always shown. Massacre then, as always, was proved to be not merely a crime and a stupendous folly, but also a terrible blow to the world, to civilization, and to humanity.

§ 10. DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN S.W. PHRYGIA. While Apameia shared in the development of Eumeneia, the inscr. do not show the Chr. party so triumphant, but they prove that it was numerous. As we have seen above (Ch. XI § 19) Apameia never obtained the titles and rank in the Imperial system that were granted to less important cities; and it is possible that the existence of so strong a Chr. party in the city always exposed it to suspicion and dislike in the eyes of the central government, for, even when the Empire was not inclined to active persecution, it was distrustful of the rising party.

If the preservation of inscr. had been uniform over Phrygia, it

¹ Elias of Hadrianopolis (*eo quod nesciam literas*): *Hist. Geogr.* p. 92.

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would be possible to draw many inferences from the comparative numbers of Chr. documents found in different districts. But historical circumstances have affected the numbers; and it is necessary to be very cautious in reasoning from them. Still, when we find in the Tchal district six post-Constantinian Chr. inscr. (402-407), and none earlier; and compare this with the numbers at Eumeneia (four and twenty-six or more) and Apameia (three and twelve or more), it seems safe to argue that the Tchal district remained pagan to a very much later date than the upper Maeander valley. The same inference might be drawn from other facts: new ideas and a new religion must have penetrated far more slowly into the uncivilized hill-country of Tchal, apart from the great lines of intercourse, than into more educated districts like Apameia and Eumeneia. It is, I believe, safe to say that the Tchal district was little affected by Christianity before the fourth century.

In western Banaz-Ova, there is little evidence: inscr. are rare, and Chr. inscr. are unknown except in the extreme N.W. district (no. 441-444). It is therefore highly improbable that Christianity spread there very early; and the only pre-Constantinian inscr. (no. 444) belongs to the N.W. Phrygian class¹, which is broadly distinguished from the Eumenian and Apamean class. Hence we may fairly infer that early Christianity penetrated into this district from the north, while there is a belt of country separating the region thus affected from the region where the Eumenian formula was current.

The eastern Banaz-Ova (with Pepouza, Bria, Sebaste, and Akmonia) and the Glaukos valley, being in constant communication with the cities on the upper Maeander, participated in the spread of the new religion from that side. Here also we find few post-Constantinian and more early Chr. inscr. But these are the limits to N. and N.E.; and beyond this we reach a tract of country where Chr. inscr. earlier than Constantine are unknown, while later ones are numerous: see Ch. XVII § 3.

Towards E., evidence is too scanty. Pisidian Antioch shares in the Eumenian formula; but on the line of the great Highway through

¹ This class will be discussed in a later chapter; but, as yet, I think that the theory of diffusion from Bithynia or Mysia (as stated with confirmatory reasons in my *Early Chr. Monuments of Phrygia* I in *Expositor* VIII p. 264) suits the scanty evidence perfectly: at one

time I thought that certain new evidence was against it, and in a public lecture in Oxford I felt compelled to draw back from the theory; but further study shows that I had not properly estimated the new evidence, and that my early impression was right.

Paroreios Phrygia inscr. have perished in a larger proportion than elsewhere¹. The few Chr. inscr. that are found along that line are later than Constantine; and it would appear that Christianity did not penetrate in the earlier period along the great Highway much further to E. than Apameia. On the other hand, in S.E. Phrygia and the adjoining corner of Lycaonia, early Chr. inscr. are numerous; and they are not of the Eumenian or Apamean type. Here we recognize a different influence.

These facts point distinctly to three separate lines of Chr. influence in Phrygia during the early centuries. The first comes up the Maeander valley, and reaches on different lines as far as Akmonia, and the Pentapolis and Apameia and Pisidian Antioch, and Lake Askania: the second belongs to Lycaonia and the extreme S.E. district: the third belongs to the N.W. The spheres of these three influences are separated from each other by belts of country where early Chr. inscr. are non-existent², while in most cases late Chr. inscr. are comparatively numerous. It seems beyond question that the first line of influence spread from the Aegean coast lands, and that its ultimate source is in St. Paul's work in Ephesos (*Acts XIX*) and in the efforts of his coadjutors during the following years³, while the second originated in the earlier Pauline Churches of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch (*Acts XIII, XIV*).

Two facts require notice. (1) Pisidian Antioch has been classed epigraphically with the Maeander valley. But it is on the frontier between that and the S.E. group, and shared in both influences. (2) The Lycos valley shows no example of the Eumenian formula. But that district was one of the centres of administration, and greater privacy and concealment was necessary there⁴. Moreover, it is clear that, for some reason, Christianity spread to a quite extraordinary extent in Eumeneia and Apameia.

South of the line just indicated, in the mountainous districts of the southern frontier, no early Chr. inscr. occur⁵. Aphrodisias is the

¹ That district was swept by many armies and many raids; and ancient remains perhaps suffered from fire; while the marbles used in the fine Seljuk buildings (though probably ancient) have all been reworked, so as to obliterate inscr.

² Only at Pisidian Antioch two spheres of influence meet.

³ See my *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 274

350 f, 358.

⁴ Chr. trials in Phrygia occurred oftenest at Laodiceia, also at Hierapolis, Apameia, Eumeneia and Synnada. In most of these places (perhaps in all) *conventus* met, and trials before a governor (who alone could judge Chr. cases) were naturally held there.

⁵ Unless no. 432 bis is Chr.

only great centre, where we might have looked for an early establishment of the new religion; but for some reason it seems to have continued to be a great pagan centre till after the time of Constantine.

In the Lycos valley, the early history of Christianity is very obscure. After the new religion was spread there by Timothy, Mark, Epaphras¹, and others, all record ends. The persecution of Domitian probably to a great extent destroyed the thread of connexion between the Church of 50-100 A.D. and that of later time. Some tradition, perhaps continuous, was preserved, for Theodoret mentions that the house of Philemon at Colossai was still shown in the first half of the fifth century; and if the works of Papias of Hierapolis had been preserved, probably some of the important facts about the Church of the Lycos valley would have been preserved. Little more than the names of a few bishops and martyrs are known²; and no *Acta* of any value connected with the valley or with S.W. Phrygia have been published. The account given of Philip, John, and Archippos at Hierapolis and Colossai, is mere invention of a very late period³. Trophimos and Thallos are said to have been crucified under Diocletian at Laodiceia by a governor Asklepios on 11 March: this may be historical, for we have seen an example of the kind of religious names assumed by governors engaged in this persecution, § 9. The legend of Artemon, slain at Caesareia by Patricius, Comes and Governor of Phrygia Pacatiana under Diocletian, is a very late fiction: the title Comes at Laodiceia came into existence under Justinian (p. 83). It is possible that some historical basis underlies the legend; but the circumstances would suit better an earlier period than Diocletian; and the most favourable supposition would be that the Emperor's name is a late insertion, and that Artemon belonged to an earlier time, when Caesareia-Cibyra⁴ was a city of Asia, and when a Christian, tried first at Laodiceia, might afterwards be taken to Caesareia in the governor's train. Perhaps, if some older form of the *Acta* be discovered, it may be found that Artemon, 8 Oct., and

¹ Lightfoot remarks that Epaphras of Colossai must be considered as the Apostle of the Lycos valley. His name (the diminutive of Epaphroditos) may perhaps be imitated in no. 432 *bis*: the homely form Epaphras was not likely to be used in an epitaph, except in a humble class of society.

² See the lists in *Appendices* and Ch. XII § 3.

³ *Church in R. E. Ch.* XIX.

⁴ This seems better than the suggestion of the Bollandists (*AA SS* 8 Oct. p. 46) that Diocaesareia should be read for Caesareia (in *Expositor* 1889 IX pp. 153 ff I wrongly followed them).

Artemius, 26 Jan., are duplicates¹; but at present even conjecture is forbidden by lack of evidence.

A copy of the inscription of Laodiceia, mentioned by Le Quien on the authority of the old Cambridge scholar, J. Jebb (about which some doubt was expressed above, pp. xix, 78 f), has been rediscovered in a Vatican MS. by M. Laurent of the *École Française d'Athènes*, who has generously sent me a copy and permitted me to publish it (no. 410 *bis*).

¹ See p. 494 *note* 6.

NOTES. 1. See the totals of earlier and later Chr. Inscr., given in *Note* p. 716.

2. The ruined church of very early date, which perhaps occupies the site of the temple of Zeus Keleneus, p. 462, on the acropolis of Kelainai, has been best described by Weber, pp. 34 ff (see also my paper in *Transactions Ecclesiol. Soc. Aberdeen* 1890 pp. 2 ff). On one of the large blocks, of which its walls are composed, is engraved no. 397. Several crosses (form, a longer vertical line bisected by shorter horizontal line: one with equal limbs) are incised on the walls. In view of probable excavation of this interesting church, a description of the ruins is unnecessary.

APPENDIX.

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

1. EUMENEIA.

353, 354. Ishekli. CIG 3902 r, Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 426, Cumont 138.
[ὁ | δεῖνα—ἐαυτῷ—] καὶ τῇ μητέρι | Μετλίτη καὶ τῷ νιῷ Γατ|ῳ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ
μου | [Ἀσ]κλᾶ· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται τεθῆναι¹ χωρὶς | τῶν προγ[εγρ]αμένων·
ὁς δὲ ἂν ἐπιτηδεύ|σει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς | τὸν ζῶντα θεὸν | καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ
κρι|σίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ.

καλὸν | τὸ γηρᾶν, καὶ τὸ μὴ γη|[ρ]ᾶν τρις χεῖρω² κακόν.

καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν οἷς τὸ | ζῆν ὕβριν φέρει.

παρ[ὸ]ν³ τὸ | γῆρος καὶ φέρει προσο|πίον⁴.

The remarkable formula, with which the prohibition against unauthorized use of the tomb ends, is believed by Franz in CIG not to be Christian; but probably every one will agree with Kaibel '*vetat Franz ne quis christianum putet; ego in vetitum nisus sum.*' The formula evidently means, 'he shall have to account to God, both now and in the judgement-day,' a sentiment which is as much out of keeping with ordinary pagan expression⁵ as it is characteristic of Chr. feeling: one of the most marked effects that Christianity has had on common sentiment is that, among Christian peoples, references to Divine judgement, justice, fairness, are so frequent. Variations occur, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἰ(ησοῦν) Χ(ριστὸν) no. 371, δώσει λόγον θεῷ τῷ μέλλοντι κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς at Philomelion⁶, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ 455, λήψεται

¹ τεθῆναι in Hamilton's copy: engraver's error?

² CIG transcribes [λ]ε[γ]ω for ΧΕΙΡΩ.

³ παρῆν in Hamilton's copy: engraver's error?

⁴ προσωπίον, μορμουλκίον Pollux IV 115.

⁵ I do not deny that parallels to it can be quoted from pagan writers; but

it is not ordinary pagan style.

⁶ Cp. at Herakleia-Perinthos δώσει λόγον τῷ ἐρχομένῳ κρίνε ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1888 p. 418 (quoted from *Ephemeris*). δώσει θεῷ λόγον also occurs in two inscr. of Pessinus (Cumont 396, 399), in one of which occurs the Chr. name Kyriake.

παρὰ τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ μάσταινα αἰώνιον 361 (which wants the element of appeal to justice, but still seems Chr.), πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον θεόν 388, πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν θεόν 394, πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ 392, πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν no. 378, πρὸς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ no. 369¹. But the commonest form is the shortest *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*, and the abbreviated form is as certainly Chr. as the longer ones. We might assume in almost every case, except one or two Jewish examples², that this formula stamps the epitaph as Chr.; and further independent evidence often occurs to the same effect in many inscr. containing the formula: e.g. the Chr. word *κοιμητήριον* is used in no. 375, 376, 379, and various expressions or names pointing to Chr. feeling occur in no. 357, 360, 362, 364, 388 f, 684³.

The formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* has only a limited range; it is found very frequently at Eumeneia, Apameia, and Sebaste, three cities lying very close together; and it affects places close around them, Akmonia no. 455, Pentapolis no. 659 f, Bindaios no. 435. It occurs only sporadically elsewhere: once in Cyzicos CIG 3690 (better Perrot *Explor. Arch. de la Galat.* p. 90 no. 58) *εἰ δέ τις τορμήσῃ*⁴ *ἕτερον καταθέσται, ἔσ[τε αὐ]τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν*: thrice at Pisidian Antioch: once at Dokimion, no. 684.

A similar thought occurs in the early Chr. literature of Asia Minor: cp. *Acta SS. Claud. et Aster.* where a woman who is consigned to torture says, *si tibi bonum videtur ut ingenuam mulierem ac peregrinam sic torqueas, tu scis: videt Deus quod agis* (see Ruinart *Act. Sinc.* § 5 p. 311). Cp. § 8.

M. Cumont justly regards as another convincing proof of religion the fact that no inscr. containing this formula in any of its variations contains anything to suggest paganism⁵.

As to the origin of the formula, it is probably an intentional variation of a pagan form. The pagans frequently threaten violators of the sanctity of the tomb with punishment from god, either alone or in addition to a fine, and in one case a pagan inscr. employs a form analogous to the Christian expression⁶, but with a difference which marks it as pagan, 'he shall have to reckon with the dead.' But even a single

¹ The last perhaps may be Jewish or Jewish-Christian, as is certainly *πρὸς τὸν ὑψίστον θεόν* no. 563.

² That this Chr. formula was also used by Jews is shown by no. 563, on which see comm. They were probably Chr. Jews.

³ The analogous formula *δώσει λόγον* &c. occurs further E. and N., in Paroreios Phrygia, Galatia, and Bithynia.

⁴ Paton JHS 1896 p. 227.

⁵ In my *Early Chr. Mon.* II p. 406 (*Expositor* 1889) the same reason is stated; 'none which contain that phrase have anything to stamp them as pagan.'

⁶ This analogy is indicated by M. Cumont in a Termessian inscr. (probably first cent.) *ἐκτίσει τῷ δήμῳ δην. μ', καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατοικομένους* Lanckoronski II p. 218 no. 170.

example is sufficient to suggest that this, like every other Chr. formula of the earliest period, was a pagan form Christianized by a slight change. In this case the change was not one to rouse any suspicion. The expression 'the god' was familiar to the pagans, and frequently used by them to designate the local patron deity; and it was a very slight change to substitute for the pagan appeal to a definite deity (Men, Helios, Selene, Leto &c.), or to the Katachthonian gods or to the dead themselves, the reference in general terms to 'the God,' which could be taken by every one in his own sense.

The period when this formula was introduced is indicated as the first half of the third century by certain dated inscr., no. 365 A.D. 263-264, no. 372 A.D. 249, no. 385 A.D. 253-254, no. 388 A.D. 259, no. 375 A.D. 260, no. 448 A.D. 253, no. 449 A.D. 256¹, and by the following whose date about 220-260 is made probable by other characteristics: no. 370 about A.D. 224, no. 371 about A.D. 270 (formula developed), 392 c. 250. Moreover the general style of this group of inscr. marks them as third century documents². We conclude from this that the abbreviated form was in full use A.D. 240-260, that about 270 some modifications to give a more pronounced Chr. turn to the formula were being tried, and that the more elaborate and developed variations like *πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ* are likely to be later than 240. We might conjecture that those inscr. in which a double penalty, civil and religious, is threatened belong to the earlier period A.D. 200-250; but the only dated example, no. 385, which is of Apameia, belongs to 253.

I have not seen this stone, but it is doubtless engraved on a tombstone in the form of an altar, like almost every Chr. inscr. at Eumeneia that I have seen³. The customary method of sepulture was kept up by the Chr.: in the first place it would appear that there was no violent break in Phrygia between them and the pagans: secondly, it was an object with most Chr. to avoid drawing special attention to themselves, and to observe the formalities which would give them legal rights in their city.

In this connexion it is interesting to find in this inscr. the tags of semi-philosophic verse that follow the formula of curse. In the *gnomai* quoted from Menander two of them occur in slightly different form (*καλὸν τὸ γηρᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ γηρᾶν πάλιν* 283, and *καλὸν τὸ θνήσκειν οἷς ὕβριν*

¹ In no. 445 the expression *ἔσται ἐπικατάρατος παρὰ θεῶν ἰς τὸν ἔωσαν* is dated A.D. 250-251.

² Only no. 373 looks like a fourth century inscr.: the explanation given in the comm. avoids the necessity which

I formerly felt (so also M. Cumont 145 *bis*) of dating it later than the *Not. Dign.* c. A.D. 412.

³ No. 380 is on a stele of form rarer at Eumeneia, with a pedimental top. See p. 367 note 1.

τὸ ζῆν φέρει 291). The incorrectness here is a sign that they were quoted from the popular mouth, and that the Christians in Phrygia did not separate themselves absolutely from Hellenic civilization. The educated section of the population was, on the whole, that which turned first to Christianity: the unthinking mob of the great Greek cities, and the uneducated rustic population, were the last to be affected by it. But the Greek of the Christian inscriptions is undoubtedly worse than that of the ordinary pagan epitaphs, containing more late forms and more false spelling. In this respect they justify the complaint of Aristides about the shocking Greek used by the Christians¹. At the same time the Christian epitaphs are more ambitious, and introduce novelties and a wider range of topics. It was not the completely hellenized and most highly educated persons that were open to the new religion, but those who were in process of shaking off the old oriental characteristics, and who, being in a state of change, were open to all kinds of new influences.

M. Le Blant II p. 95 is much shocked by a small number of Christian inscriptions in Gaul, which contain sentiments of a quite Epicurean type, e.g. *hic requiescit in pace Mercasto qui florentem aevum LX egit per annos, jucundam vitam haec per tempora duxit, or per omnia lautus inter amicos, or Valentinianus legenti dixit 'divitias (h)abes, frueri; si non potis, dona.'* He is inclined to explain them as the epitaphs of such Christians as gave way to the luxury and debauchery of pagan life, those who are rebuked by St. Paul I *Cor.* xv 32, Clemens Alex. *Paedag.* III 11, Jerome *Ep.* XXII *ad Eustoch.* § 29. But it is not usually the case that persons who sink below the standard of their society and religion blazon their manners on their tomb. Those who put such inscriptions on their graves surely intended them as profession of their principles of life; and we should rather look for some Christian sect, some eclectic school of thought, whose adherents boasted designedly of their philosophical religion on their gravestones. In Phrygia there was no chasm separating the Chr. from Greek culture; and it is natural that some should go further than others in the adoption and assimilation of Greek philosophic sentiment. The concluding words of this inscr. represent the most outlying caste of Chr. sentiment, approximating to no. 232, no. 206, and no. 343, which represent a similar outlying type of non-Chr. sentiment.

The term *ἡρώδων*, which strictly is a pagan term implying a pagan religious idea, passed into Christian usage². Constantine Porphyrogenitus uses it to denote the tomb of Justinian (*Cerim. Aul. Byz.* I p. 644 Ed.

¹ Arist. *ὑπὲρ τῶν τετραίων* (II pp. 400 f Dind.). See *Church in R. E.* pp. 352 ff, Neumann *der röm. Staat und die allgem.* Kirche pp. 35 f. Above, p. 486.
² See CIG 9182, 9275.

Bonn); hence it evidently lasted alongside of the strictly Chr. term *κοιμητήριον*, which came into use during the third century, no. 445.

Words which strictly imply pagan ideas were not proscribed absolutely or regarded as unsuitable in Christian inscriptions. Especially in metrical epitaphs, they were often convenient, and moreover, as many metrical epitaphs were adapted from older models and used stereotyped metrical phrases, such ideas and words as Hades, Tartarus, the Elysian Fields, were often preserved in Christian epitaphs¹. See p. 387.

The form *γῆρος* for *γῆρας* is common in the Septuagint; and many other late occurrences are quoted in Stephanus. It is therefore wrong to alter the text to *γῆρ[α]*s, as Franz does in CIG. The term *κρίσιμος ἡμέρα* seems to be used elsewhere only in the medical sense, 'the critical day determining the issue of the disease.'

355. (R. 1887). Yakasimak. M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 249², Cumont 139. [Μενεκράτης? Ἀσκληπιάδ?]ου κατεσκεύα[σε τὸ] ἡρώων ζῶν ἐ[αυτῶ] καὶ τῇ³ γυν[α]ικί Tatia κα[ὶ τῶ] Relief υἱῶ] μου Ἀλεξά[νδ]ρ[ω] καὶ τῇ γυν[α]ικί| αὐτ[οῦ] Ἀτταλίδ[ι]· μ[ετὰ δὲ τεθῆναι]⁴ [τοῦ]s προδεδηλω[μ]ένους εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσει ἕτερον | ἐπενβαλεῖν, αἴσται αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα Θεόν.

On the restoration at the beginning see no. 370: the date is between 224 and 249 no. 372. Attalis is probably related to Aur. Attalis no. 360: one is the wife of an Alexander, the other is mother of an Alexander: both are Chr. The name Alexander is common among Chr., no. 359, 370, 376, 386, p 672, and § 3; Tatia Chr. no. 365, 370.

356. (R. 1887). Yakasimak. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 250⁵, Cumont 140. [ὁ δεῖνα κα]τεσκεύασεν τὰ ἡρώ[α] | ἐαυτῶ καὶ τῇ γυνεκ[ί] | Γλ[υ]κωνιαν[ῇ] καὶ τοῖς | [τέ]κνοις μου καὶ τῶ πα[τρ]ί Ῥούφω καὶ τῇ μητρὶ | Ῥ[Α]μμία καὶ τῶ ἀδελ[φ]ῶ Ῥούφω καὶ τῇ γυν[α]ικί αὐτοῦ Tatia καὶ τοῖς | [τέ]κνοις αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις | δαὶ ἐπιχειρήσει ἰς τὰ | προδηλούμαινα σύ[ν]κ[ρου]στα⁶.

¹ *Quem nec Tartarus furens nec poena saeva nocebit* Le Blant I p. 396. *Stygis ira premet* id. II p. 212, *nemus Elysium* id. II p. 91.

² He omits ε at beginning, and reads Ἀτταλίδ[ι] τάδε τεθῆναι· εἰς τοὺς προδ. See the following note.

³ The stone has ΤΗΓΥΝ. I take this for an engraver's error, who should have written either ΗΓ or ΗΓ. M. Paris reads τῆς γυν[α]ικὸς θυγατρ[ὸς] Tatia; but only three or four letters can be al-

lowed in the restoration.

⁴ i. e. μετὰ τὸ τοὺς προδεδηλωμένους τεθῆναι.

⁵ M. Paris reads [ἐπ]εσκεύασεν, and γυνε[κ]ὶ Κοσ[τ]ωνιανῇ, and τεθῆ[ναι]] ἔστε, also δέ for δαί.

⁶ The composer, after beginning this conditional sentence, remembered that he had omitted to expressly forbid the use of the tomb to others. He therefore added the prohibition, and then continued εἰ δ' οὐν.

ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἔσται ἐξὸν τεθῆ|μεν· εἰ δ' οὐκ¹, ἔστε αὐτῷ | πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν.

With τεθῆμεν compare μῆν no. 256, 395. Glykon Chr. no. 360. Ammia or Amia Chr. no. 363, 367, 368, 376, 380.

357. (R. 1883). Αὐρ. Ἀγαπ[ωμ]ενὸς β' | φυλῆς Ἡρ[ατ]ῖδος ζῶν | κατε-
σκε[ύα]σεν τὸ ἡ|ρῶον καὶ τ[ὸν] ἐπ' αὐτῷ | βωμὸν, εἰς [δ] κη|δευσθήσε|ται αὐτὸς [κὲ]
δν ἂν αὐτὸς | ζῶν συνχ[ωρ]ήσῃ· κὲ Αὐρ. | Ἀρτεμιδ[ι]ώρῳ Ἀρισ[τί]ππου, [ἐτέ]ρῳ
δὲ | οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐ[ξέ]στε τε|θῆναι· ὅς δ' [ἂν] ἐπιχει|ρήσῃ ἔτερ[ον] θ|εῖναι, ἔσ|ται
αὐτῷ πρὸς τ[ὸν] Θεόν. | τούτου ἀντ[ιγ]ραφὸν ἀ[πετέ]θη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

Artemidorus is obviously not a relative, but a friend (see no. 380).

The name Agapomenos suits a Chr., but seems not to be solely Chr. It is quoted by Pape also from *Anth. Gr. Append.* no. 375, CIG 6212, which may perhaps be a late epigram², but is assigned by Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 617 to the second century. The word ἀγάπη was favoured by the Chr., in contrast to ἔρως, and became a characteristic Chr. expression. On names with the form of passive participles cp. no. 350.

358. (Hogarth 1887). Tanasha. Αὐρ. Ἀκύλας Εὐμ[ε]νὸς φυλῆς
Ἡρατῖδος | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ | ἡρῶον ἑαυτῷ καὶ | τῇ γυναικὶ Αὐρ. Δηδα|μίῃ
καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις | Αὐρ. Ἀκύλα καὶ Ἀμμ[ι]ανῷ καὶ Ἀμμίᾳ τῇ | θυγατρὶ μου
καὶ | Αὐρ. Γαίανῃ· ἐτέρῳ | δὲ οὐδ' ἐνὶ [ἐ]ξὸν ἔστ|ε κηδεῦσε εἰς τοῦτο τὸ
ἡρῶον· εἰ δὲ μή, | ἔστε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

On personal names taken from epic poetry and mythology, see no. 208 and JHS 1883 p. 36. Gaiane at Eumeneia also in no. 229; she is apparently not a relative, see no. 380.

359. (R. 1887). Yakasimak. Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδ[ρος] β' | τ[οῦ] Ἐπιγόνου
[Εὐ]μ[ε]νὸς βουλευ[τ]ῆς κατεσκεύασα τὸ ἡρῶον ἐ|μαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυνηκὶ μου
Τατ[τ]ίῳ· εἰ δέ τις ἔτε|ρος ἐμβάλη, ἔσ|ται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

Christian Senators of Eumeneia no. 361, 364, 368. In *Acta Carpi*³, under M. Aurelius, Papylos of Thyatira, a Chr., had been reported to the proconsul to be a *bouleutes*. At his trial the question was put to him *βουλευτῆς εἶ*; to which he merely replied *πολίτης εἰμι*: but this need not be understood to imply that he was not a senator, for his style of

¹ οὐκ probably engraver's error for οὐν. M. Paris leaves a blank.

² Epitaph of a boy Atimetos from Rhegium, son of Agapomenos and Quinta, who came to Rome aged twelve

and died. There is nothing distinctive as to religion in it. If it is late, it may be Chr.

³ Ed. Harnack *Texte und Untersuch.* vol. III pt. 3.

answering was very aggravating. The official report is sufficient proof that he was a senator. But at that period there is clear evidence that many Chr. objected to hold municipal office, as we see from Celsus (in Origen *c. Cels.* VIII 75 p. 224) and Aristides (*ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττ.* vol. II p. 402 Dind.).

360. Ishekli. CIG 3902 f; Cumont 148. *Ἀὐρ. Ἀτταλὶς Γλύκωνος κατεσκεύασα τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυτῇ καὶ τοῖς προκεκηδευμένοις κα[λ] | Ἀὐξινύχῃ θρεπτῇ καὶ ᾧ ἂν συνχωρ[ή]σῃ ζῶν ὁ υἱὸς μο[υ] | Ἀὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος. εἰ | [τ]ῆς δ' ἂν ἕτερος ἐπισ[τ]ένεκε τινά, ἔστε | αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.*

Auxityche is a name elsewhere unparalleled, except by Dosityche, which occurs, according to Waddington's reading, in a Chr. inscr. of Apameia no. 389. Attalis cp. no. 355. Wide power of admission to the grave is granted to the son; cp. no. 380.

361. (R. 1883). CIG 3891 incorrectly in some details in the transcription, though Hamilton's copy is almost perfect (cp. *Rev. Arch.* 1876 I p. 281), Cumont 146. [*ἐρρωσθε*]. *Ἀὐρ. Γέμελλος Μηνᾶ βουλευτῆς | τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις γονεῦσιν | Ἀνρηλίοις Μηνᾶ β' τοῦ Φιλίππου | βουλευτῇ γεραιῷ | καὶ Ἀπφίῳ Ἀρτᾶ, τὰ ἴδια ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων· εἰς δ' προεκήδευσεν τ[ὸν] | ἀδελφὸν Φίλιππον καὶ | τὴν πάτραν Κυρίλλαν | καὶ τὴν ἐξαδέλφην | [μ]ου Παῦλαν· κηδευθ[ή]σεται δὲ εἰς αὐτὸ | ἥ τε σύντροφος | αὐτοῦ Φιλήτη, | καὶ εἰ τινι ἐτέρῳ | ζῶν συνχωρήσῃ· | ὅς δ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ἕτερον ἐπει[σ]ενενκεῖν, λήψε[τ]αι παρὰ τοῦ ἀθανάτου θεοῦ μάσ[τ]ριγα αἰώνιον[.]*

On *πάτρα* see no. 272. The names Philip, Kyrilla, Paula, became common among the Christians. Artas is probably an abbreviation from Artemidoros, which had become an independent name (Chr. no. 357). The concluding formula is unique, but seems on the whole to be Chr., cp. no. 445 (which is marked as Chr. by the term *κοιμητήριον*), 435.

The words *βουλευτῆς κ(αί) γεραιός* occur here and in no. 364 (both Chr.). The most natural and simple interpretation is that Menas and Eutyches were members of the Gerousia: the term *Geraios* occurs in that sense at Hierapolis CIG 3916, in Pamphylia at Attaleia (Lanckoronski I inscr. no. 8), Sillyon (*ibid.* no. 58), and it is frequently the case that senators were members of the Gerousia (e.g. at Sidyma, Benndorf *Lykia* I no. 51).

It is, however, perhaps justifiable to suspect that *Geraios* (which occurs only in two Chr. inscr.) may mean a presbyter in the Church. Evidence may yet be discovered to disprove or to confirm the suspicion. It would not be strange that the same person should hold municipal and Church dignity. As yet the clerical office was not a profession, which should be kept apart from secular cares and employments. Cyprian would have

it kept separate¹, but the older system long survived him. In the *Acta S. Theodoti*², under Diocletian, Fronto the priest of a village Malos, 40 miles E of Ancyra (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 251), not merely performs his church duties every day, but also cultivates a vineyard and makes wine, works a farm, and drives a cart to Ancyra with the produce for market; and his case seems not to be exceptional but the ordinary custom in Phrygia and Galatia. At Assos an inscription of the fourth or fifth century mentions Helladius a presbyter and magistrate (*politeuomenos*)³. The father of St. Patrick was a decurio and a deacon (early fourth century)⁴. See p. 568.

362. (R. 1887, Sterrett 1883). Dede-Keui. Cumont 142. Δαμᾶς Διοτέλμων κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώϊον τῷ μήτρωνι Μητροδώρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ μου | Διοτέλμῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ· εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει | θείνῃ ἑτερόν τινα, θήσῃ ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον προστέλμων δην. φ'· εἰ καταφρονῇσει τούτου, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν.

This inscription is marked as Christian by the concluding formula. The respect in which Metrodoros the bishop was held is marked by his being named by his sister's son before his own father and himself. The naming of a fine for violation of the tomb belongs to an early stage of Christian development; and the simple forms are precisely those of the ordinary pagan tombstones, except for the concluding formula and the precedence assigned to the uncle the *episkopos*. The names are native family names, and neither does the *praenomen* Aurelius occur (no. 235), nor is there any trace of the formation of a Christian nomenclature. These considerations suggest for the inscription a date about 200–15.

But the letters vary a little in size, and are not in the best style of the period; and the open use of a Christian title *Episkopos* is hardly probable in the pre-Constantinian period⁵. The date must therefore remain doubtful; but, on the whole, the balance of evidence is in favour of the earlier date: in the post-Constantinian period one would hardly expect

¹ See *Ep. I*, Stokes *Ireland and the Celtic Church* pp. 41 f, from whom I take the following instances.

² *AA SS* 18th May IV 149 ff and *Ruinart Act. Sinc.*

³ CIG 8838, LW 1034 d, Sterrett *Inscr. of Assos* no. 73 in *Pap. Amer. Sch. Ath.* I p. 85 (with error in transcription; CIG better). In the *Contemp. Rev.* 1880 (June) p. 983, Dr. Stokes argues that Helladius built the walls of Assos; but Sterrett shows that he built a

church (or part of it).

⁴ Dr. Stokes l. c., who also mentions that Innocent I replied to a question of Exuperius bishop of Toulouse in A. D. 405 that those who have held judicial office may not be ordained without doing penance, and retired soldiers may not be ordained at all.

⁵ The title, however, might be mentioned openly, because it was also in use as a pagan title (like Geraios no. 361): see p. 501.

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this style of inscr. and one would expect some more emphatic signs of Chr. religion in the way of formulae or symbols or names.

The form *μήτρων* seems not to occur elsewhere (*μήτρως* usual decl.), except Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 371 (Kotiaion) and perhaps 322 (near Sardis). The terms for relationship are unusual at Eumeneia, cp. no. 272, 361.

On the double penalty, civil and religious, see no. 369.

363. Ishekli. CIG 3890, Cumont 151. *Αὐρ.* [Ἐρ]μῆς¹ β' κα|τεσκεύασα τὸ [ἦρ]|φῶν (?) ἑαυτῶ καὶ | τοῖς γονεῖσι Ἐρ[μῆ]|² καὶ Ἀμῖα τῇ γυναικί· ἐτέρφ οὐδενί· [δ]ς | ἂν δὲ ἐπιβουλ[εύ]|σει, ἔστε αὐτ[ῶ] πρὸ|ς τὸν θεόν. [χαίρει]|τα[ί] πορ[ε]υτ[αί]?³

Ammia Chr. no. 356 etc., Amia 376.

364. (R. 1890). Ishekli. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 234⁴. Cumont 141. *Εὐμόροις*. *Αὐρ.* Εὐτύχης Ἐρμ[οῦ]| ἐπὶ κλην Ἑλῖξ⁵, Εὐ|μενεὺς καὶ ἄλων (1) πόλ[ε]|ων πολέιτης, φυλῆς | Ἀδριανίδος, βουλευ|τῆς καὶ γερεός, | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῶ|ον ἑαυτῶ καὶ τῇ σεμν|οτάτῃ καὶ προσφιλεσ|τάτῃ γυναικί μου | Μαρκέλλῃ καὶ τοῖς | ἑαυτῶν τέκνοις. | εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐ|πιχειρήσει θείναι | τινά, ἔσται αὐτῶ | πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα θεόν.

The formula *ἐπὶ κλην* occurs often in Chr. inscr.; but I do not recollect an example in any clearly pagan inscr. See no. 400. *Hermes* Chr. no. 363; *Eutyches* no. 377.

The cumulation of epithets of Marcella is not like the pagan custom: she bears the name of an honoured Chr. family of the second century no. 657.

Cumulation of citizenship was very common with distinguished athletes and other prize winners. An example is Γ. Ἰούλιος Ἀχιλλεὺς χοραύλης Μάγνης ἀπὸ Σιπύλου⁶ καὶ Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Σμυρναῖος [καὶ] Ἐφέσιος καὶ Περγαμηνὸς καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων πολλῶν πολέιτης⁶ (at Cyzicos *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 p. 255). Yet the suspicion suggests itself that this Christian had not

¹ Perhaps read *Αὐρ.* [Ἀρ]τεμῆς β'.

² Probably Pococke has here omitted a line containing the full names of both parents.

³ This restoration is very uncertain: ΚΙ . . . ΤΑΠΟΡΥΤΟΥ is Pococke's copy: possibly ἀπὸ τοῦ [θεοῦ].

⁴ M. Paris reads ΥΜΟΡΦΙC at the beginning, and ΙΕΡΕΟC, transcribing *ιερε(ύ)ς* (M. Cumont correctly elicits [γ]ερεός). I compared M. Paris's copy with the stone, and thought that the upright stroke in Φ (line 1) was an

accidental scratch. The inscr. is to be found by any future traveller in a house on the right *abore* the road as one goes out towards the pass up the Glaukos, near the outer edge of the town.

⁵ I felt far from certain as to the reading ΕΛΙΞ; M. Cumont suggests [Φ]ελῖξ for Φηλῖξ. Compare *Μαρκίαν* Ἑλίκην in CIG 6254, Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 727, which is Chr.

⁶ In such cases probably the original *patria* is named first.

been enrolled as an honorary citizen of other cities, but that he is using a common formula to point in a covert way to his heavenly citizenship. At a later time we find the term *οὐρανοπολίτης* frequent in the Chr. panegyrics : cp. *Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἀξιομακάριστος καὶ οὐρανοπολίτης* Kyrillus, in *Usener der Heilige Theodosios* p. 105. It is of course impossible to prove that Eutyches meant anything different from the ordinary formula ; but, when it is certain that a symbolic form of expression was in use among the Chr., one may look for possible examples of it. A covert way of indicating the religion was evidently sought after among the Chr., while open declaration was discouraged by the Church. No. 657 l. 1.

If the reading *εὐμόροις* in the superscription be correct, it must be understood in the sense of 'to the happy dead,' like the Latin Chr. formula *Bonis Bene*, as a Chr. substitute for the pagan *Dis Manibus* (to which however in its abbreviated form *D. M.* many Chr. clung from habit, probably without any distinct idea of its meaning). The word *εὐμορος* does not occur, but the words *εὐμοιρος* and *δύσμορος* may have led to the form *εὐμορος*. The letters however are difficult to read with certainty (see note on the text) ; and M. Cumont may be right in accepting *Εὐμορφis* as a pet-name of Eutyches, inscribed over the epitaph ; though the expression of the familiar alternative name *Helix* makes this less probable than it would otherwise be.

Some analogous cases may be mentioned. The following inscr. from Julia-Gordus is published by M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 385 *Dis M[anibus]*. *Crescenti Augg. vernaē disp. vixit annis LIIII.* Ἐπιστήμη σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Κρήσκεντι συμβίῳ μ. χ., ἐπιμεληθέντος Που. Κλουίου Εὐφήμου. ΕΥΜΟΡΦΟΣ.

Episteme, his wife (*contubernalis*), dedicated, and P. Cluvius¹ Euphemos (either a freedman, or a Greek Roman) superintended : the word *Εὐμορφος*, in a line by itself, is obscure. In CIG 9424 ἐνθάδε κείται Ἄγνος Σωσιπάρ[ου] δοῦλος· εὐμοι[ρ]ος² the religion (as Kirchhoff says in CIG) is indubitable. In CIG 9454 (Chr.) εὐμοίρει Θεοκτίστη. M. Le Blant quotes³ εὐμύρι, Ὁνήσιμε· οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος [ὕπερ γῆς] (Chr.) *Rev. Archéol.* 1874 II p. 252 (expressions like μὴ λυγῆς, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, seem to occur in pagan, Jewish, and Chr. inscr. alike).

365, 366. (R. 1887). Yakasimak⁴. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 252. Cumont 136. The text is really double. [Ἑρ]ους τμή, μη(νός) [. . .]].

¹ Cluius (like Κλουίος here) is sometimes used : see *AEMit.* 1895 p. 213.

² Kirchhoff against the copies of Pit-takis and Le Bas reads εὐμοί[ρει].

³ Vettori *de Septem Dormientibus* p. 50 is his authority.

⁴ On the name see no. 367.

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Ζηνόδοτος Ζή|νωνος κατεσκε[ύ]|ασεν¹ τὸ ἡρώ|ον ἑαυτῷ καὶ | τῷ υἱῷ Ζήνω|νι καὶ
τῇ νύμ|φῃ Τατί|α· εἴ τις | δὲ ἕτερος ἐπι|χειρήσει, ἔστω | αὐτῷ πρὸς | τὸν θεόν².

After this inscription was engraved, a daughter Maria died and was buried in the same grave, and her name was added in small letters, καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Μαρί|α, between the date and the first name. The date (A.D. 263-264) is engraved on the capital of the bomos, the name Zenodotos on the shaft, and Maria was inserted on the lower moulding of the capital. The name Maria, apart from the final formula, indicates a Chr. origin for the inscr. Zenodotos Chr. no. 367, Tatia no. 355.

The date in this and many similar inscr. is not to be understood as the day of death of the person buried in the tomb: it was only in the developed Chr. epitaphic system that the day of death was engraved on the tomb, see no. 454. Here it is the placing of the gravestone over the *heroön* that is dated, according to the common pagan custom. The preparation of a grave was an act of religion, p. 368; and the date of the construction of the monument was a fact that might be of importance in case of any dispute as to legal title and ownership.

The name Maria is not very common in early Christian epitaphs³. At Lugdunum in Gaul it belonged to a lady who died at the age of 100 probably in A.D. 552 (Le Blant I p. 102). It occurs also in no. 413 (see note), 439, 440. Another, which is probably Chr., is published *AEMit.* 1894 p. 55: it was found at Bergula (Burgas) near Adrianople: [Μα]ρία Κυνί|τα α(λλ) . . τ ἐποίησα τὸ [λα]τόμιον σὺν τῇ [στ]ήλλῃ τῷ γλυκυτά|τῳ ἀνδρ[ε]ί μου Εὐ|μύ|λῳ μ(ν)είας χάριν· [εἴ]μι δὲ ἐξ Ὑ|π|ίας, [πρ]ὶν φίλοπλος [ἐν]θάδε κείμ(αι) ἀλ[φ]. .]τος ἀλλὰ φιλη[θε]ῖς ὑπὸ πάντων [π]αρὰ τοιοῦτης ψυ[χῆ]ς· χαίρε παροδεί|τα. At Aegina Μαρί|α ἡ καὶ Πατρι|κία Chr. (probably fifth century) CIG 9302, Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 421, *Bullet. Archéol.* 1873 p. 249. At Tarsos Μαρί|ας τῆς Ὑ|παρί|ας Chr. LW 1507.

M. Le Blant remarks that names of Hebrew origin are excessively rare in the Christian inscriptions of the West. The commonest is Susanna; and Martha, Jacoba, Samson, and Revicca, occur. This probably results from the dislike for the Jews, and the dread of being taken for Jews⁴. Jewish origin of this family may be suspected: that Jews used this concluding formula with slight variations is clear from

¹ κατεσκεάσεν, an engraver's error.

² M. Paris gives the date TM; he makes the inserted letters on the moulding as large as those in the other lines (which conceals from him the general sense); and he has ἕτερον, ἐπιχειρήσει, and πατρὶ where I have υἱῷ.

³ M. Le Blant I p. 145 speaks *du petit*

nombre d'exemples connus du nom de MARIA. The name was Roman as well as Hebrew; but where it occurs in the Eastern provinces, it may be confidently taken as the Hebrew name.

⁴ In the curious inscr. Orelli 2522, Beturia Paulla took the name Sara when she adopted Judaism.

no. 563. In both cases we may probably infer that the families were Jewish-Christian. In *Acta S. Theodoti Ancyr.* § 3, the saint *paganorum atque Iudaeorum magnum numerum adduxit ad Ecclesiam*. It is evident that there were many Jewish Christians in Asia Minor.

367. (R. 1887). Yakasimak¹. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 251, Cumont 150. Ζηνόδοτος | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων | ἐαυτῷ κὲ τῇ | γυνεὶ
μο[v] | Ἀμμίῃ κὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ μου· εἰ | δὲ τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ ἄλλος ἰσ|ελθῖν², ἔσται
τῷ | πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

It is probable that τῷ is intended here as equivalent to αὐτῷ; the same form occurs in no. 652. Ammia Chr. no. 356, 368, etc.

368. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Πραξίου³ Εὐμενεὺς | βουλευτῆς
κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυτῷ | καὶ τεῖ γυναικὶ μου Γλυκωνίδι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις |
μου Αὐρ. Ζωτικῷ τῷ υἱῷ | μου καὶ Διονυσίῳ καὶ | Ἀμμίῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ μου |
καὶ⁴ Μερτίνῃ Εὐθείδι· ἐτέρῳ | οὐδενὶ ἐξέστι τεθῆναι· | εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει
ἐτε|ρόν τινα θεῖναι, θήσῃ ἰς τὸ | ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον | δην· βφ'. τὸ δὲ | πάντων
μεῖζον, ἔσται αὐτῷ | πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

In the concluding words a confusion between superlative and comparative is shown. Eithis seems to be a second name of Mertine (a rare variety of Meltine): one would expect some descriptive word after Mertine, who seems not to be a member of the family no. 380. Christians bear the names Glykoniane no. 356, Glykon no. 360, Ammia no. 356, 367, Meltine no. 354, Zotikos no. 369 etc. On the penalties see no. 369.

369. (R. 1887). Ishekli. CIG 3902, Wadd. 740 and Cumont 145 in part; M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 236 nearly complete⁵. [τὸ ἡρώων καὶ
τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ βωμὸν | κατεσκεύασεν Αὐρ. | Ζωτικὸς β' τοῦ Παπ[ί]ου
Εὐμενεὺς αὐτῷ | καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ [αὐτοῦ] | Αὐρηλίῃ Ἀφρίῳ καὶ τῷ | ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ
Α[ύρ. | Ἀμ]μ[αν]ῷ, κα[ὶ εἰ] τιν[ι] | ἄλλ[ω] [αὐτὸς] ζῶν [συ]γ[χω]ρήσει· οὐδενὶ
δ[ὲ] | ἄλλ[ω] ἐξὸν ἔσται | θεῖναι τινα· εἰ δὲ τις | ἐπιχειρήσει, εἰσόισι | εἰς τὴν
Εὐμενέων βουλὴν προστείμου δην. ρ, | καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ | μέγα ὄνομα
τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹ Ulujaka according to M. Paris: Oulouis Yaka in Railway Survey. I do not guarantee the exact form.

² This reading seemed to me clear and complete. M. Paris has ΑΟΕΙC-ΛΕΙΝ, ἄλλο εἰσ[βα]λεῖν, but the stone allows no room for inserting [βα].

³ Πραξίου is added above the line.

⁴ καὶ before Μερτίνῃ was engraved twice, and afterwards the first was

erased by the engraver.

⁵ M. Paris reads Πάπ[π]ου for Παπ[ί]ου, ἐαυτῷ, αὐτοῦ (where I leave undecipherable letters), leaves the name of the brother blank, and supplies [ἐτέρ]ω (which is too long). The restoration Α[ύρ. Ἀμ]μ[αν]ῷ seemed certain on the stone, as the exact number of letters lost was obvious from the traces.

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The inscription, like no. 368, probably belongs to the period about 230 A.D. The ordinary penalty for violating the tomb is enacted, and then the Chr. threat is added, as in no. 368, 362, 385 (Apameia, dated 253 A.D.), 392.

Zotikos was taken into common use among the Chr., on account of its meaning, no. 385 (where it seems to be the baptismal name), 368, 393, 369, 401.

370. (R. 1887.) Ishekli. CIG 3902 n, Cumont 149. *Αὐρ. Μενε-κράτης* Ἀσκληπιάδου κατεσκέυασεν τὸ ἡρῶν | ἐαυτῷ κὲ τῇ γυνεῖ|κί μου Τατία κὲ τῷ | ὑῷ μου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· | εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιχειρήσει θεῖνέ τινα μετὰ | [μετὰ] τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν, ἔστω αὐτῷ πρὸς | τὸν θεόν.

Μενεκρά[της] Ἀσκ[ληπιάδου]¹ is mentioned on a coin of the first century B.C. (Mion. 563). This inscription belongs to the third century after Christ, and therefore can have no connexion with the coin. The argument in no. 372 fixes A.D. 224 as the probable approximate date (while the *praenomen* Aur. shows that c. 215 is the earliest, see no. 235). Tatia Chr. no. 355, 365, 370; Alexander Chr. no. 355, 359, 370, 376, 386. Menekrates, husband of Tatia, and father of Alexander, is probably mentioned in no. 355, which perhaps was an earlier stone placed on the same grave.

371. (R. 1883, 1887.) Ishekli. CIG 3902 o, Cumont 137. *Αὐρ. Μηνόφιλος* β' τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου βουλευτῆς | κατεσκεύασα τὸ ἐμπροσθεν σύγκρουστον (ἐαυτῷ)² κὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ υἱῷ, κὲ γυναικὶ | αὐτοῦ Μελτίνῃ, κὲ Μηνόφιλῳ κὲ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ | ἐ[γ]γόνοις³, κὲ οἷς αὐτὸς | περιῶν βουληθῇ. [εἰ]³ | (δέ τις ἐπιχειρήσει θεῖναι)² ἔτερον, ἔσται αὐτῷ | πρὸς τὸν Ἰ(ησοῦν) Χ(ριστόν).

The monogram at the end is a proof of the religion and of date. This monogram gave place to the Constantinian $\chi\rho$ in the fourth century, and is found in Rome in an inscription dated A.D. 268 or 279 (De Rossi no. 10); while the argument in no. 372 gives a probable date for this inscr. soon after A.D. 270. The use of the monogram implies growing emphasis in indicating the religion, which points to a later date than the form πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Meltine Chr. no. 354.

The use of the monogram for the complete name *Christus*, even when it forms part of a sentence, is quite common. So, for example, [*iub*]ente Deo et $\chi\rho$ eius, *Mél. d'Archéol.* XV 1895 p. 50: and in the conclusion

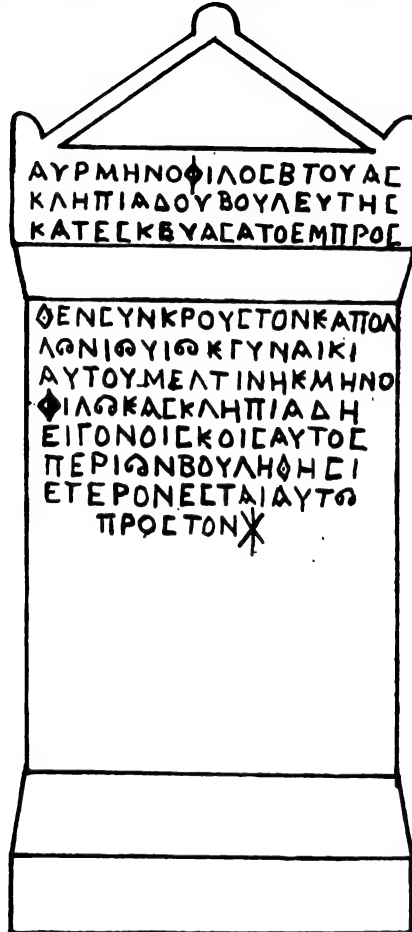
¹ ACKA in Mionnet is probably a false reading. to have been omitted by carelessness of the engraver.

² There is no space for the restorations in angular brackets, which seem

³ ἐγγόνους and \square on the stone.

of an epitaph *scimus te in* ✠ (Le Blant I p. 68, no. 30, who quotes Marini *Inscr. Alb.* p. 37, with several other examples).

The monogram ✠ was perhaps employed before the time of Constan-



tine; and its origin is likely to have been in the eastern provinces. The earliest dated example in the west belongs to the year 323¹; but it is found on a fragmentary inscription which may belong to the year 298². In the east we may expect to find earlier instances. Perhaps an inscription of Herakleia of Thrace furnishes an example: it has the monogram three times, and de Rossi considers that it is earlier than Constantine on

¹ *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1863 p. 22.

² De Rossi *Inscr. Christ.* p. 29. See no. 673.

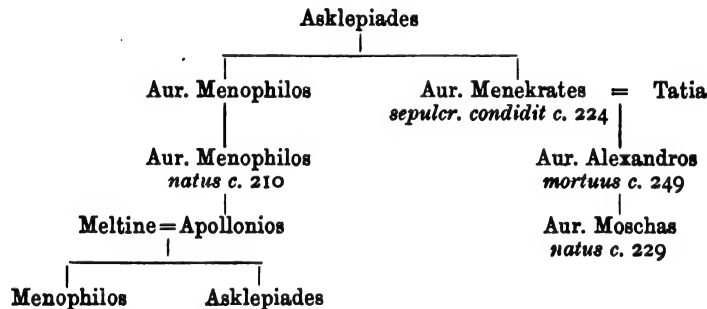
account of the formula δώσει τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς¹. This monogram occurs in an inscription of Melos, which Ross attributes to the second century (but which cannot be earlier than the third)². It occurs along with the letters of the word *lythús* on a leaden cista found in Phoenicia at Saïda³, which De Rossi considers to be *perhaps* earlier than Constantine.

In eastern inscriptions this monogram soon gave place to the monogrammatic cross and the simple cross (though on coins and on objects of art it was used for several centuries after Constantine). It is however probable that in the East an inscription containing the monogram is not later than the fourth century⁴.

While the monogram ✠ is known on private monuments, perhaps, even before the time of Constantine, and becomes common on them from 323 onwards, its earliest occurrence on a public and official monument is in A.D. 377, and the second is in 390⁵.

372. (R. 1883). JHS 1883 p. 401, Cumont 135. *ἐτους τλγ' μ(ηνὸς) ι', ε'. Αὐρ. | Μοσχῶς Ἀλεξάν[δρ]ου ἐπεσκέυασα | [τ]ὸ [ἡρῶν] Αὐρ. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μενεκρά|τους καθὼς ἐνετ[ε]λάτο ἐν τῇ δια|θήκῃ· εἴ τις δὲ ἔτε|ρον ἐμβαλεῖ, ἔσται | αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. | τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀ|πετέθη ἰς τὰ ἀρχία.*
A.D. 249.

Alexander, son of Menekrates, and father of Moschas, is mentioned also in the Chr. inscr. 370, where his father Menekrates allows him a place in his own grave. It is probable that Asklepiades in no. 370, 371, is the same person. If so, the *stemma* would be



The date of no. 371 would, in that case, hardly be earlier than

¹ *Rom. Sott.* I p. 107: Dumont *Inscr. et Mon. Fig. de la Thrace* p. 154.

² Ross *Inscr. Gr. Ined.* fasc. III p. 8; CIG 9290.

³ *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1873 p. 77 tav. IV, V.

⁴ On this subject I am indebted to

the precise and accurate remarks of M. Bayet in *Rev. Arch.* 1876 (Novemb.) pp. 287 f.

⁵ The earliest is at Sion (Sitten) in the Alps, and the second is Roman, Le Blant I p. 497.

A.D. 270; as Menophilos has grandchildren and must be an old man. No. 370 is older than 372: in 370 Alexander is allowed admission to his father's grave (perh. c. 224 A.D.), and in 372 it is evident that Alexander has died and left a son Moschas, who makes a grave for his father in 249 A.D. No. 355 is intermediate between 370 and 372.

373. (Sterrett 1883). JHS 1883 p. 401, Cumont 145 *dis*. Αὐρ. Νεικέρως β' κατεσκέυασεν τὸ ἡρώων | [ἐ]αυτῷ καὶ γυναι(κι)¹ καὶ | τέκνοις· ἔθηκα δὲ | φίλον. ἐνθάδε | κεκήδευτε Αὐρ. | Μάννος στρατιώτης | ἱππεὺς σαγιττάρης | δρακωνάρης ἐξ ὀφικ[ε]ου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου | ἡγεμόνος Καστρίο[υ]² | Κώνσταντος· | ὃς ἂν δ' ἐπιτηδεύσει ἕτερος, ἔστε αὐ[τῷ] πρὸς τὸν Θεόν?].

Neikeros granted the use of the tomb to a friend (no. 280): the friend was Aur. Mannos, a soldier attached to the *officium* of the governor of the province, Castrius² Constans. This governor is not known; but the inscription is probably not earlier than the fourth century. The use of the dragon standard is said to have originated during Trajan's Dacian wars and is mentioned in the letter of M. Aurelius to the senate³; but it is rarely mentioned before Ammianus and other fourth century authors. The word ὀφίκιον also suggests a late date, though *officium praetoris* denotes the praetor's train as early as Pliny *Ep.* I 5, 11. Cavalry archers are mentioned by Tacitus *Ann.* II 16, and they are often alluded to in *Notitia Dign.* Castrius² Constans was perhaps governor of Phrygia; but it is in perfect accordance with the analogy of such inscriptions to understand that Mannos served in a different province in the train of Constans⁴, and then retired from the service to his native Eumeneia. If the restoration of the concluding lines is right (which seems almost certain), Mannos was a Christian; and the inscriptions with that formula belong in all other cases to the third century. We must, I think, conclude from all the facts that this inscr. belongs to the years about 290–300.

374. (R. 1883). Ishekli. JHS 1883 p. 399, Cumont 144. Αὐρ. Πρόκλα | κατεσκέυασεν | τὸ ἡρώων αὐτῇ καὶ | τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τοῖς | τέκνοις Φιλίππῳ | καὶ Παυλίῃ μνή[μης] χάριν· εἰ δέ | [τις] ἐπιχρήσει | [θεῖ]ναι ἕτερον, | [ἔσ]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς | τὸν Θεὸν τὸν | ζῶντα.

On the names Philip and Paula in Chr. inscr. see no. 361.

¹ KI was omitted by a slip of the engraver before KAI: it is possible that KI was omitted after PI in the name of the governor, Castri(ci)us.

² See preceding note.

³ The letter is not genuine; but must have originated early.

⁴ If he had been governor of Phrygia, the inscription would be as late as the fifth century; he is entitled *clarissimus*, but in *Not. Dign.* the governor was a simple *praeses* (ἡγεμών): during the fifth century the dignity was raised, as we see in Hierocles (c. 530 A.D.).

375. (R. 1887). Aidan. Ἔτου τμέ'. | Αὐρ. Σὺμφορος | κατεσκεύασεν
τὸ | κοιμητήριον ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυνεὶ | μου καὶ τῷ ὑ(φ) μου· | εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος |
ἐπιτηδεύσει, ἔσ[ται] | αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν | θεόν. A. D. 260–261.

The inflection *ἔτου* for *ἔτους* occurs in two inscriptions of the district around Thyatira p. 202 *note*. The religion is proved by the word *κοιμητήριον*, as well as by the concluding formula.

376. (R. 1887). Yakasimak. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 250¹, Cumont 153. Αὐρ. Τατια[ν]ος | κατ[ε]σκεύασ[εν] | τ'δ κοιμη[τῆρ]ι[ο]ν τῷ πα[τρ]ι |
'Αλε[ξάνδρ]ω [καὶ | τῇ] γυναικὶ 'Α[μ]ί[α] καὶ τῇ τεκοῦ[σ]ῃ αὐτοῦ· | εἴ τις δὲ
π[ειρ]ήσι, ἔσται αὐτῷ | πρὸς τὸν θεόν¹.

Perhaps *πειρήσι* is a piece of bad Greek for *πειράσεται*, or it is an error of the engraver for *ἐπιχειρήσει*. Here again the word *κοιμητήριον* shows the religion. Amia or Ammia Chr. no. 356 etc., Alexander 355 etc.

377. (R. 1887). Ishekli. Αὐρηλία Τάτιον | Εὐμενεῖτις κατεσκεύ[α]σεν
τὸ ἡρώων ἐαυτῇ | καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς | Εὐτύχη καὶ εἴ τι|νι ἂν ζῶσα συν|χωρήσει.
εἰ δὲ με|τὰ τὴν τελευτήν μου ἔαν τις | ἐπιχωρήσει τινα | ἐπισενενκεῖν, ἔσ[τα]ι
αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν | θεόν.

Eutyches Chr. no. 364.

378. Ishekli. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 241, Cumont 143. Αὐρ. Φρόντων Εὐμενεὺς φυλῆς 'Α[ργ]ιάδος κατεσκεύασεν τὸ
ἡρώων ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ 'Αμμί[α] καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ 'Α[ττά]λῳ² καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ
Αἰλιανῇ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν· | εἴ τις ἕτερος ἐπιχειρήσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς
τὸν ζῶντα θεόν.

Fronto, priest of a village near Ancyra Gal. under Diocletian, in *Acta Theodoti*: see no. 361.

379. At the Dede. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 242, Cumont 152. [ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ ἀ]δελφὸς αὐ[τοῦ] κατε[σ]κεύασαν ἐ[αυ]τοῖς κυμη[τῆ]ριον· | εἴ τις
δ[έ] | ἕτερον ἐπι[χ]ειρήσει ἐπενβ[αλ]εῖν τινα ἔ[σ]τε αὐτῷ π[ρ]ὸς τὸν θε[όν].

380. (R. 1887, Sterrett 1883): Dede Keui. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 243³, Cumont 147. ἰς | τὸ ἀπὸ | τοῦ ἡρώ[ο]ν ἐξδ[όν] εἶν[αι] τεθῆναι | ['Α]μμί[α]
καὶ Τατιανῇ | πρὸς τοὺς | ἀνδρας ἐὰν τηρή[σ]ω[σι] τὸν θεόν· | ἐξ[α]υ[σ]ίαν ἐχόντων
μ[έ]χ[ρ]ι ζῶσι ἔαν τι π[ά]θῃ | τέκνον αὐτῶν ἐπ[ε]μβάλαι· | ἐτέρ[ω] | δὲ οὐδενὶ

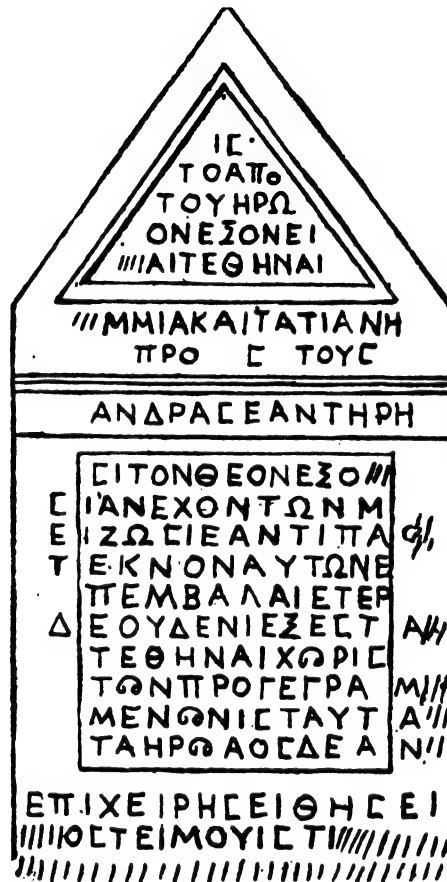
¹ M. Paris reads [Εὐ]άνδρω for ['Αλε]-
ξάνδρω, [τοῦτ]ο κομ[η]τήριον, omits 'Α[μ]ί[α],
and reads δ' ἐπ[ι]χ[ειρ]ήσι near the end
(which perhaps should have been, but

was not, written, for the stone is com-
plete in the later lines).

² The copy has Α . . . ΑΛΩ.

³ Many errors.

ἐξέστ[αι] | τεθῆναι χωρὶς | τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἐς ταῦτα | τὰ ἡρῶα· ὁ δὲ ἀν |
ἐπιχειρήσει, θήσει | προστείμου ἐς τὴν βουλὴν δην. . .]



It is a Chr. touch that admission to the grave should be conditional on religious character. Ammia Chr. no. 356, 363, 367, 368, 376; Tatianos 376, Tation 377, Tatia 355, 365, 370.

Doubtless there was another inscr. on this *heroön*, recording the name of the maker and owner. Special permission was accorded in a separate inscr. to Ammia and Tatiane, but the facts are obscure. Probably their husbands were permitted by the principal inscr., and their wives are admitted on condition that they are Chr. But it is possible that the inscr. expresses badly that the husbands were still pagans, while the wives had been converted: in order that they might lie in a Chr. grave

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(in consecrated ground?), admission was granted them by the owner of a Chr. grave¹, and their husbands were also permitted, conditionally on their conversion.

It is obvious that where an inscr. includes the provision that further leave may be granted by the owner 357, 361, 369, 371, 377 (or by her son, no. 360), no new inscr. is needed when a corpse is admitted by the owner; but, when he desires subsequently to grant right of admission to a person or persons still living, he must put up a new inscr. to that effect. The present inscr. records such a subsequent permission. Further this inscr. is important, as showing the importance that already attached to the burial of Chr. in Chr. graves. Probably religious reasons were concerned in most other cases where a friend is admitted, no. 231, 232, 357, 358, 373, probably 236.

Among these 26 Chr. epitaphs (no. 354-380), we see that 7 contain the provision which anticipates wider permission², and 3 admit by name a friend not of the family. Now among the 75 epitaphs which we have ranked as non-Christian, only 3 admit a friend not of the family by name: one no. 232 is influenced by Judaism and admits two Jewish missionaries, and another no. 231 is not of ordinary pagan type (and the friend is called Onesimos, see p. 493). Further among the 75 non-Chr. epitaphs, only 5 contain the provision anticipating wider permission, and 2 more contain a hint to that effect (in the words *ἀνευ* or *χωρὶς συγχωρήσεως* 244, 267). The difference in proportion is so marked, that we conclude that the pagans less frequently anticipated giving any wider permission³; and these 7 exceptions may be suspected of Chr. origin. We scrutinize them and find in them the following names which are known to be used by Chr.: in no. 225 Ammia (cp. 356, 363, 367, 368, 376, 380) and Damas (cp. 362): in no. 243 Zotikos (cp. 369, 368, 385, 393, 401). Trophimos (cp. *Acts* xx 4): no. 244 Zotikos: no. 248 Marcus⁴: in no. 256 A.D. 227 Marcia, Zotike: in no. 260 Elpis (p. 492), Eutyches (cp. 364, 377); in no. 267 Marcella (cp. 364). I do not wish to exag-

¹ M. Collignon publishes an inscription which seems, at first, to be a good parallel to the opening phrase (*Ann. Bordeaux* I p. 41, quoted in *Wochenschr. f. Philol.*), *εἰς τόδε τὸ ἡρώον ἐκτός ἐστι μὴ τινα αὐτὸς κτλ.* But it is clear that the learned editor has not rightly conceived the construction: we must restore [*ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐξέσται κηδεῦσθαι*] *εἰς τόδε τὸ ἡρώον, ἐκτός ἐστι μὴ τινα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ζῶντι* (or perhaps *ζῶντι*) *συγχωρήσω*. It is Pisidian.

² Reckoning 380 among them.

³ In some cases the owner may have thought of granting leave to some other member of the family, whom at the moment he does not admit. LW 1683, which is certainly pagan, is perhaps of this character.

⁴ Was Marcus a baptismal name, Euboulos the exoteric name? Compare no. 455.

gerate the strength of these facts, and have not placed any of these inscr. among the Chr., though I suspect that most of them ought to be.

381. (R. 1887). Aidan. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 247, Cumont 155. [ᾱ]ιον βῆμα ΧΡ ΙΣ ΤΟΥ · ΑΩ.

The symbol ΑΩ is used in Rome from 355 to 509 and in Gaul from 377 to 547, according to M. Le Blant *Manuel* p. 29.

382. (R. 1887, Sterrett 1883). Aidan. τὸν θεὸν ὅπου πάντες [τ]ὴν ἐλπιδαν ἔχομεν.

This inscr. is on the front of a marble chair, which doubtless belonged originally to the church, where the Bema, no. 381, was. The lettering is fair, and may belong to the fourth century. With ἐλπιδαν op. ἐῶναν no. 445 and 395.

383. (R. 1887). Tchivril. M. Paris in BCH 1884 p. 245, Cumont 154. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχidiaκόνου Ἀλεξάνδρου: a late inscr., with *d* for Δ.

384. (R. 1883). Genj-Ali. [Κ]ύμησις Ἀναστασίου.

The inscr. is arranged on both sides of a large cross incised on the stone: it is hardly earlier than the fifth century, and may be later.

2. APAMEIA.

385. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 248, Cumont 209. ἔτους τλγ'. Αἰλιος Πανχάριος ὁ καὶ Ζωτικὸς κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυνεὶ αὐτοῦ Αἰλίᾳ Ἀταλάντῃ καὶ τέκνοις. εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει ἕτερος, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τ[ὸν] θεόν, καὶ δώσει ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον δην. φ' (δηνάρια πεντακόσια). A.D. 253-254.

The name Pancharios occurs elsewhere only in a Jewish inscr. of Rome CIG 9904¹, Pancharia no. 677.

Aelius Pancharios was probably a Jew, who took the baptismal name Zotikos (no. 369). On the Jews in Apameia cp. no. 399 *bis* and Ch. XV.

386. (R. 1891). In a bridge over the Obrimas, p. 409. Ramsay in BCH 1883 p. 309, Cumont 212. Ἀλέξανδρος β' ἐπο[ύ]ησα τὸ ἡρώων ἑμαντῷ | καὶ τῇ συνβίῳ μου Τάτει | καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Τειμοθέῳ² ἰς ὃ ἕτερος | οὐ τεθήσετε· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτη[δεύσει], ἔστω αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

¹ Panchares is a pagan name, see Pape, also Kaibel 2393 (404), 1925.

² These two words are inserted in small letters below ἀδελφῷ.

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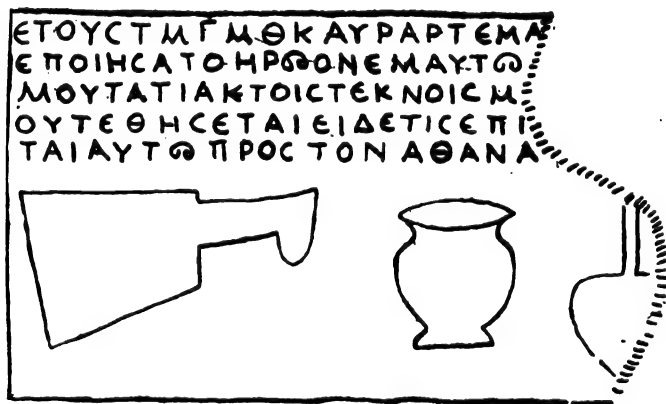
It is doubtful whether Ταρ[ε] should not be read. Teimotheos would naturally become a common Chr. name : on Alexander see no. 355.

387. (R. 1888, 1891). CIG 3962¹. Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 386, Cumont 217.

Ἀφία ἐγὼ κείμει Μενεκλεί μίγα τῷδε σὺν ἀνδρί·
καὶ γὰρ ζῶντες ὁμοῦ τοῦτο γέρας λάχομεν.
καὶ λίπομεν δύο τέκνα, νέον δέ γε Ἀρτεμίδωρον,
ὃς χάριν εὐσεβίης τεύξεν τύμβον φθιμένοισιν.
χαῖρε² δ' οἱ παριόντες καὶ εὐχὰς θέσθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

The forms of the letters are so good that the inscription cannot be placed later than the second century; and it might well be put early in that century. The request is made to wayfarers by the dead that they should offer prayers for the living son (not prayers for the dead): prayers for Avircius Marcellus are asked by him on his tombstone; he was still living at the time, but his request would continue after his death (no. 657). The concluding phrase seems a clear proof of the religion.

388. (R. 1891).



Ἔτους τμγ' (μηνὸς) θ' κ'. Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμ[ας] Ἀρτεμ[ᾶ] | ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρῶν
ἐμαντῶ [καὶ τῇ γυναικί] | μου Τατία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μ[ον] εἰς δ' ἕτερος | οὐ
τεθήσεται· εἰ δέ τις ἐπι[τηδεύσει, ἔσ]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνα[τον θεόν].
A.D. 259.

The knife in this relief shows that the deceased was a butcher. The vase was a common Chr. symbol. Many Chr. probably objected to the

¹ Corrections: read in l. 4 ΤΕΥΞΕΝ, alike demand, was not written: see
5 ΦΘΙ, ΧΑΙΡΕΔΟΙΠ. note 1.

² χαίρετε, which grammar and metre

use of meat from sacrificial victims, which would often be found in the shops of pagan butchers, and these would prefer a Chr. butcher. Still more would Jewish Chr. require a special butcher.

389. Wadd. 1733, improved by MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 249, Cumont 213. *Ἀνρήλιος Ἀνξάνων* δις¹ ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρῶν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Δω[σι]τύχῃ² δῶρον χάριν σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ· εἰς δὲ ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται· εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐπιτηδεύσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. χαίρετέ μοι φιλόθεοι καὶ καλοὶ νεόθηροι.

All editors read *νεόθηροι*. Perhaps we should take the compound in the active sense as 'hunters after the new,' *νεοθηροι*: but, more probably, the analogy of *νεόφυτος*³ suggests that the meaning is 'newly caught.' *θηρίον* is applicable to fish as well as to animals; and the word 'newly caught' was used probably with reference to the common appellation of Christians as 'fishes.'

M. Cumont regards as a convincing proof of religion this *acclamation mystérieuse dont on peut rapprocher celle d'une inscr. de Thrace*, Dumont no. 46 *χαίρετε καὶ εὐτυχεῖται παρὰ θεῷ ἀδελφοί*.

Auxanon Chr. name in Apameia no. 390, perhaps pagan no. 312. With Dosityche cp. Auxityche no. 360.

390. (R. 1881). CIG 3962 B, Cumont 211. *Ἀνρ. Ἀνξάνων Παννύχου* κατεσκεύασα τὸ ἡρῶν ἐμαυτῷ καὶ Ἀνρηλίᾳ Ἀμμίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ μου· εἰς δὲ ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται· εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, ἔσται αὐτὸ⁴ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

Ammia Chr. no. 356 etc.; Auxanon 389, 391 f, 394.

391. (R. 1888). Ramsay in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 p. 35, Cumont 208. *Ἀνρ. Δίκεος ἐπ[οίησ]α τὸ ἡρῶν ἐμαυτ[ῷ] καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μου Ἀνξάν[ου]σῃ καὶ τοῖς γονεῖσιν·* Is δὲ ἕτερος οὐ τεθῇ· εἰ δὲ τ[ις] ἐπικηδεύσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

Dikaios occurs as a pagan name. *τεθῇ* or *τεθῆ* no. 395.

392. CIG 3963, Cumont 215. *Ἀνρ. Ζώσ[ι]μος ἐπ[ύ]ησα τὸ ἡρῶν Ἀνρηλίᾳ Συνκλητικῇ | τῇ καὶ Τατίᾳ τῇ συνβίῳ μου (εἰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τεθῇ)-*

¹ Wadd. reads *Ἀνξανώνδης*, but MM. Legrand and Chamonard have a preferable text here.

² MM. Legrand and Chamonard read *ΔΩ Εὐτυχῇ*, but Waddington's text seems preferable.

³ It is particularly common in Latin

inscr. in various forms, *naeophyta*, *niofitus*, *nefitus*, *nofitus*, *neofata*, *enofitus*, *innofitus*, *inifitus*, *enonfitus* newly baptized, new born, Le Blant II 599.

⁴ The error has led to a second, N being inserted in the space above.

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σομαι) καὶ Αὐρ. [Φ]λαυία Σκύμνου τῇ πενθερᾷ μου | δώρου χάριν μηδενὶ δὲ
ἐτέρῳ ἐξὸ ἐὶν[ε] τεθῆναι· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει ἐς τὸ ἱερώτατον ταμεῖον
δην. δισχεῖλια καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ π[ρ]ὸς ¹ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ θεοῦ.

After the inscription was engraved something was added, perhaps
τεθ[έ]σ[ε]τα[ι] μ[ε]τ[ρ] αὐτοῦς κ[α]ὶ [Δημητριά]δος ὁ υἱός [?] or Δημητρία Ν[έωνος] [?]
The copy necessitates the restoration Φλαυία (in CIG Λαυία).

Aurelia Tatia, who is mentioned here, must have been a person of high birth and of senatorial family (σύνκλητος, *Senatus Romanus*, and συνκλη-
τικός *senatorius*), who was called Synkletike originally as an epithet, but
kept it almost as a personal name in her married life. Her mother
Aurelia Flavia was daughter of Skymnos, probably the Skymnos, son of
Skymnos and grandson of Demetrius, who is mentioned on coins of Pius
138–161 ². The probable period of this inscription about 240–250 would
suit this connexion, if we may assume that the coin belongs to the latter
part of the reign of Pius; and the occurrence of the name Demetria or
Demetrianne in the inscription favours the hypothesis. The remarkable
fact that Aurelia Flavia was buried in her son-in-law's tomb may, on
this hypothesis, be explained as due to her religion. She and her
daughter were Christians, but the family of Skymnos were pagans, and
she preferred to be buried apart from her own family. Cp. no. 380.
Tatia Chr. no. 355.

Synkletikos and Synkletike were used as personal names in Asia
Minor, cp. no. 537 and Wadd. 1778 (where he corrects his denial of this
possibility on 1197).

393. (R. 1891): in a field on the left side of the road to Dikeji, and
close to the right bank of the Maeander. Αὐρ. Πρόκλος | Ζωτικοῦ ἐποίησα |
τὸ ἡρώειον ἐμῶν | καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου | Μελέτινῃ χρειστιανῶν.

The ungrammatically expressed ending assimilates this to a class of
Chr. inscriptions which is more numerous in N. Phrygia, but of which
sporadic examples are found elsewhere. The period to which this class
belongs is fixed by no. 468, which is dated A.D. 278–279. The bold
uncompromising proclamation of the religion of the persons who have
made the grave recalls the Montanist principles ³. Such expressions are
common in the mouths of martyrs (e.g. χριστιανὸς ἐκ χριστιανῶν γονέων

¹ π[ρ]ὸς in the copy, which may be correct, as there are some traces of this dialectic form in Phrygian inscriptions. The copy however is not trustworthy for such details.

² ΕΠΙ · Σ[Κ]ΥΜΝΟΥ · Β · ΤΟΥ · ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ · Τ · Β., i.e. (στρατηγού?)

τ(δ) β': Type four ears of corn in a bundle: Prince of Saxe-Coburg in *Rev. Numism.* 1892 p. 82.

³ Compare the story of Quintus in the Smyrnaean Letter on the death of Polycarp, and above, § 2.

τυγχάνω *Acta S. Ursicini* 14 Aug. § 4, Le Blant *Supplém. aux Actes* p. 292), but not so frequent among the mass of Chr.

There is a different class of inscr., belonging to the fourth century, after the triumph of Christianity, but when the population was still in considerable part pagan. Then a Chr. could inscribe his religion without fear on his grave: examples are CIG 9451 Kaibel ἐνθάδε κίτε, . . . χριστιανὸς κὲ ἱητρός · ἀνεπαύσατο κτλ. (Gozo) and CIG 9481, Kaibel 550 (Catana Sicil.). Compare also the inscr. Dumont *Inscr. etc. de la Thrace* p. 159 no. 84 and one from Selymbria published in *AEMit.* 1894 p. 57 Αὐρ. Δημητρία Χρησ[τ]ηανοῦ κατεσκεύασα τὸ λατόμιν σὺν τῇ στήλλῃ ἐμαντῇ καὶ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μου ἀνδρὶ Αὐρ. Νέωνι Νεοκοριανῷ [τ]ε [κ]αὶ τῷ υἱῷ μου Αὐρ. Μη[ν]ροδώρῳ· ἐξὸν δὲ [μηδέ]να ἕτερον βληθῆναι, ἐπεὶ δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ δην. φ' καὶ κτλ. It is probable, also, but not certain that an example occurs at Apollonia, Sterrett WE no. 555, where in l. 15 I read Χρηστιανοῦ (St. Χρηστωανοῦ). It is quite possible that no. 393 belongs to the fourth century and the second class of inscr. See p. 491 n.

394. (R. 1881). Ramsay in BCH 1883 p. 310, Cumont 216. Φρουγιλλιανὸς Αὐξάνων | ἐποίησα τὸ ἥρῳον ἐμαντῷ κὲ | τῇ γυνεὶ μου Μητροδώρῳ καὶ τ[ο]ῖς τέκνοις ἐκ τοῦ αἵματός μου | ἔχιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνενηλίκων θυτῶν αὐτῶν, γεναμένων δὲ ἐνηλίκων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύσουν | τῶν γονέων τὰ δοτεῖα οὔτε ἕτερός | τις· εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, | ἔστω αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν κριτὴν θεόν. See no. 399 *bis*.

The sense seems to be intended 'descendants of my blood shall have the right to be buried so long as they are minors, but after they have come of full age they shall not be buried here by their children or by any other person'; but the expression is very ungrammatical.

The form ἐπιτηδεύσουν in third person plural is like the modern Greek inflexion; it is a sign that the conversational Greek of the district was approximating already in the third century to the modern dialect. Compare κατεσκεύασα BCH 1888 p. 202 (Kios Bithyn.), and βουληθῇ ἀν[ο]ίξι, noted by Mordtmann *Alh. Mitth.* 1881 p. 259 as an anticipation of the modern periphrastic future (there seems to be some error in his epigraphic text).

395. (R. 1890, 1891). Αὐρ. Φωτῖνος Ἀρίστωνος ἐπύησα τὸ ἥρῳον ἐμα[ν]τῷ κὲ τῇ γυναικὶ μου Τ[α]τρία καὶ τέκνοις· ἰς δ' ἔτε[ρος] οὐ τεθῇ· εἰ δὲ μῆμ, ἔστω αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

With μῆμ compare μῆν in no. 256, τεθῆνεν 356, ἐώναν 445, ἐλπιδαν 382. On τεθῇ see no. 216 f, 391, 399 *bis*.

396. (R. 1888). Dineir. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 p. 36, Cumont 209. [δ

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δεῖνα ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώων τῇ γυναικί μου Αὐρ. Δόμνη Ὀνησίμου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου· ἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ τεθήσεται· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ [δην. φ' ?]. Καὶ ἔσστε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.

Domna Chr. occurs in N. Phrygia, Onesimos cp. 231 and p. 493.

397. (R. 1891). On a stone in N. wall of the ruined church on the acropolis of Kelainai. The inscription is on the outside.

ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ

The letters are very well formed, bold, and clear in this inscription. It is not a mere graffito; and is probably an official inscription contemporaneous with the building of the church. The letters have nothing of the Byzantine character, and are not likely to be later than the fourth century.

398. (R. 1882). Over the door of a tiny chapel cut out of the rock above the source near Sheikh-Arab. This little chapel, or cell, was perhaps the abode of a hermit: it faces east and west. Νικόδημος M. M(οναχός?) may be the meaning of the initial: nothing was ever engraved after M.

399. Dineir. *Alh. Mitth.* 1895 p. 237. ἔτους υλδ', μ(ηνὸς) ζ'. Ἐρμῆς ἐποίησα τὸ μνημεῖον ἐμαντῷ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ μου Αἰ. Μουκίλλῃ· ἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ τεθή[σ]εται· εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, ἔσσε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ [ἀποτεῖσει τῷ κτλ.]. One may suspect that the unknown copyist has mistaken in the date T for Y. Compare no. 448, where the same error has been made: I have observed other cases where T has been taken for Y. In no. 28 Waddington read Γ as T, turning 3000 into 300.

399 *bis.* (Hogarth 1890). Αὐρ. Ροῦφος Ἰουλιανοῦ β'. ἐποίησα τὸ ἡρώων ἐμαντῷ καὶ [τῇ συμβίῳ μ]ου Αὐρ. Τατιανῇ· ἰς ὃ ἕτερος οὐ τεθή, εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, τὸν νόμον οἶδεν [τ]ῶν Εἰουδέων. On τεθή see no. 216 f, 391, 395.

This remarkable epitaph may be added here, though not Chr. The law of the Jews cannot here be the law of Moses, the scriptural law (with its interpretation) binding on all Jews in all countries. It seems to be a special law peculiar to Apameia, apparently some agreement made with the city by the resident Jews for the better protection of their graves. This phrase is suggestive of a strong Jewish element in the Apamean population. We naturally look for other traces of the Apamean Jews. The name Pancharios no. 385 may be Jewish (cp. no. 677). No. 394 might rouse the same suspicion (cp. no. 315). See pp. 668 ff.

Similar regulations, putting the charge of Jewish tombs in the hands of the Jewish community (in accordance with an arrangement which must have been made with the city), seem to have been common elsewhere: so e.g. at Ephesos [ταύτης τῇ]ς σοροῦ κήδονται οἱ ἐν Ἐφέ]σφ Ἰουδαῖοι Hicks no. 677 and κήδονται οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι no. 676.

3. LAMPE AND SIBLIA.

400. (R. 1881). From the site of Lampe near Evjiler, carried to the station at Appa. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 250, Cumont 176. Αὐρ. Ἀτταλος β' | ἐπὶ κλησιν Γ[έ]ος | ἐποίησεν τὸ κυ|μητήριον¹ μ. | χ. Δι|οδώρῳ τῷ ἀ|δελφῷ μου· ἵ|ς δ' ἕτερος οὐ τε|θήσεται. εἰ δέ | τις ἐπιτη-δεύσει, δώ|σει τῷ τα|μείῳ δην. φ'.

In l. 2 I read ΚΑΗΑΙΝΓ ΟC, making the note that Α before ΙΝ was falsely cut and then partially erased by the engraver. Hogarth read ΚΑΗΑΙΝ ΟC. The text in BCH is ΚΑΗΑΙ ΟC. This shows that M. Cumont's transcription ἐπὶ κλη(ην) Ἡσαῖος, founded on BCH, is impossible. Γ[έ]ος for Γαῖος was probably the name; [Πι]ος is possible; but there is hardly room for Γ[ά]ος. ἐπὶ κλησιν² is here used instead of ἐπὶ κλην: the latter is the commoner epigraphic form, while ἐπὶ κλησις is the word in literature. Eustathius (as quoted in Steph. s. v.) says that ἐπὶ κλην is contracted from ἐπὶ κλησιν p. 1053 or from ἐπὶ κληδην p. 1255, but it is generally said to be accus. of ἐπὶ κλη, which is used in an epigr. CIG 6012 b, *Anth. Gr. App.* 239 l. 6. ἐπὶ κλην occurs in Dio Cass. 75, 16, Suidas s. v. Ἐρμολένης, Plato *Crit.* 58 D, 66 B, 114 B, &c., but in epigraphy it is almost solely Chr. (except in poetry CIG 6012 b).

I know no reason why Christians should have taken up the expression ἐπὶ κλην, but the evidence is clear that they favoured it. Such fashions are known. E. g. *Bonae Memoriae* is exclusively Chr.; *Aeternae Memoriae* is pagan, except in a few early Chr. inscr. (*du IV^{me} siècle, c'est à dire un temps où la formule épigraphique Chrétienne participait encore du styl païen* Le Blant II p. 338).

401. (R. 1891). Boz-Eyuk. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 246³, Cumont 210. Date at top undecipherable. Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς ἐ[π]οίησα τὸ ἡρώων τῷ [π]ατ[ρ]ί|μου Αὐρ. Τελεσφόρῳ καὶ τῇ [μ]η|τρὶ μου Δόμνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀ[δ]ε|λφοῖς μου Αὐξάνου[τ]ι καὶ [Δό]μνῃ καὶ Ἀμμίῳ· εἰ

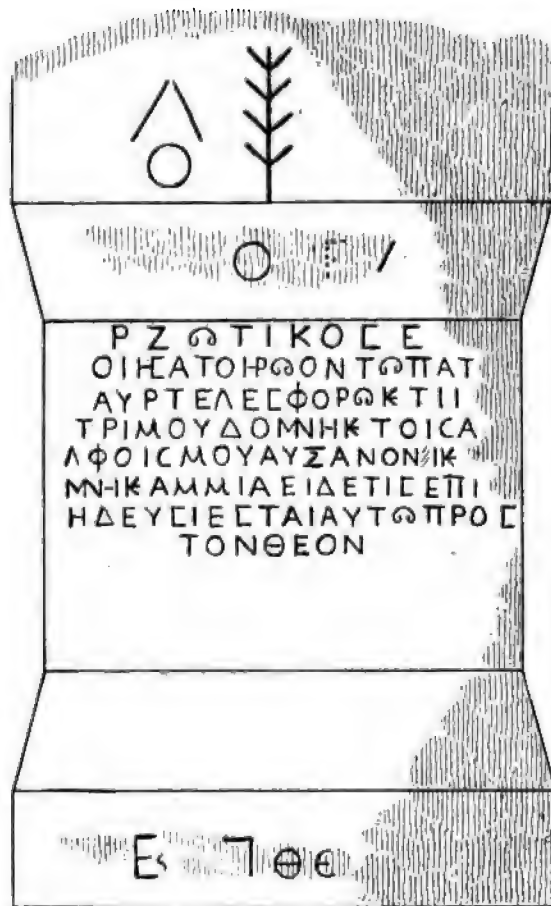
¹ BCH has κυμητήριον.

² ἐπὶ κλησις CIG 8664 (Chr.).

³ They read ΑΥΤΑΙΟΝΙ, where I have ΑΥΞΑΝΟΝ Ι.

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δέ τις ἐπ[ι]τη]δεύσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Letters at foot undecipherable.



The palm is an interesting example of Chr. symbolism : see p. 490.

4. THE HYRGALEAN DISTRICT WITH LOUNDA AND MOTELLA.

402. (R. 1883). On a rough stone by the roadside between Bekerli and Seurlar : very rude, coarse and late letters, hardly legible. (A) is at right angles to (B), and may have no connexion with it.

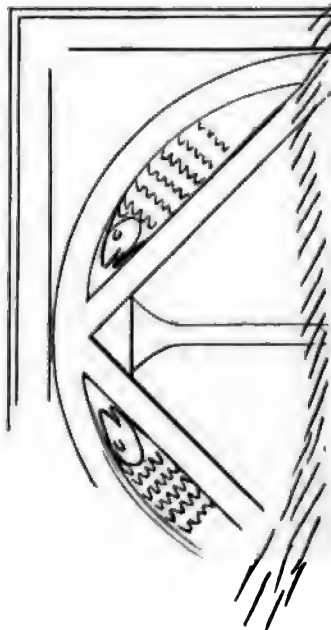
(A) Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ πρ(εσβυτέρῳ) Λεωντανα Κυρ[ιακοῦ ?]

N is engraved below ω in Λεωντανα.

(B) An inscription prefaced by +, in which I can read nothing except δραμῶν οὐδὲν σουρον (σῶφρον, ? εὔρον ?) ἐν βιό[τ]ῳ and perhaps κελυσιν-τισικονος (κέλευσιν τῆς εἰκόνης ?).

403. (Sterrett 1883). Lounda. Broken stone, containing part of a relief, originally a cross within a circle set in a square: fish between the cross and the circle.

De Rossi has shown that the symbol of the fish, common in the earlier Roman monuments, disappears from them towards the end of the fourth century¹. As the Gaulish monuments are usually later than 400, M. Le Blant finds only seven examples of the fish among them, one being the famous inscription of Autun (which he dates at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century²), and another at Trèves (probably dating near A. D. 600).



404. (R. 1888). Kodja-Geuzlar (Thiounta): ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ Α Α Α Α Α ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Ε ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΙΣΤΡΑΗΛ ΡΑΦΑΗΛ.

Five names of angels seem to be required to correspond to the five "A(γίος). The inscr. is interesting in view of the early prevalence of the worship of angels in the Lycos valley (Thiounta was subject to Hierapolis p. 125), and in Phrygia generally. Paul warned the Colossians against *θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων* in the first century (*Ep.* II 18). The Council of Laodiceia about A. D. 363 stigmatized it in Canon 35 as idolatrous: οὐ δεῖ χριστιανὸς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάξεις ποιεῖν, ἀπερ ἀπαγορεύεται. εἴ τις οὖν εὗρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. Theodoret c. 420–450 A. D. says *ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι πολλοῦ* (*Interp. Ep. Coloss.* II 16, *Ed. Hal.* III 490). In *AA SS* 29 Sept. pp. 4 ff. the Bollandists have collected much information about the worship of angels. On the worship of Michael, which was particularly common in Asia Minor, see no. 678.

405. (R. 1883). Destemir (near Motella). JHS 1883 p. 393, Cumont 134 *bis*. On the left half of the entablature surmounting a door. A large cross at the right side of the inscr. (which is in two lines) marks the centre

¹ *De Christ. monum. exhibentibus* in *Spicileg. Solesmense* vol. III.

² Some date it still earlier, or see in it the reproduction of an older model.

of the stone, the other half of which is lost. $\xi\tau(\epsilon\iota) \lambda' \tau\eta\varsigma \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda(\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma)$ 'Ιουστινιανου τοῦ εὐσεβ[εστάτου] δεσπό(του). | ἔργον Μιχαὴλ τ[ῆς] δ(ιοικήσεως) ἐπισκοποῦντος. A.D. 556. Exactly half of the inscr. is lost. Line 1 continued [ἐτελειώθη ἡ ἀγία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία?], or some similar expression. Line 2 probably mentioned the provincial governor or some official of Motella. See p. 158. (In CB the inscr. was wrongly ascribed to Anastasiopolis).

406. (R. 1887). Keuseli (near Motella). Hogarth JHS 1887 p. 396, Cumont 134 + 'Ινδ(ικτιῶνος) δ' κ(αί) μη(νός) α' ιζ', ἀνέστη τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπὶ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ θεοφιλεστ(άτου) ἐπισκ(όπου). I take ι between ιζ' and ἀνέστη as a false mark¹. Hogarth interprets the obscure and difficult date as ινδ. δκ', μη. α', ιζ', ι', 'Seventeenth day of first month of year 10 of indiction 24,' giving A.D. 667, which is a very suitable date; and if I could find any analogy for the numbering of successive indictional periods, I should follow him. He adds, 'according to Lightfoot *Ign. and Polyc.* ii p. 43, the *thysiasterion* was rather the *sacrarium* in which the altar stood than the altar itself: in this case it was possibly an addition to a previously existing church.'

407. (R. 1883). In a cemetery a mile or less N. of Haz-Keui, at the edge of the cañon of Banar Tchai (near Motella). [— σὺ]ν ἰψωβάθρ[φ ——— δι]ὰ χιρὸς Ἐλ[πιδίου ———

There is no clue to the length of the gaps.

5. THE LYCOS VALLEY.

408. Laodiceia: from the engineers of the Ottoman Railway. On a stele of similar form to no. 372, 380. τὸ μνημεῖον | Διονοισίου | Σελ[εύ?]κου² καὶ τ[ῆς] γυναικὸς | αὐτοῦ Τα[τίας?] | καὶ τ[ῆς] θυγα[τρὸς] ἡμῶν | 'Ιρήνης' ἐν φ[ί] | ἑτερος οὐ κηδευθήσ[εται]· εἰ δ[ὲ] τις ἑτε[ρον] κηδεύσ[ει, δώ]σει τῷ [ἐρῶ φίσκῳ] δην. α.

The first two words are engraved apart on the capital. The name Irene was favoured by the Christians, but the religion must in this case remain doubtful.

409. M. Clerc in BCH 1887 p. 353³. [Θ]έσιν M. Αὐρ. Δημητρίου Λαοδικέως, φυλῆς Ἀθηναΐδος, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσονται αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ γονεῖς M. Αὐρ. κτλ.

¹ Perhaps it is a punctuation mark.

² ΓΕΛΙΚΟΥ in the copy, which may be right.

³ M. Clerc's copy seems to make every letter of Θεσιν certain except Θ. He leaves a blank in transcribing.

The inscription may be placed with great probability between 220 and 250 A.D. The formula *θέσις* with the genitive of the owner's name is common in Chr. epitaphs; but it is only with great doubt that this inscr. can be classed among them.

410. Printed by Dr. Judeich *Ath. Mittl.* 1890 p. 258.

ν εἰ δέ τινές εἰσιν καινῇ δόξῃ τρε[φόμενοι
τούτους ὡς χρῆ περὶ πρωτίων
ε]σθαι καταλυέτωσαν τὴν ἀμφισβήτη[σιν
κοντος ἢ μάταια] φίλον ΚΕ . . ΗΝΗΙ
ΑΙΛΙΓΓΗΕΝ ΚΑΙΘΥΜΗΔΑΙΔΙΔ
ΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΙ καὶ προκαταρχέτω[σ]αν Ι
Ι ὀρμωμένους σεμνοτέρους παρ' ἑαυτῶν
λιν οὔσιν τοὺς πρὸς ἀξίαν τιμήσει μηδ[είς
Ιη φαίνοντο]ς.

This fragment is tantalizing. It seems, as Dr. Judeich remarks, to refer to quarrels between Christians and heathen. But it is impossible to make any attempt to understand it, until some more accurate information is given about the size and state of the stone¹.

410 *bis*. Laodiceia. Transcribed by M. J. Laurent from Cod. Vat. Lat. 9072 p. 391, where Marini² gives it in cursive (the words divided but unaccented), without any statement as to how it came into his possession.

Εὐγένιος [father's name ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται ?, ὁ γήμας τὴν?
θυγατέρα Ἰουλίου Νεστοριανοῦ Φλαυιανὴν (τὴν ἀρίστην (or name),
χρόνον δὲ βραχὺν³ (!) διατρίψας ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων πόλει . . .
καὶ βουλήσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος κατασταθείς,
καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν [διοικήσας?,
καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνοικοδομήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων,
καὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμον στοῶν καὶ προστοῶν
καὶ ζωγραφιδῶν καὶ βεντήσεων σκευαρίου καὶ προπύλου
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λιθοξώοις ἔργοις καὶ πασῶν ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς καταστάσεων.

This remarkable inscr. opens up many difficulties. As to origin, it may be presumed that Marini, like Le Quien, owes it ultimately to Jebb, and that

¹ Dr. Judeich does not state whether we have the first line or the last line, or whether there is any clue to the length of the lines, or whether the stone is broken right and left, or is merely illegible in part.

² On Marini's great unpublished col-

lection of Chr. inscr., see De Rossi *Inscr. Chr. Urb. Rom.* I pp. xxxi* ff. See above, p. 513, where my thanks for M. Laurent's scholarly liberality in imparting his important discovery are expressed.

³ Compare no. 677.

the latter received it from some traveller in the East. In the text, no proof is obvious that it belongs to Laodiceia on the Lycos: it may belong to the Syrian Laodiceia. The question arises whether there is any other authority for assigning it to Laodiceia besides the mention of that name in l. 3. The meaning of that line is obscure: if Eugenius remained only a short time in Laodiceia, his episcopate of twenty-five years should rather be assigned to some other city: but perhaps 'the short span of human life' is meant. But, on the other hand, Le Quien was thoroughly alive to the existence of several cities Laodiceia; and, as he has no hesitation, we may probably infer that Jebb knew some evidence that the inscr. had been copied in the Lycos valley.

As to date, Jebb and Le Quien have probability on their side in referring it to the rebuilding of the church after it had been completely demolished in the persecution by Diocletian. The character of the inscription stamps it as comparatively early. The names are of the older type. The analogies are with Roman inscriptions, not with Byzantine. It cannot therefore be placed later than the fourth century, and is unlikely to be so late as the end of the century. On the other hand, the open reference to churches and Chr. officials stamps it as later than the complete recognition of the legality of Christianity, i.e. it is later than the defeat of Licinius in Sept. 323 A.D. The open rebuilding of an elaborate church such as is described cannot have been undertaken sooner. The inscr., then, was composed at such an interval after 324 as permitted the construction of a great church and the adjoining buildings. These considerations show that 330-340 is the earliest possible date.

If Eugenius was bishop of Laodiceia, he must have succeeded Nounechios, bishop in 325 A.D. Now the rebuilding of the church would not be long delayed after 324, and Nounechios, therefore, must have died or been translated soon after the Nicene Council; Eugenius probably became bishop about 327; and died about 351 or 352.

The attempt at a restoration is, of course, very doubtful. If it approximates to the original form, the emphasis laid on the marriage to the daughter of Julius Nestorianus must be due to the rank and influence of her father.

Assuming that Eugenius was bishop in Laodiceia, we must understand in l. 3, 'who spent the short time (of human life) in Laodiceia' (the false spelling η for υ in $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\eta\nu$ is rare). The term $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\rho\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ occurs in Chr. inscr., CIG 9270 (Iconium), 8854 (Olympos *Lyciae*), Kaibel 187 (Syracuse)¹, all probably of the fourth (or fifth) century,

¹ Also CIG 9119 (Nubia), and in the writings of Gregory Nyssenus, &c

and CIG 8704 (Sparta), eleventh century, Kaibel 2319 (Venice), late. The porticoes adjoining and forming a frontage to the church were evidently an important feature. This is not the place to discuss the architectural evidence with regard to a fourth century church, nor has the writer the requisite knowledge. The unknown word *βεντήσεων* is perhaps miscopied. After *προπύλου* perhaps the preposition *σύν* has been omitted.

Eusebius's contemporary description of the great church at Antioch, standing within a peribolos with propylon, and surrounded by stoai, *H. E.* X 4, should be compared with this inser.

411. Wagener in *Rev. de l'instruction publ. en Belgique*, Nouv. Série XI pp. 1 f. (*Philologus* XXXII p. 379).

Ποπλίου Αιλίου Γλύκω[ος] ————— 'Αμ[?]-
 μιανού του Σελεύκου· ἐν ἣ κηδευθήσονται αὐτοὶ καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ [.]
 καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι· κατέδω-
 κεν δὲ [κα]ὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων στεφα[νω]-
 τικοῦ δην. διακόσια πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι [ἀπὸ] τῶν τόκων ἐκάσ[τῳ]
 NMZ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν 'Αζύμων· ὁμοίως κατέλιπεν καὶ τῷ συνε-
 δρίῳ τῶν καιροδαπιστῶν στεφαν[ω]τικοῦ δην. ρ' ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀπ[ο]
 [a line lost] ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Πεντηκο[στής].

A fresh copy of this important inscription is much to be desired; Wagener's copies are not always wholly satisfactory. We can however see with certainty that this inser. and no. 412 are either Jewish or Christian. Looking at no. 411 alone, we should without hesitation call it Jewish; but, when we take no. 412 into consideration, I think we must come to a different conclusion.

412. (R. 1887). Text and commentary under no. 28 A, B: the suspicion expressed there that this inscr. is Chr. seems confirmed by no. 411, which was unknown to me when I was engaged on vol. I. The feasts of Azyma and Pentecost were common to Jews and Christians; but the *ἐργασία θρεμματική* is more likely to be Chr. The Jews might be expected to maintain an Orphanage for their own nationality; but this *ἐργασία* seems to have a wider scope, reaching to all foundlings (*θρέμματα*). Tertullian mentions among the purposes to which church funds were devoted, 'the feeding and the burying of the poor, and of boys and girls that have lost their property and their parents¹.' It is also certain that the charity of

¹ *Apol.* 39 *egenis alendis humanisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis*. Compare Justin Mart. *Apol.* I *sub fin.* τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προ-
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εσῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπικουρεῖ ὀφθαλμοῖς τε καὶ χήραις κτλ.; *Cypr. Ep.* 60 *inter ceteros qui Ecclesiae alimentis sustententur*.

the early Church was not confined to members, but was extended to the needy and poor among the pagans. Tertullian says with his usual sarcasm that the Christians are not well enough off to help both pagan men and pagan gods, and must confine their relief to the men¹; and Julian complained that the pagans left their poor to be cared for by the Galilaeans².

As Lightfoot says, 'one of the earliest forms which Christian benevolence took was the contribution of funds for the liberation of slaves'³. . . . the Gospel regarded the weak and helpless from whatever cause, as its special charge, extended its protection to the widow, the orphan, the sick, the aged, the prisoner,' and (as we may add) exposed and abandoned infants. We ask then if exposure was so common in Asia Minor that a 'foundling home' was likely to be needed in Hierapolis. This is a large question. The word *θρέμμα* or *θρεπτός* is used, not merely in the sense of foundling (*alumnus*), but also in the sense of (1) adopted child or foster child (*alumnus*), (2) *verna*, slave born in the household.

(1) At Nysa we find *Καικίλιον Ἡρακλείδην*, to whom *Καικίλιος Εὐτύχης* δ *θρέψας* erects a statue (apparently on his tomb, as he is *ἥρωα*): the *θρεπτός* here is a citizen of position and rank. In those cases where foster parents and natural parents unite in burying an *alumnus*, the latter is probably to be understood as adopted or foster child⁴. But no. 38 shows a case in which an exposed child is recovered by his natural parents; and it would in that case be reasonable that they should unite with the foster-parents in burying the child.

(2) The sense of *verna* is hard to distinguish from that of foundling child, for the latter were in many cases brought up as slaves. But the probability always is greater that a *θρεπτός* or *θρέμμα* is a foundling rather than a *verna*; and I am not able to quote a case in which *θρεπτός* certainly is *verna*. In the inscr. of Italy we find many cases in which a grave is erected to *θρεπτός*, as in Latin inscr. to *alumnus*; but there is not a corresponding number of cases where the grave is made for a *verna*. See pp. 350 add. 30, and 147 no. 37. It is probable that in cases in which

¹ *Apol. 42 non sufficimus et hominibus et diis vestris mendicantibus*, etc.

² Ep. 49 *ad Arsac.* Sozom. V 16.

³ In his edition of *Colossians and Philemon* p. 324. He quotes Ignatius *Polyc. 4* *μη ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι*, and *Apost. Constitutions IV 9* *τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, ἀθροιζόμενα χρήματα διατάσσετε διακονοῦντες εἰς ἀγορασμοὺς τῶν ἀγίων, ῥνόμενοι δούλους καὶ*

αἰχμαλώτους, δεσμίους, κτλ.

⁴ *D. M. P. Petronio P. F. Pal. Candido* *Baebia Celerina alumno et Petronius Candidus et Caecilia Dumea fil(io) karissimo* (Fabretti *Inscript. Antiq.* p. 353 no. 57), child of seven years. *D. M. M. Valerio Daphnico* *fecerunt Valeri(a) Hedone alumno et Daphnic(us) Julianus filio* (Fabretti p. 354 no. 65), child of five years.

the grave is erected to one or both of the *θρέψαντες*, the children are foundlings. Especially clear in this respect is an inscription of Nikomedeia BCH 1893 p. 538, Λ. Μούσσιος Ἡλεῖς ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ ἑαυτῷ Λ. Μουσσίου Σεονήρα ζησάση ἔ[τη . .] μῆνας θ'. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν θρέψασαν ἡμῶν τεθῆναι Λ. Μουσσίου Βαλερίαν καὶ μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι (sic!) ἡμᾶς μηδένα ἄλλον τεθῆναι κτλ. Here husband and wife and the lady who brought them up have a common tomb. Obviously *θρέψασα* here can only mean that the lady brought up the boy and girl as foundlings, for they could not have married, if they had been her children either by adoption or by nature. It is noteworthy that they both take her name, which shows that they were strictly foundlings whose names were unknown.

Salvianus says that a slave kisses the feet, an *alumnus* the hand, a child the face, of the *paterfamilias* or *materfamilias*¹. A law of 331 left it to the adoptive parents to treat the *alumnus* either as son or as slave². It was almost a branch of trade to bring up foundlings to sell as slaves or for immoral purposes. The person who brought up an *alumnus* was termed *pater*, *nonnus*³, *educator*, *patronus*.

The great number of references in Asian inscr. to *θρεπτοί* is the one reason for thinking that they must often be mere *vernae*; yet in many of these cases a distinction is made between *θρεπτοί* and *δοῦλοι* (*vernae* would rank among *δοῦλοι*). The subject is difficult, but appearances are that exposure of children was a horribly common practice in Asia Minor: compare Pliny *ad Traj.* 65 and 66.

The rare name Asbolos was given to one of the Centaurs, *Anthol. Gr. App.* no. 129 &c. Asbolios or Asbolia are found as Chr. names, Le Blant I pp. 64 f⁴. The name probably indicates one whose sins had been black like soot, and may be taken in this case as the baptismal name of a convert (cp. no. 385)⁵. The term *ἐπίκλην* is also a sign of Christianity, no. 400⁶.

This inscr. belongs to a tomb outside the gate on the road to Tripolis. The document reads at the first glance like an ordinary testamental

¹ Ep. XL *ad socerum et socrum*, quoted by Le Blant I p. 126, who mentions sixteen inscriptions of Christians dedicated by master or mistress to *alumni*.

² *Cod. Theod.* V 7, 1. Justinian *Dig.* 25, 3; *Cod.* 8, 52, 3. Daremberg s. v. *Expositio*.

³ *Nonnus*, see Orelli 4670, Marini *Frat. Arv.* p. 252 B (Le Blant). *Nonna*, no. 658.

⁴ But in Ammian XXVIII 1, *Asbolius palestrita* is probably pagan.

⁵ Macrina was *ἐν φανερώ* τὸ ὄνομα of the sister of Basil of Caesarea: *ἔτερον δὲ κατὰ τὸ λεληθὸς αὐτῇ ἐπεκέκλητο* Gregor. *Vit. Macrin.* p. 178 (Morell). In *Acta S. Sozontis* 7th Sept. p. 16 the Saint was *ὀνόματι Ταράσιος ποιμὴν προβάτων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀγίῳ βαπτίσματι Σώζων ἐπεκλήθη*.

⁶ The following paragraphs follow closely my words in *Expositor* 888 VIII pp. 416 ff.

epitaph; but it is full of subtle differences. The writer has chosen to veil his intentions in very difficult phrases. The bequest to the Council of the Porphyrabaphoi is assimilated to the customary form of bequest for the annual performance of sepulchral rites; and yet the important word which defines the purpose is not Greek. ΠΑΠΩΝ, read by M. Waddington, is confirmed on careful re-examination by Hogarth and myself: in an accurate, well-engraved, and well-expressed testament, such a word seems to have been chosen as a private term understood only by the initiated. The rites are connected with some religious ceremonial (perhaps of the Church); but as the writer has carefully veiled his intention, one need not offer conjectures. The word ἀποκαυσμός seems to be used only here. In pagan inscr. bequests are usually intended for rites at the sepulchre on the anniversary of the testator's death: at Amorion a heroine's cultus is connected with a Mithraic festival (ἐν τοῖς ἐθίμοις ἡμέραις τοῖς Μιθρακάνοις), for the bequest in that case is made to the *Mystai* (of Mithras), and the testator connects the heroic rites with the regular festival, as a device to ensure their regular performance¹ (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 p. 21), but they are to take place at the heroön.

In other respects the inscr. is assimilated to customary phraseology. The συνέδριον τῆς γερονσίας or τῶν πρεσβυτέρων CIG 3912, 3916, 3417, 3422, is analogous to the συνέδριον τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβάφων (or -βαφῶν), a unique expression which seems to mean 'the Council of Presidence (i.e. of *Proedroi*) of the society Porphyrabaphoi (-eis?).' The term πρόεδρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας was used of the Bishop; and the Council of Presbyters (συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ignatius² *Philad.* 8) might be termed προεδρία.

Freedom of admission (κηδεύσω δὲ ἂν βουληθῶ) has been noted as more common among Chr. than pagans, though not exclusively Chr. (e.g. LW 1683 is pagan), no. 380; CIG 3923, 3931, are marked by the same freedom, and may possibly be Chr. (though nothing except the name Trophimos gives the slightest confirmation).

The salutation to the wayfarer in A is quite in the style of ordinary epitaphs. Modelled on a well-known sentiment which occurs in many forms to the effect 'eat and drink, for the end is death,' it is varied so as to be susceptible of a Chr. sense. In an inscr. composed in rude and barely intelligible Greek by Q. Julius Miletos of Tripolis, who settled at

¹ In these foundations the testator's fear always is that the *sacra* may fall into disuse, and many devices are tried to ensure their permanence (see no. 226).

² Compare *Magn.* 6 συνέδριον τῶν ἀποστόλων, *Magn.* 13 στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. In *Apostol. Const.* II 28 presbyters are σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στέφανος.

Rome (Kaibel 1093, see *Addenda* 10), the expression occurs *ποπλῶας βλου ἐκ καμάρων ἰδίων*: that inscription bears many signs of being an elegiac composition rudely adapted by Miletos to his own purposes with unmetrical alterations in names and circumstances. As Tripolis was near Hierapolis, the model which Miletos imitated may have been locally common and familiar also to Diodoros.

The existence of so many subtle differences amid the resemblances to common phraseology is enough to suggest Chr. origin (as is stated on p. 119); but until no. 411 became known to me, I did not venture to class no. 412 definitively among the Chr. inscr. Now, however, the religion seems beyond doubt. It then becomes almost certain that *Porphyrabaphoi* denotes a Chr. society, for a Chr. would not leave his bequest to a pagan society¹ for the performance of pagan rites. When we compare no. 389 and 455, we must infer that already in the early third century the Phrygian Christians in each city were formed into a society, which assumed some public and exoteric name of a neutral character, likely to be accepted as a legal designation. This implies that they took advantage of the permission given by the Roman laws to poor persons to form benefit-societies (*collegia tenuiorum*). Such societies had to be registered in order to be exempted from the general prohibition against forming *collegia* and *sodalitates*; they must have a chief officer, who represented the society before the state and the law². It was important to choose a name that would readily pass muster along with others; and in Hierapolis, where the Dyers were a great trade, Porphyrabapheis or Porphyrabaphoi was a suitable name³. Kairodapistai, which is probably connected with *δάρις* a carpet, was also a suitable name: the making of carpets has probably always been practised in Phrygia (as it still is). See no. 455.

It would be important to fix the date of no. 411 and 412. The earliest date for no. 412 is A.D. 190–200, for a person named M. Aurelius could hardly be born earlier than the reign of M. Aurelius; and the style suggests a date from 200 to 250 A.D. No. 411, with the name P. Aelius, suits better the early part of that period. Probably A.D. 190–220 is about the period in which both inscr. were engraved.

The careful attention to legal form, which is observable in all the

¹ Ancient societies of all kinds, even trades, united in the religion of some patron and guardian deity.

² See Le Blant *Suppl. aux Actes de Mart.* pp. 282, 288, De Rossi *Roma Sott.* II p. 82, Hatch *Bampton Lect.* p. 152, Ramsay *Church in R. E.* pp. 359, 430 ff.

On *coll. tenuiorum* or *funeraticia* (burial being the commonest purpose of the societies) see *Digest* 47, 22 and CIL XIV 2112.

³ The name, if Chr., must have had a double sense, exoterically 'purple-dippers,' esoterically 'dipped in blood.'

Chr. inscr. except no. 393, and their general character, imply that the problem of accommodation between the opposing religions was working itself out on peaceful lines in the country during the third century. On the one hand the Church followed the principle of aiming, so far as possible, at legalizing itself. On the other hand the registration of the Chr. societies and the comparative transparency of their form could hardly have been accomplished, unless there had been great willingness to be blind among the authorities and the pagan part of the population. We must, as M. Cumont has seen, infer that the development of the Church in Phrygia after the Antonine period¹ was peaceful, and untroubled by persecution through the third century: so also Dr. Zingerle, *Philol.* 1894 p. 345 (quoted on no. 232), and above § 8.

413. (R. 1887). Sarcophagus at the side of the road leading towards Tripolis. Hogarth in *Journal of Philology* XIX p. 96, no. 20. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος | Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μαύρου· | ἐν ᾗ κηδευσθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλία Μαρία καὶ τὰ | τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἔγγονα.

This inscription shows the style of the early third century. The lettering is good. The *praenomen* Aur. (no. 235) shows that 215–250 A.D. is a probable date for the erection of the tomb.

The only sign of religion in it is the name Maria. It is true that Maria may have an Italian origin; but it is not probable that such a rare Latin name would spread in the Maeander and Lycos valley (where other examples occur, no. 365²). Moreover it is evident from no. 657 that marked respect and veneration were accorded to the Virgin Mary in that district as early as the concluding years of the second century. Hence we may conclude that the use of the name in Greek inscriptions of the district proves Christian origin.

414. (R. 1887). Text no. 27. The religion is doubtful.

415. (R. 1887). Text no. 23 B. A pagan tomb was appropriated by Acholios, son of Ammianos, son of Molybas, probably in the fourth or fifth century, for the lettering is late in style. The name Acholios would by itself be almost sufficient to prove the religion: see no. 462.

Sarcophagi that had been used by pagans were often appropriated in later centuries by Christians, the bones of the dead were thrown out, the inscriptions were generally erased, but sometimes left unharmed, and

¹ Thrasesas of Eumeneia Ch. X *App.* 2. Other Phrygian martyrs of the period are alluded to by a writer, who lived in the Pentapolis, Euseb. *H. E.* V 16.

² No. 440 is probably not Chr. So also in BCH 1883 p. 19 (Ancyra Gal.). Maria is an ordinary Roman name, fem. of *nomen* Marius.

a new inscription was put on them. Mordtmann mentions that he has observed this especially often in Mysia and Bithynia; and that the regular term for this lawless procedure was 'renewing' (*ἀνανεοῦσθαι*)¹: he also mentions that examples of the same action occur in earlier time (and therefore among pagans). The Chr. emperors passed many enactments as to the treatment of pagan buildings. Enactments against the violation of tombs, and the using of the stones for building purposes were published in 340, 349, 356, 357, 381, 386 (*Cod. Theod.* IX 17): the frequency of the enactments shows how common was the offence.

In A. D. 346, Constantius and Constans provided that temples situated outside the walls of cities should be spared (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 3). In 397 Theodosius ordered that materials set free by the demolition of temples should be utilized for the repair of roads, bridges, aqueducts, and walls (*Cod. Theod.* XV 1, 36). In 399 an order was issued that temples situated in the country (*in agris*) should be destroyed (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 16). In 408 the sweeping order went forth that everything which had been consecrated to false gods, even on private properties, should be destroyed. Only temples situated on imperial estates were spared and ordered to be devoted to a better purpose (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 10, 19).

The dislike of the Church for Greek art, and also the use in Amaseia of the ancient models and subjects, as late as A. D. 567 is attested in *Vit. Eutych.* § 54 (*AA SS* 6th April p. 559). An inscription of Sardis attests the treatment accorded to pagan buildings. A temple or other edifice belonging to some pagan cult was turned into a hospital for sick strangers by a magistrate acting under the authority of an imperial constitution². In the time of Julian the temple of Artemis at Ilium had been with difficulty preserved from ill-treatment by the bishop, who was secretly favourable to the pagans (see a letter of Julian published in *Hermes* IX pp. 257 ff).

416. (R. 1887). Hogarth in *Journ. of Philol.* 1888 p. 91. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος [Γαί]ου [Ἰου]λίου Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀνα[σ]τα[σίου]. The name Anastasius is not certain³. This is the lowest of three inscriptions on the sarcophagus; and marks a Chr. appropriation of an old pagan

¹ *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 126. He quotes an excellent example on a sarcophagus which was obviously pagan *Μαρὸς ὑποβόλεις τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ θύ ἐκκλησίας ἀνενωσάμην τὴν χαρισθισάν μοι ποίελον.*

² Wadd. 638, CIG 8645. The pagans are 'the expelled impious and detestable Greeks, who have been the subject of

an imperial constitution' (τῶν διατυπωθ. ἦτοι καὶ ἐξορισθέντων ἀνοσίων καὶ μυσερῶν Ἑλλήνων).

³ Hogarth reads (Αὐρη)λίου and Ἀνασταρίου: the inscr. is faint, and my copy admits Ἀναστασίου as easily as Ἀνασταρίου.

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tomb. The lettering is rather good, and the date is probably fourth century.

417. M. Cumont quotes under no. 133 an inscr. recording the dedication of a church of St. George in A.D. 1332, which he attributes to Hierapolis; but it belongs to Laconia CIG 8767. The dedication of a Chr. church at Hierapolis in A.D. 1332 would be an historical impossibility, if our conception of the Turkish conquest of the Lycos valley be near the truth: see pp. 24 ff.

418. CIG 8769, JHS 1885 p. 346, Cumont 130. Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοῦ(άτου) καὶ θεοῦ(εβεστάτου) | ἀρχιεπισκόπου) ἡμῶν καὶ π(ατ)ριάρχ(ου) | Γενναίου¹ [ὁ εὐ]λαβ(έστατος)² πρεσ[β(ύτερος)] | Κυ[ρι]ακὸς [Ε]ὐστο[χ]ίου [μετὰ] καὶ [τῶν] | ἐκγόνων [αὐτ]οῦ Ἰωάννας καὶ | Κυ[ρι]ακῆς ἐκ[τη]τορισ[σῶν, τὸ] | κτ[σ]μα τῆς [ἀγί]ω[τ(άτης)] | ἐκκλη[σίας] Χ[ρ(ιστοῦ)]? | ἰν[δ]ικτιῶνος) ἡ'.

If we could follow the text of CIG, the archbishop Ignatius would probably be the same as no. 11 in our list p. 120. But Cockerell's reading Gennaïos seems preferable, and adds one to the list of bishops.

M. Cumont remarks, *les habitants d'Hierapolis appelaient leur évêque patriarche, de même que ceux de Tyr* (Hardouin *Concil.* II p. 1356 sqq.) *acclamaient le leur en lui donnant ce titre; de même aussi qu'on voit parfois nommer patriarche l'archevêque de Thessalonique* (Théod. Lect. ap. Theoph. Ann. 6008³: Duchesne et Bayet *Mission au Mont Athos* n. 104).

The κτήτορες were, strictly, all owners of property in the city (on whom certain duties were laid); but κτήτωρ is often in late Greek used in the sense of κτίστωρ, and especially the founders of monasteries or churches are called κτήτορες or κτητόρισσα. On the form ἐκτητόρισσα cp. no. 267.

419. Copied by Cockerell JHS 1885 p. 346, Cumont 131. Εὐγένιος ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) καὶ ἐφεστ(ως) τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου καὶ θεολόγου Φιλίππου. In garland underneath, the monogram of Χρ(ιστός) between Α and Ω.

In this inscr. we have a clear proof that a church (doubtless *the* church) of Hierapolis was dedicated to St. Philip. This might have been assumed as certain, on account of the traditional connexion of Philip with that city, a tradition dating as early as the second century. Further the inscr. shows that the local tradition was attached to Philip the Apostle.

¹ So Cockerell in JHS l. c. CIG has Ἰγνα[τ]ίου. M. Cumont's suggestion Γεννα[δ]ίου is seductive, but contradicts the points of agreement in both copies.

² ΘΗΛΑΒ in copy for ΟΕΥΛΑΒ.

³ P. 162 de Boor τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπον Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς πατριάρχην ὀνομαίζει ἀλόγως, μὴ εἰδὼς τὸ διωτί.

There is much discrepancy in opinion whether it was Philip the Deacon and Evangelist (*Acts* VI 5, VIII, XXI 8), or Philip of Bethsaida the Apostle, that settled in Hierapolis. Probably there will be a general disposition to acquiesce in Lightfoot's conclusion¹ that we must follow the earliest testimony, that of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesos c. 190 A.D. He says that Philip, one of the Twelve Apostles, was laid to rest in Hierapolis along with two daughters virgins, while a third daughter of his was married and buried in Ephesos². The divergence of later authority³ is to be explained by pure confusion between the two Philips, a confusion which was facilitated by the fact that Philip the Deacon is said to have had four daughters who prophesied at Caesarea (*Acts* XXI 8). This confusion affected Eusebius, who says that Philip the Apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters (III 31 and 39); and yet refers to *Acts* as mentioning these daughters in Caesarea.

420. Hierapolis. CIG 3920. Φλαούιος Ζευξίς ἐργαστής πλεύσας ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πλοῶς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνημεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Φλαούῳ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ Φλαούῳ Θεύδῳ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνοι συνχωρήσωσιν.

The religion is doubtful. The extreme freedom in granting the use of the tomb to any person whom the sons may allow is not in accordance with pagan feeling, and the names of the two sons are suitable for Chr.; but it is of course impossible to attain any certainty about a point which Fl. Zeuxis would carefully conceal. The date must probably be not later than the middle of the second century, to judge from style and the name Flavius in every case. See above pp. 106 f.

421. (R. 1883). On the site of Tripolis. ὁ τόπος Κυριακοῦ, ἀ[ν]άλομα | [δὲ τῶν τέκνων?] Ἡθέρου καὶ Κυριακῆς.

The inscr. belongs clearly to the fourth century or later, from the coarse style of the lettering. But the mention of the survivors who have made the grave is a mark of the early style. According to M. Le Blant, the maker of the tomb ceases to be mentioned in Roman Chr. inscr. after A.D. 408, in Gaul (which was always half a century later than the Roman fashion) after 470. We may therefore conclude that this inscr. is not much later than A.D. 400.

¹ Ed. of *Colossians* pp. 45 f.

² Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱερραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγρακύναι παρθένοι, καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι πολιτευσάμενη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται αρ.

Euseb. III 31.

³ This is practically reducible to the *Dialogue of Gaius and Proclus*, the work of a Roman ecclesiastic, 25 years or so later than Polycrates (according to Lightfoot).

6. THE S.W. FRONTIER LANDS.

422. Aphrodisias¹. LW 1593, CIG 8633, Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 1067, Cumont 86.

Ἐξεπώνει τόβρε καλλ[ος] ἐη [θ]ρεπτήρια [π]ά[τρη]
 ἐξ ιδίων καμάτω[ν] δ[ε] Φιλάργιος, ὅφρα σαώσ[η]
 ἄστυ τε καὶ ν[ε]άετας, ὅτε χείματος ἴσταται ὥρ[η]
 πολλὸν Χριστὸς] ἄχραντος ἐ[π]ὶ χρόνον οὖνομα τούτω
 παντοκράτωρ ἀλόχου τε μένειν νε[ύ]ροι Θεοδώρης.

Waddington's restoration is better than Kirchhoff's. τούτω[ν], Kaibel. The style and lettering suit the fifth century or even the fourth.

The expression Χριστὸς ἄχραντος occurs in an inscription of Hadriani (Perrot *Explorat. Archéolog.* p. 65).

423. LW 1649, Cumont 88. [ἐ]λθέτω ἡ βασιλ[η]ία σου· τ[ὸ] δ' ὀνομά σου ἀγιασθήτω.

424. Aphrodisias. BCH 1885 p. 84. εἰς θεὸς ὁ μόνος σῶζε Κωνσταν-
 τεῖν[ον]. Cp. Wadd. 2704.

425. CIG 8919, Cumont 90. Θε(οτόκ)ε, βοήθι τῷ κόσμῳ | σ[ὴ]μερον καὶ
 νύ[κ]τα | καὶ αὐρίο[ν] πισ[τ]εῖς[ω].

The conclusion is very suspicious: Texier is the only authority.

426. CIG 9272, LW 1650, Cumont 93 *bis*. Τόπος Φιλοθέου]².

This formula is very often Christian (cp. Wadd. 1507), but not exclusively so. It is a translation of the Latin form *locus* or *loculus* (which is used by both pagans and Chr.); it occurs in the Catacombs, and in many indubitably Chr. inser. (especially in Cilicia and Isauria); and the presumption is that this Latinism was characteristic of Eastern Christians. See no. 421.

427. CIG 9273, Cumont 91. [+]
 ΧΜΓ Τόπος Λουκᾶ Φιλοπόνου.

The symbols ΧΜΓ, which de Rossi³ interprets as Χριστός, Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Waddington had preferred to understand as Χριστὸς ὁ ἐκ Μαρίας Γεννηθείς. ΧΜΓ is found on many inscriptions in Syria, most of which bear dates from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 6th cent. Outside Syria examples of this formula are uncommon, occurring in isolated cases in Phoenicia, at Ephesos (Hicks no. 534), at Cyzicos (*Ath.*

¹ No. 422-431 are all from this city.

² *Bullettino di Archeologia Crist.* 1870

³ Waddington prefers φιλοθέ[ων]. pp. 18-31, 115-121, 1890 p. 42.
 'cemetery of the Friends of God.'

Mith. 1881 p. 126), at Bargylia (BCH 1894 p. 24), at Thebes in Egypt, at Syracuse, at Athens (Bayet BCH 1878 p. 32). A slightly different form in the Hauran is $\overline{\chi\epsilon}$ Μ $\overline{\Gamma}$: see Wright and Souter in *Pal. Explor. Fund Quart. St.* 1895 p. 51 (apparently implying a vocative form Χριστέ).

428. CIG 8905, Cumont 91 *bis*. Κ(ύρι)ε, βωλίθι τῷ σὸ δούλο Μασ[σ]άρη(?)

Inscr. of this common form are probably, in some cases at least, sepulchral. As M. Le Blant, *Manuel* p. 10, points out, *famulus dei*, δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ, when it occurs in the epitaphs¹, is applied only to the dead: the term may be called a Chr. substitute for the pagan ἥρωσ. This form of epitaph is characteristic of the fully developed Chr. style, in which all connexion with the world is left unnoticed: parents, country, profession are forgotten, the maker of the grave is not stated, nothing is recorded but the name of the dead and his relation to God as a suppliant. This Chr. style was developed during the fourth century. The formula Χριστὲ βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου is remarkably common in the fifth and sixth centuries; but it originated not later than the first half of the fourth century. It occurs in a Syrian inscription dated 331 (Wadd. 2704); and an inscription of Syra which contains it probably belongs to the fourth century².

In Gaul M. Le Blant, *Manuel* p. 24, points out that the expression *famulus Dei* was in use between 449 and 552 A.D. The name Masares, which is probably native Anatolian, connected with Masaris and Masas no. 91 and *Add.* 23, favours a comparatively early date for this inscr., the rudeness of which may be due to bad education.

429. MM. Paris and Holleaux in BCH 1885 p. 83, Cumont 87. δ ρίπτων χάματα ἐν τῷ τυχίῳ ἔχει τὸ ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τῶν τῇ πατέρων ὡς ἐχθρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ +.

The curse of the 318 fathers who assembled at the Nicene Council in A.D. 325 is common in Chr. epigraphy. It is invoked against those who disobey a law or regulation³, or injure a building, or steal a MS. The fathers are called θεόφοροι πατέρες in an inscr. of Larissa in Thessaly, MM. Duchesne and Bayet *Mission au Mont Athos* p. 133 no. 193.

¹ In other ways, e.g. on seals (see Schlumberger *Sigillographie*, *passim*), it is applied to the living. M. Le Blant quotes τῶν ὁμιλησάντων τῷ θανάτῳ, θεραπεόντων θεοῦ χρηματιζόντων *Const.* LIII.

² See *Rev. Arch.* 1876 Novemb. p. 287 χ βοήθη τῷ δούλῳ σου Εὐλιμνίῳ Ἐφεσίῳ χ(ρυσυποδέκτη) τῆς [Α]σίας καὶ τοῖς συν-

πολίτες τοῖς ἀνταρίοις. The Constantinian monogram and the style and lettering mark this inscription as probably not later than the fourth century.

³ CIG 8704 l. 38 τὸ ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῇ π(ατέ)ρων, καὶ τὴν ἀρὰν τοῦ [Ι]ούδα.

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430. LW 1648, Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 429, Cumont 87 *bis*.

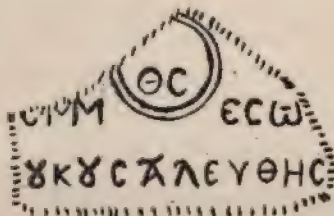
καμάτων ἀλλύτο[ις] δεσμοῖσι κρατεῖται
εἰς αἰῶνα μένουσα πάλαι τὸν λυσιμέριμον.

Kaibel and Cumont are agreed as to the religion; otherwise I should hardly have ventured to include this fragment, as metrical inser. are very free in expression.

431. Aphrodisias. CIG 8644, Cumont 85. τὸν ἀνόνυμον. νεμν[—] | τῶν γενομένων, κὲ κυρ(ωθέντα) ἔνδον | ἐπὶ Θεοφυλάκ[τ]ου | τοῦ ἐνδοξοτά(του) | ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων | καὶ βίου δικαστοῦ | [ἰ]νδ(ικτιῶνος) ἱε(ρη) μ(ην) α(ἰ) | Θεοχάριστο | Ἀχαιέον, [—]—] ρουσχος | Φαβουλίου, | Προκόπιος [δ καὶ ?] | Θεόδορος ἀνα[[γ]νόστη]ς δ[?] Ῥοῦ[φου] ? | ἐπιάτρον¹, | Θεοφύλακ[τ]ος διάκο(νος), Μαριανὸς | διάκο(νος), Γεόργιος | δ ἀδελφὸς Ἀβελκίου.

The dating and signing by witnesses of a document (probably of fifth or sixth century). The form Ἀβελκίου for Ἀβερκίου, no. 672, is interesting.

432. (A. H. Smith 1884). Kara-Eyuk-Bazar (Themisonion). [—] θ(εό)ς [—] ἐμ μέσφ [— τὰ θεμέλια τ]οῦ (ῥ)κου σαλευθήσ(ε)ται —. Or, perhaps, [τὰ] ἐμ μέσφ [τ]οῦ (ῥ)κου σαλευθήσ(ε)ται.



432 *bis*. Cibyra. BCH 1878 p. 608. Ἐπαπρᾶς Ἐπαφρᾶ τῷ πατρὶ μ. χ.

This inser. is uncertain. Nothing suggests Chr. religion, except the name Epap̄hras for both father and son, p. 512. This name, a shortened form of Epaphroditos, was also in ordinary pagan use; but the Colossian Saint was likely to spread it among the early Christians in the district.

433. Cibyra. BCH 1878 p. 612. κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τῷ δούλῳ σου Νικολάου.

This inscription has been engraved round a large cross on a pagan cippus which had been recut for a Christian gravestone. See no. 428. No. 384 is similarly engraved about a large cross.

¹ Ῥοῦ[φου] ? Ἐπιάτρον CIG.

434. (R. 1886). Beuyeuk Yaka, in front of the mosque.

+ΘΕΟΟCTONAPXAGELON	ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἀρχα(γ)γέλων
CYNPIAZONTΟΥCTH·	σύν π[ρ]αξον τοῦς (i. e. τοῖς) τῇ[s
KOYMHCMOYΠACHN	κούμης μου πᾶσιν
KAIΠPACINONTON	καὶ πρᾶσινον τῶν [ὁρ-
ΘΩΔΟΞON+	θωδοξόν.

It is impossible to judge accurately as to the ends of ll. 2-4, which are broken. There is room for three letters after 2, two after 3, and three after 4; but the length of the first line which ends so as to leave a short gap at the right would suggest that nothing is lost, except one letter in 2. The sense however shows that two are lost at the end of 4. Should we understand σύνπ[ρ]αξον τοῖς τῆς κ(ώ)μης μου πᾶσ(ι)ν καὶ πρᾶσινων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, or πᾶσ(ι)· ἡ[ι]καὶ πρᾶσινων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων.

435. (R. 1886). Kilij. Sterrett WE 604 (Cumont 270 bis¹). Αὐρ. Λάμυρος Τιμοκράτους κα[τ]εσκ[εῦ]ασα ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ ἐκγόνοις· ἐτέ[ρ]φ δὲ] μηδενὶ μήτε συγγενῇ ἐξδὸν εἶναι, εἰ δ[ὲ] μή, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, μήτε γῆ² μή[τ]ε ο[ὐ]ρανὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ παραδέξεται.

The usual Chr. formula is united with a curse of more pagan type, with which compare CIG 3915 LW 1683. A similar mixture in no. 563.

436. (A. H. Smith 1884). Andeda. JHS 1887 p. 255, Cumont 108. Oblong marble slab: on top cross within circle. On side τοῦ ἀγίου Κοσταντίνου κε τῖς ἀγίας Ἑλένης between crosses. On front εὐχί Φιλίπ[ο]υ πολιτε]υομένου³ ἀμίν. The engraver seems to have omitted one of the successive syllables πο.

437. (A. H. Smith 1885). Pogla, on a fragment of entablature. [—]s μετὰ ἀνθρώπων.

The late lettering marks this inscr. as of the Chr. period.

438. (R. 1884). Pogla. *Amer. J. Arch.* IV 1888 p. 14, Cumont 107. + Εὐτύχης ὁ λαμπρότ(ατος) ἀπὸ π(ρογόνων) ὑπὲρ σω[τη]ρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ[s γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γνησίων αὐτοῦ παιδίων ἀνέστησεν τοῦ[το]ν τὸν σταυρὸν διὰ Στεφάνου θ[ε]οῦ⁵ αὐτοῦ +.

439. (R. 1886). Colonia Julia Augusta Prima Fida Comama. Ramsay *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1887 p. 264, Bérard BCH 1892 p. 420⁴, Cumont 109.

¹ Sterrett reads Τιμοκράτου, συγγενί, παραδέ[ξ]αι[το], and omits γῆι μήτε. I compared his published copy with the stone.

² γῆι is certain.

³ Smith reads Φιλίπ[ο]υ Κ[ο]μην[ί]ου.

⁴ The determination of the exact title of the Colonia as Prima is due to M. Bérard.

⁵ O for Θ in copy.

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Ἰουλία Καλλιππιανὴ Πεία Μαρίαν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν γλυκυτάτην θυγατέρα αὐτῆς μ. χ.

440. (R. 1886). Colonia Comama. On a fragment of the architrave of a heroön. [Ἰουλία Καλλιππιανὴ Πεία τῇ γε]νομένη θυγατρὶ αὐτῆς Μαρίᾳ Ὀκταουίᾳ Καλλιππιανῇ.

It is more probable that Maria is here the feminine of the Latin *nomen* Marius, which descended in the family of one of the *coloni* settled by Augustus at Comama.

7. TRAJANOPOLIS.

441, 442. Ushak. Wadd. 728, CIG 8909, Cumont 174. (A) + Χριστὸς θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεοῦ σοφία, κύριος, ἐμοὶ βοηθός, καὶ σὺ φοβήσομαι τὶ ποιήσει μοι ἄνθρωπος. (B) Ἀρχάγγελε βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου. (B) is engraved on a cross which is inside a crown, and (A) is engraved around the crown.

The opening of (A) is modelled on 1 Cor. I 24 (as Mr. A. Souther points out to me), and the conclusion on Psalm LVI, 11. The archangel to whom the building was dedicated was probably Michael, whose worship was widely spread in Phrygia (*Church in R. E.* p. 477 and no. 404, 678).

443. Ushak. CIG 9265, Cumont 173. Δημητρίου ἐπισκόπου: ΑΩ in a circle.

The symbol ΑΩ belongs to the period 355 to 509 in Rome, and 377 to 547 in Gaul (Le Blant *Manuel* p. 29).

444. Ushak. CIG 3865 l, LW 727, Cumont 172. ἔτους τξγ', μη(νὸς) Περειτίου ι'. Εὐτύχης Εὐτύχου Τατίᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ πατρὶ μ. χ. Χριστιανοῦ[s] καὶ ἑαυτῷ. Φελλίνας [Τημενοθυρεὺς [λατύπος?]] A.D. 278-279.

The character of this inscr. is similar to those of the country S. and S.E. from Kotiaion; the name of the stone-cutter (λατύπος) is often added in that district; cp. Mordtmann *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 17, CIG 3830, 3827 r, LW 824; and the use of the word Χριστιανοί on the tombstone is also common there. But neither characteristic is peculiar to the N. Phrygia, both occur also in S. Phrygia, Petersen *Lykia* II p. 74, above no. 393. No. 444 *lis.* See p. 568.

8. PEPOUZA.

445. (R. 1883, 1887). Sarikli¹. Incomplete in JHS 1883 p. 407, Cumont 159. The stone is buried upside down at the mosque²: believing

¹ In CB the name is wrongly given Suretli. It means 'the turbaned people,' and probably denoted originally the Mohammedan village that grew up opposite the Christian Deli-Heuder or

Karghali (see pp. 31 and 576). All are Mohammedan now.

² The *hodja* said that the mosque was built *anno Hegirae* 1142 (A. D. 1730).

that it was Christian, I returned in 1887, and dug it up with the connivance of the *hodja* and disclosed the first five lines. *ἐτους τλέ'.* | *Ἀφφία Φρουγίου* κ[ατεσ]κεύασεν τὸ κοιμητ[ή]ριον | *ἐαυτῇ* | καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς | *Διοδότῳ* κὲ τοῖς | *γλυκυτάτοις* τέκνοις αὐτῆς *Φρουγίῳ* κὲ *Τατιά* καὶ | *τῇ* *θρεπτῇ* *Ῥοδόπῃ* μέχι (sic!) δὲ ζῶ ὃν | ἂν θελήσω θήσω | μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμῇ | *τελευτῇ* οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔστω ἐτέρῳ τεθῆναι, μόνον τῇ *θυγατρὶ* μου *Τάτῃ*. εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐπισενέ[υ]κει, ἔστω ἐπικατάρατος παρὰ | θεῷ ἰς τὸν ἔῶναν¹.

The concluding formula gives a Christian modification of a form at Prynnessos) of curse against violation of the tomb. In reliance on this the inscription was published as Christian in 1884; and this classification was accepted by M. Cumont and is now confirmed by the disclosure of the word *κοιμητήριον*. The date is A. D. 250-1; and at that early time the substitution of a Christian term for the customary word *ἡρώων* had begun.

446. (R. 1883, 1887). Sarikli. JHS 1883 p. 408 [*ἡ δεῖνα κατεσκεύασεν τῷ ἀνδρὶ* —] καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ | *Μελτίῃ* κὲ *Φρουγίῳ* τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς κὲ *Φρουγίῳ* | *Λουκιανῆς* καὶ τῇ | *θρεπτῇ* μου | [B]άσση². ἐν ᾧ κηδευθήσετε κὲ ἡ νύμφη τοῦ *Φρουγίου* | *Τατιανῆς* οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξὸν ἔστω ἐτέρῳ τεθῆναι. εἰ δὲ τις τολμήσει³, ἔστω αὐτῷ π[ρὸς τὸν θεόν].

In 1884 I mentioned that this inscription was engraved on a sepulchral *homos* exactly similar to no. 445, 'belonging certainly to the same period, probably to the same family: it is therefore also probably Christian.' This conjecture was confirmed in 1887 by the discovery of part of five letters of the concluding formula. Unfortunately the beginning of the inscription is concealed by great stones forming part of the building, so that my attempt at excavating failed. Without the opening words, the relationship of the second Phrougios is uncertain; possibly Luciana was the lady who made the tomb for her husband, her father-in-law and mother-in-law, her son Phrougios, and her adopted child Bassa.

The rare name Phrougios is found also at Kotiaion, Aizanoi, and Laodiceia Combusta CIG 3989. A place in the agora of Hieropolis was named Phrougis (p. 683). On a coin of Alia (p. 594) the name ΦΡΟΥΓΙ occurs, which should probably be completed as *Φρουγί[ου]*, though possibly J. Friedländer may be right in taking it as the Latin name Frugi. Phrougios is perhaps a derivative from the national name *Φρύγ-ες*.

447. (R. 1883, 1887). Karib-Hassan. JHS 1883 p. 407, Cumont

¹ *ἔῶναν* in 1887, *ἔῶνα* 1883: *ἕτερος* 1887, *ἕτερον* 1883: the copy of 1887 is more likely to be correct. In the date E is very faint and uncertain.

² The name is doubtful; it is not certain what letter should be restored, and perhaps no letter is lost.

³ Perhaps simply *εἰ δὲ μή* cp. no. 451.

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158. Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Ὁρελλίου κατεσκεύασα τὸ κυμητήριον ἐμαυτῷ | καὶ τῇ γυναικί | μου Ἀλυνπίᾳ.

This inscription is engraved on a small altar of short heavy type, nearly two feet in height.

9. SEBASTE AND DIOSKOME.

448. (R. 1883). Sivasli. CIG 3872 c, Wadd. 735, Cumont 160. ἔτους τλζ', μη(νὸς) ε', δ'. Αὐρ. Διονυσίς [. . .]ονε[. . . | ζ]ῶσα κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Εὐ[. . .] | κὲ τῷ υἱῷ μου Τατιανῷ κὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Εὐτρόπῳ[κὲ] | τῷ υἱῷ Εὐτρόπου κὲ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ῥουφείνῃ μ. | χ. εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον ἐπισενέγκει ἰς τοῦτο | τὸ ἡρώων, ἔστω αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν¹. A. D. 253.

The last five words are concealed among the ornamentation, apart from the rest of the inscription. The name of the father of Dionysis is uncertain. She married Eutropos, for whom Dionysis makes the grave, along with her son Tatianos, her brother Eutropos, and her brother's son and wife.

449. (R. 1883). Seljüklér. M. Paris in BCH 1883 p. 456, Cumont 161. [Ἀ]ντ(ώνιος)² Πολλίων | παντοπώλης² | αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Αὐρ. Ἀμμίας Ζηνοδότου καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώων. εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον | ἐπισενέγκῃ τινά, ἔστω αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. | ἔτους τμ', μη(νὸς) θ', κ'. A. D. 256.

The name Antonios at Sebaste, no. 472.

450. (R. 1883). M. Paris in BCH 1883 p. 457, Cumont 163. Κλ(αύδιος) Τρόφιμος | ζῶν ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν | μόνῳ· δς | δ' ἂν ἐνβάλῃ, ἔσται | αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν].

451. (R. 1883). Sivasli. CIG 3872 b, Wadd. 734, Cumont 162. Αὐρ. Μεσσάλας β Σεβαστήνης, ἱατρός, βουλευτῆς], ζῶν ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ Ἀμμίας | καὶ τῷ ἐγγόνῳ Μεσσάλα | τὸ ἡρώων· οὐκ ἔχοντος | ἐξουσίαν ἑτέρου ἐπισενέγκειν μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν τοῦ Μεσσάλα. εἰ δέ μ[η], ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν | θεόν.

452. (R. 1883). Seljüklér. Wadd. 737. ἔτους νοβ'. | [Α]ὐρ. Παῦ[λ]λος Εὐγενί[ου] Ἑρμαγό[ρου] κτησά[μεν]ος τοῦτο | [ἡρώ]ων. μη(νὸς) ζ'. A. D. 388.

There is nothing except the late date to show the religion. Formerly I stated that the use of ἡρώων so late probably implied paganism; but that is an error (no. 354). There were probably, but not certainly, two λ's in Παῦ[λ]λος, and that spelling would favour a pagan origin.

¹ Waddington, from Le Bas's not very accurate copy, has the date YAZ, and reads Διονυσίς [Εὐ]τρόπ[ου]. But my copy has CIIIONC while Le Bas

has CTPONC. Franz read Στρον[γύλου]. In l. 3, 4. Wadd. reads Εὐτρόπ[ω] τῷ υἱῷ Εὐ.; but there is a gap, requiring [κὲ].

² M. Paris read [Τ]ῖρ. and παντοπώλης.

453. Seljüklér. BCH 1893, p. 269. Ὁρσινιανοῦ καὶ Φλωρεντίας θυγάτηρ Ἡλ[ι]όπολις¹ ἀπὸ κώρτας Σταβλησιανῶν(?) ἀνέστησαν(!) στίλλῃν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ(!) τάφῳ· ἔστιν δὲ ἑτῶν δέκα ἑξ· εἰ δέ τις κακουργῆσαι ὥς ἡ θυγάτηρ τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ἐχόρτασεν οὔτε ἡ μήτηρ[ρ] τὴν θυγατέρα, οὕτως μὴ χορτασθῇ τις ἐκ . . .

The editors express some doubt of the text. Except the late date, which can hardly be earlier than the fourth century, there is nothing to suggest the Chr. religion. I thought of a cohort of Stablesiani; but M. Radet treats this inscr. in *Rev. des Univ. du Midi* 1896 p. 290 and accepts the opinion expressed by M. Beaudouin that κώρτας is the name of a place. The editors mention that the engraving is irregular and rude; and I trust they will not think it wrong, if I express the hope that the inscr. may be re-examined to see whether ΒΩΡΖΑC may be read (K for B and T for Z are easy mistakes in a difficult text, as bitter experience has shown me): Borza would then be the same place which is called Borzos in no. 489.

454. (R. 1883). Khirka (Dioskome). + ἀνελήμφθη τὸ πεδίον Ἀντίπατρος + ἐνδ(ικτιῶνι) εἴ' καὶ μηνὶ θ' εἰς ἡμ(ετέρου) Κυρ(ίου) +.



The western custom of stating the day of death without stating the year is hardly found in the East, as M. Cumont remarks.

¹ HATO| in the copy.

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Compare 'Ιουλείας Εὐαρέστας . . . ψυχὴ . . . εἰς οὐράνιον ΧΡ. βασιλείαν μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνελήμφθη in an inscr. found on the Via Latina, and ranked by De Rossi p. CXVI as *antiquissima* (i. e. third century). Our inscr. cannot be earlier than the second half of fourth cent. Indictions began to be used for dating documents in Egypt, where they occur as early as A. D. 329. Beyond Egypt they were not in use till after 350. De Rossi p. XCVIII knows no inscr. dated by ind. until 423 and 443; and no Roman inscr. is dated by ind. until 517 and 522.

Dating by indictions begins in Gaul only A. D. 491 as M. Le Blant III p. 117 says; but it may be expected at an earlier date in Asia. M. Le Blant *Manuel* p. 44 points out that the custom of marking on the tomb the day of death was repugnant to Greek feeling, which never cared to dwell on such mournful facts¹: the day of death is recorded only in the fully developed Chr. system of burial customs, when it was regarded as the beginning of a better life: in Gaul it begins to be mentioned as an almost invariable rule in 431 A. D. The change is nearly contemporaneous with the ceasing to mention the maker of the tomb; at Rome the maker is mentioned for the last time in 408, in Gaul in 470. The simple cross at the beginning of the epitaph was customary in Rome from 450 to 589, in Gaul from 500 to 680; but it began in N. Phrygia at a much earlier period, probably in the third century.

10. AKMONIA, KERAMON AGORA AND ALIA.

455-457. (R. 1883, 1888). Susuz-Keui *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 p. 23, Cumont 164. (A) [Αὐρ. 'Α]ριστέας [Ἀπολ.]λωνίου ἡγόρα|σεν ἀργὸν τόπον | παρὰ Μάρκου Μαθ|οῦ² πῆ(χεων) ἰ' ἐπὶ ἰ'. ἔτει. Below this was added at a later time in smaller and ruder letters, κατεσκεύασαν τὰ τέ|κνα αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξαν|δρος καὶ Καλλίστρα|[τ]ος μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ | μ. χ.

(B) ὑποσχόμενος τῇ | γειτοσύνῃ τῶν πρ[ω|τ]οπυλειτῶν ἄρμ[ε]||να δικέ[λ]-λα[τα] | δύο κ[ατ']ὰ μῆ[να] ? | καὶ ἀ[γωγὸν] ὀρυ[κ]τὸν³, ἔδωκεν | ἐφ' ᾧ κατὰ ἔτος ῥ[ο]||δίωσιν τὴν σύμβ[ι]||όν μου Αὐρηλίαν.

(C) [ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλωσιν] ῥοδίσαι κατὰ ἔτος, [ἔσ]ται αὐτοῖς πρὸς | τῇ|ν δικαιοσύ|ν|ν| τοῦ θεοῦ.

Defaced symbols on side C. In the middle of side B a crown, across

¹ M. Le Blant has overlooked a few Phrygian inscr., in which the day of death is mentioned as being the day on which offerings are to be made at the grave, e.g. no. 20; but the date of death in CIG 3309 may be taken confidently as a proof of Chr. origin (19 Apr., 263).

² There seems to have been no letter after Θ at the end of the line.

³ ΤΟΝ in my copy of 1883, ΓΟΝ in 1888. No letter was engraved after Υ at the end of the preceding line: Κ must have been omitted accidentally.

which the letters [ΑΤ]Α and [ΓΩΓΟ] were engraved. Probably the date in Α contained one number, or perhaps two; the space is narrow for a second letter and leaves no room for a third. The inscr. belongs to the third century: $\xi\tau\epsilon\iota$ [τ'] to [τπ'] (A.D. 215-295) are the limits.

I am indebted to Prof. Mommsen for some of the readings: the plot was 10 cubits square, and Aristeas furnished two workmen with two-pronged picks and a corresponding force of diggers.

The principal inscr. on side Α is continued on side Β: 'Aristeas purchased the ground, and promising . . . , gave it on condition . . .' Aristeas was a Chr., and we must understand that the Society to which he left his bequest was a Chr. benefit and burial society (see no. 412). As we see in Ch. XIV § 3 (1), Akmonia or more probably Keramon Agora (to which, strictly, this inscr. belongs) was divided into trade-guilds, which were probably local divisions (see Ch. XI § 22 (5)): the Chr. Society was modelled after them in name and outward appearance, as at Hierapolis. Similar titles were familiar to the pagans, e.g. $\text{o}\iota \ \epsilon\nu \ \epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\phi \ \epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota \ \pi\rho\omicron\pi\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ CIG 3028, $\Phi\upsilon\lambda\eta \ \text{Μεγαλοπυλειτ}\acute{\omega}\nu$ at Side Lanckoronski I no. 107. That 'neighbourhoods' should be united merely on account of the contiguity of the people was also a familiar custom: cp. Josephus *Bell. Jud.* VII 10 $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \ \tau\acute{\alpha} \ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta \ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \ \epsilon\upsilon\omega\chi\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu, \ \kappa\alpha\iota \ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \ \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \ \kappa\alpha\iota \ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta \ \kappa\alpha\iota \ \gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota \ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. An inscr. of Orkistos, still unpublished, begins $\text{o}\iota \ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota \ \tau\eta\nu \ \gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ (a remarkable form for $\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$) $\tau\omicron\upsilon \ \chi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$ (i.e. $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu$, cp. p. 36). And in Rome each Synagogue was almost certainly named, as Mommsen points out (*Historische Zft.* LXIV pp. 426 f.), after the street in which it was situated, 'Αγριππήσιοι, Καμπήσιοι, Σιβουρήσιοι, Αύγουστήσιοι, &c. (compare the abode of Jews outside the Porta Capena, Juvenal III 15).

The use of roses, which was very frequent among the pagans in banquets and in ordinary life, was common to the Chr., as Tertullian says¹ (*Apolog.* 42), except that the latter never made them into garlands for their heads, but employed them loose: the Chr. used them also at funerals (Minucius Felix *Octav.* 38, 3). Especially it was customary to hold a ceremony *Rosalia* on the anniversary of Saints and Martyrs, Tomaschek *über Brumalia und Rosalia* Sitzungsber. Wien. Akad. LX p. 379 f, which I know only from Fränkel *Inscr. Perg.* II p. 266, quotes many examples. Fränkel mentions the $\rho\omicron\delta\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ of St. Timotheus Patr. on May 9, and of St. John on May 8, also the *Rosalia* of St. Nikolaos at Myra on May 9 (*dies S. Nicolai aestivalis*). Sepulchral use of roses was also a custom among the pagans: at Nikaia a bequest to the

¹ He speaks of flowers in general; Felix *Octav.* 38, 3, it is clear that he but from the imitation in Minucius refers specially to roses.

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Gerousia ἐπὶ τῷ ῥοδίζεσθαι αὐτὸν CIG 3754: ῥοδισμός on 1st Panemos (24th May) in the Imperial cultus at Pergamos Fränkel l. c.: *Rosaria* at Capua on 13th May CIL X 3792: *Rosalia* of the *Conlegium Silvani* on 20th June CIL X 444: *Dies Rosae* of the *Collegium Aesculapii et Hygiae* CIL VI 10234 on 11th May: *Dies Rosationis* at the grave of T. Flavius Syntrephus CIL VI 10239 on 21st May: these ceremonies consisted in a banquet (CIL VI 10234), in which garlands of roses were given to the guests, as Fränkel says. He quotes also Caetani-Lovatelli *la festa della rosa* Rome 1888, and Mommsen in *Berichte Sächs. Gesellsch.* 1850 p. 67 f.

458. (R. 1883). Susuz-Keui. + ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς καὶ σωτηρίας κ[ε] ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρ[τιῶν] Αὐξάν[οντος] π[ρεσβ.] καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἑκοδ[ομήμα]τος τῶν [λαῶν] τοῦ ἀγίου Τρύφωνος? (or Γεωργίου): the last letter is doubtful, T or Γ.

The initial cross in monumental inscr. (as distinguished from epitaphs) is dated by M. Le Blant in Gaul from 445 to 676 (*Manuel* p. 29).

459. (R. 1881). Islam-Keui. σταυρὸς φυλακτήρηον ἑκο[υ]. + ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς κτλ.

It is possible that there may be a longer gap at ἑκο[υ]. The cross begins a new line, which contained an inscription of the type of 458.

460. Islam-Keui. Sterrett in 1883 copied the following on the back of the stone which bears no. 523. σταυρὸς φυλακτήρηον ἑκο[υ]: then follows a second line undecipherable, · ΦΟC · ΥΦΕΝΗ[—].

This is evidently the same as CIG 3876, and seems to be different from 459.

461. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui: on a fragment of architrave in very late style. Ζωτικός Οὐ[ρ]ανίου [καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ?] | Ἀνατόλιος καὶ Οὐράνιος —.

The inscription is in two lines, and there is no clue to the length of the gap at the end of the lines.

462. R. (1883). Susuz-Keui. [Ἀ]λέξανδρος ὁ καὶ [Ἀ]χόλις ζήσας ἐτη ο[.] | βουλευτής, | ἀγορανομήσας, | σειτωνήσας, | πανηγυριαρχήσας, | μετρήσας πάλιν | [ἐν?] τῇ ἀγορᾷ κυ[άθους] ε[.] | στρατηγήσας, [—].

The surname Ἀχόλις for Ἀχόλιος looks Chr.; it is only found in late time (see p. 493), and the meaning is suitable for a baptismal name. But the office of Panegyriarch (p. 442) seems unsuitable for a Chr., unless great laxity among the Chr. existed at Akmonia.

463. (R. 1881). This text is engraved on the side of a rather elaborate 'door-stone' which was seen in 1881 by me at a fountain between Islam-Keui and Ahat-Keui: the same stone was seen and copied in 1883

by Sterrett in a waggon going along the road near Ushak¹. ζῶ[σιν | μ]έγαν κίνδυν[ον] ἐκπεφευ[γ]ότες.

464. (R. 1887). Kaili. ὁ ἄγνος Ἀκιδυνος in two vertical lines on the right and the left sides of a bust with *nimbus*.

SS. Akindynos, Victor, and others, were martyrs at Nikomedeia under Diocletian: *AA SS* 20th April p. 747. They seem not to be mentioned in any of the earlier martyrologies. This inscr. is late, and cannot be quoted as a proof of the early spread of the fame of Akindynos even in the fourth or fifth centuries².

465, 466. (R. 1883). Susuz-Keui. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 271 give (A) with some slight differences, but omit (B) which is on the other side of the stone.

A. [καὶ τῇ σ[υν]βίῳ Τροφίμῃ | ἐποίησεν].³ Τιτέδιος Ἀμέριμνος ἐπισκε[υ]άσας τὸ τοῦ π[α]τρ[ὸ]ς αὐτοῦ μνημεῖον, ἔθαψεν τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα | Αὐρ. Ὀνησίμην Εὐελπίστον ἐξδὺν | δὲ ἔστε καὶ τὸν ἐπισκευάσαντα [Ἀ]μέριμνον τεθῆναι ἐν τῷ προγονικῷ αὐτοῦ μνημεῖον· ἔαν δέ τις ἐπιχει[ρ]ήσῃ μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι τὸν Ἀμέριμνον ἕτερον | [τι]να [.]εἰ[ν], ἔσ[τα]ι αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν?].

B. [εἴ τις αὐτῶν τι]να θάψῃ⁴ [ἄ]λλον, λάβοιτο [ο ἀπρ]οσδόκητον δ | καὶ⁵ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτ[ῶν] Ἀμέριμνος· ἔαν | δέ τις αὐτῶν μὴ φοβ[η]θῇ τούτων τῶν κα[τα]ρῶν, τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέ[πανον] εἰσέλθοιτο | εἰς τὰς οἰκῆσεις αὐτῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἐνκα[τα]λείψῃ.

The curse in (B) seems to be directed against certain persons specified in the lost exordium, brothers of Amerimnos: if any of them buries any other person (besides certain specified individuals), may he receive an unexpected stroke, such as their brother Amerimnos suffered.

The name Amerimnos is a remarkable one. It is not in accordance with the native nomenclature of Phrygia, and does not resemble the Greek style of meaning. One would readily incline to think that it has a Christian origin, and that it was a baptismal name given to Titedios when he became a Christian. It marks him as the man who 'takes no thought for the morrow' (Matth. vi. 34 *μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε εἰς τὴν αὔριον*).

The conclusion of (A) is unfortunately mutilated and uncertain; there

¹ This example confirms the account already given of the transport of large stones (see pp. 366, 698, 738).

² *Passio S. Bonifacii* § 2 (Ruinart p. 326) ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

³ My copy has after ἐποίησεν a leaf, which in BCH has been taken for PΩ.

⁴ i. e. θάψ(αι)το.

⁵ Two small letters ON are engraved above K in καί.

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remain only the tops of the letters in the line following *ἔτερον* (they are all omitted in BCH): at the beginning *[τι]να* is certain, then followed an infinitive, which I cannot restore to suit the traces¹; and the two certain letters *ΕΓ* are too slender a foundation to justify any confidence in the restoration (*ἔσ[ται] ἐπικατάρατος*) would suit equally well).

The imprecation in the conclusion of (B) occurs also in no. 563 (see also 564), where it is added to an extension of the Chr. formula (probably Jewish). The comparison with no. 563 confirms the view that no. 465 is not native Phrygian: the style has something of the Semitic type, and it is more likely to arise from the Jewish influence in Akmonia than from native custom. Rev. A. F. Findlay quotes 'Lasirab the mighty king of Gutium . . . he made and he gave: whoever this stone removes, and the record of his name writes upon it, the gods Gutium and Ninna and Sin shall tear up his foundation and wipe out his seed and shall not prosper him in his going.' Yet the name Amerimnos seems not likely to be Jewish. On the whole, probably this inscr. marked the grave of a Jewish Chr.; but it would appear that the Church in Akmonia was of a debased type, much infected by non-Chr. elements.

The name Titedios is unknown elsewhere: probably it would be wrong to read *Τι. Τέδιος*.

467-469. (R. 1883). Otourak. On four sides of an altar. A. *ἔτους τηγ'· κὲ τηρῶν ἐντολὰς ἀθανάτων· κὲ ἐγὼ ἱμε ὁ λαλῶν πάντα 'Αθάνατος 'Επιτύγχανος, μυηθὶς ὑπὸ καλῆς ἀρχιερίας δημοτικῆς καλὸν ὄνομα 'Ισπατάλης, ἦν ἐτίμησαν ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ κὲ [ἐ]ν ὄροις κὲ ὑπὲρ ὄρους· ἐλυτρώσατο γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐκ κακῶν βασάνων. 'Αρχιερέα 'Επιτύγχανον τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀθανάτων· καθιέρωσαν αὐτὸν Διογᾶς [ὁ]² κὲ ('Ε)πιτύγχανος κὲ Τάτιος[ν] νύμφη κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν 'Ονήσιμος κὲ 'Αλέξανδρος κὲ 'Ασκληῶς κὲ 'Επιτύγχανος. Defaced relief in the centre: a rude cross incised in its place.*

B. [*Α*]θάνατος 'Επιτύγχανος Πίου τιμηθὶς ὑπὸ 'Εκάτης πρώτης, δεύτερου ὑπὸ Μάνου Δάου [*Η*]λιοδρόμου Διός, τρίτον Φοίβου 'Αρχηγέτο[ν] Χρησμοδότου, ἀληθῶς δῶ[ρ]ον ἔλαβ[ο]ν χρυσ[μ]οδότι[ν] ἀλη[θε]ῖας ἐν πατρίδι κὲ (ἐ)ν ὄροις χρυσμοδότιν νόμους τιθῖν³ ἐν ὄροις [χ]ρησμοδότιν [π]ᾶσιν τοῦτο ἔχω δῶ[ρ]ον ἐξ ἀθανάτων πάντων. 'Αθανάτω πρώτῳ ἀρχιερί κ[αλ]ιτέκνῳ Πίῳ κὲ μητρὶ Τατίει ἥ ἔτεκε καλὰ τέκνα, καλὸν ὄνομα, πρῶτον 'Αθάνατον 'Επιτύγχανον ἀρχιερέα, σωτήρα πατρίδος, νομοθέ[τη]ς⁴. Three reliefs: at top radiated head, beneath it the horseman god with battle-axe on shoulder (much defaced), below him bust with hands folded over the breast.

¹ *θάψαι* would suit at the beginning, but is too short. necessary: see comm.

² *ὁ* is not on the stone, but seems ³ Perhaps *τί[ε]ω*. ⁴ Engraver's error for *νομοθέτην*.

C. Ἀθάνατοι πρῶτοι ἀρχιερεῖς ὁμιῶν Διογᾶς καὶ (Ἐ)πιτύγχανος, σωτήρες πατρίδος, νομοθέτ[αι]. Relief: bird with a ring in its mouth.

D. Relief: a Siren.

This quaint inscr. dated A. D. 313-314, contemporary with the struggle between Maximin and Licinius for the sovereignty of the East, is a memorial of the last persecution of the Christians. A high-priestess Spatale¹, to whom the gods gave honour within and beyond the bounds of Akmonian territory², initiated into the Mysteries Athanatos Epitynchanos. She had ransomed many from the evil torments (of Christianity). The tomb of this Epitynchanos, himself a high-priest, was erected³ by Diogas Epitynchanos his brother, and by his wife Tation, and their children Onesimos, Alexander, Asklas, and Epitynchanos. He was son of the high-priest Athanatos Pius and Tatis, and he had been greatly honoured by the gods, Hekate and Zeus and Apollo. He was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his brother Diogas.

This series of priests, Spatale, Pius, Epitynchanos, and Diogas, represent a revival of paganism in the Akmonian district towards the end of the third century. Maximin was recognized as lord over Asia in 311. He abandoned about 313 the attempt to condemn and kill Christians; but he continued to aim at discouraging them and re-invigorating Paganism. He sought to create a hierarchy opposed to the Christian; and men of high character were selected as High-priests of provinces, to exercise a general control over the priests, and to take measures against the spread of Christianity; and controversial writings against the Christians were encouraged and spread abroad. These Akmonian High-priests belong to this class of persons, and the epitaph of Epitynchanos to this class of documents.

Licinius, in his struggle with Maximin, favoured the Christians: previously he had joined with Constantine in the edict of toleration published at Milan 313 A. D., and he renewed this edict at Nikomedeia after defeating Maximin. The support of the Christians was so important as a political factor that Maximin was obliged to issue from Tarsos a similar edict before his death 314. But after Licinius had gained the victory, he resumed a policy similar to that of Maximin; and strenuously discouraged the Christians.

This Akmonian inscr. is a confirmation of the account of Maximin's

¹ On the form Ἰσπατάλη see no. 267.

² Compare the expression used about the fame of Asklepiodotos, a man of the same pagan reaction a little later in date ἐς τὰς ὑπερορίους ἀπέκισε τὴν ἀπόρρητον θέμιν Damasc. ap. Suid. s. v.

³ The sepulchral formula ἐτίμησε τὸν δαίνα is rare in this part of Phrygia (occurring in the Pentapolis no. 600), but very common in N. and E. and S.E. and in Lycaonia.

policy given by Eusebius and Lactantius. The phraseology vies with Chr. expression: with *τηρῶν ἐντολᾶς* cp. no. 380; *ἐντολαί*, the commandments of God, is a characteristically Chr. and Jewish word, compare *φιλέντολος* CIG 9904 (Jewish) and the sentiment of Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* 727, 6 (Chr.)¹. *ἐλυτρώσατο πολλοὺς ἐκ κακῶν βασάνων* is a parody of the Chr. zeal for conversion²: *ἐγὼ ἴμε ὁ λαλῶν πάντα* is modelled on *John* iv. 26 *ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ λαλῶν σοι*. *ἴμε*, the modern form *εἶμαι*, see no. 394.

With the opening of B compare LW 805, CIG 3827 *g*, *Σωτείρη(ς) Ἑκάτη Ὀνήσιμος κὲ Ἀφφῆ Δημοσθένη τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν τετιμηθέντα ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἑκάτης κατεϊέρωσαν* (on which see Mordtmann's remarks *Atk. Mitth.* 1885 p. 17), also CIG 3857 *k*: these inscriptions belong to Kotiaion and Appia, but coins of Apameia show the goddess *ΚΩΤΕΙΡΑ* in the form of Hekate *triformis*, p. 348. The formula *τετιμηθέντα* on a tombstone was imitated by the Christians, see LW 828.

A Roman inscr., Kaibel 1449 (quoted above on no. 197), is a good illustration of this quaint inscr. In it the term *ιερεὺς τῶν θεῶν* is treated grammatically as a personal secondary name (unless we should understand that the engraver omitted a personal name after *ὁ καί*): compare Theotecnus and Asklepios as the names of Roman governors, p. 507.

¹ Some would rather take it as Jewish: ² *ἵνα λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πασῆς ἀνομίας Tit. II 14.*
I agree with Kaibel.

NOTE 1. No. 444 *bis*. Ushak, omitted on p. 558 and by M. Cumont. CIG 8837 *ἐκαληουργήθη | τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο | διὰ συνδρομῆς | Λέοντος πρότοπρ[εσβ]υτέρου.*

NOTE 2. *γραιός* as a Chr. presbyter may be supported by the names given to the Jewish presbyters, *γερουσία*, *γέροντες*, *παλαιοί* (Th. Reinach, quoted on no. 561). On Chr. and Jewish analogies in Asia Minor, see pp. 300, 545 f, 675.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BANAZ-OVA

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§ 1. GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTER. The district now called BANAZ-OVA is a gently undulating plateau, of irregular shape (approximating to lozenge form), about 3,000 ft. above sea level. Its boundaries are clearly marked by Murad-Dagh (Mt. Dindymos) N., Burgas-Dagh E., and the broken hills of the Katakekaumene (which separate it from the valleys of the Hermos and its tributary the Kogamis) W. On SE. the plain of Eumeneia and Peltai, which is at a lower level, is clearly separated from it by a low ridge, which stretches from Burgas-Dagh to Tchal-Dagh. On S. the eastern Tchal-Ova is divided from it by a branch of Tchal-Dagh, but the district of Motella, which for historical and epigraphical reasons has been already treated in the preceding chapter along with Tchal-Ova (the Hyrgalean Plain), belongs geographically to the Banaz-Ova, which here sweeps unbroken down to the edge of the deep Maeander-cañon. I have not explored the south-western corner of the Banaz-Ova: so far as I have seen it, the plain inclines downwards towards the great cañon to about the level of 2,000 ft., and the Mossyna mountains sink into rugged broken country amid which the Maeander finds its way in an exceedingly bold and magnificent gorge. See pp. 4, 122 f, 208, 236.

The Banaz-Ova measures about 30 miles from N. to S., 25 to 35 from E. to W., and 50 from NE. to SW.

The Banaz-Ova is drained by two rivers, the Banaz-Tchai (whose ancient name was perhaps Senaros), and the Köpli-Su, the ancient Hippourios. The Banaz-Tchai is more than 70 miles in length from its source to its junction with the Maeander: it crosses the Banaz-Ova from north-east to south-west, and receives several tributaries from Mt. Dindymos (Murad-Dagh) and Burgas-Dagh. The Köpli-Su has a course of little more than 35 miles, drains a small extent of country, and except after rains, probably contributes no water to swell the Maeander. The course of these two rivers has never been followed: they have been crossed by travellers at a very few points, where the great roads pass them. In the upper part of their course they run in channels about the level of the plain: but, as they approach the middle of the plain, the channels grow deeper, till they become great cañons $\frac{1}{2}$ mile or more broad with perpendicular sides, 200, 500, even 900 ft. high. The centre and south of the Banaz-Ova, being drained by these deep channels, is dry and treeless; but the soil seems to need only water to render it very productive. The conditions of the district were probably the same in ancient as in modern time, like the Steppes of southern Russia. The surface was too dry to favour cultivation, or support trees: it was exposed to the free sweep of the fierce¹ north winds in winter and to the parching sun. The population in the central plain was probably scanty, and few important cities existed in it. But cities of the third or fourth rate, and villages, were numerous, especially on the skirts, where the river-channels are still near the surface and the water-supply more abundant. Towards E., then, we find the sites of Alia, Sebaste, and Bria; on N., Temenothyrai, Trajanopolis, and the Grimenothyreans; on S., Pepouza with its groves of vallonias oaks, and Motella, a mere village; on W., along the Lydian frontier, and frequently included in Lydia, are Blaundos, Nais, Klannoudda, Sala, and probably Tralla and Mysotimolos. Of these, Sebaste, Blaundos, and Temenothyrai are cities of the second order of importance.

The frontier between Lydia and Phrygia varied at different periods. The Katakekaumene formed a special district, sometimes called Lydian, sometimes Mysian, sometimes Phrygian, but throughout the Byzantine period it was definitely included in Lydia. On SW. the frontier was even more uncertain, and will be discussed in connexion with the cities.

¹ I have never suffered so much from biting winds as in Banaz-Ova in Nov. 1881.

There are few approaches to the Banaz-Ova, easy enough to permit of traffic. From the coast-valleys of the west, it may be entered from Maeonia by the gorge of the Hermos. This is a singularly difficult route; and the peculiar type of rocky path through the gorge E. of Koula makes it one of the hardest roads for horses that I have seen in all my experience of Turkey. It seems to have been the line of the 'Royal Road' from Sardis to Pteria and to Susa; but that is one of the characteristics which stamp the 'Royal Road' as being, not a trade-route for caravan traffic, but a road for couriers and the Royal Post. No one that has ridden this path into the Banaz-Ova would ever make it a caravan-route.

Another approach is from the Kogamis valley, i.e. from Philadelphiea. There is a short track by Takmak now used by light horsemen or by foot-travellers to Ushak; but it also is not to be thought of as a route for traffic. All trade follows one of two lines near each other, going nearly due east from Philadelphiea for about 40 miles to the neighbourhood of Ine and Geubek. Here the routes diverge: one goes north to Ushak: a second goes ENE. to Islam-Keui, an important point at the extreme corner of Banaz-Ova: the third goes nearly due east to Sebaste and thence turns south to Eumeneia, or as an alternative leaves Sebaste on the left and keeps on to Eumeneia and thence across Duz-Bel to the east. Of these three roads, the first is important only for the trade of the rich Ushak district (Trajanopolis, Grimenothyrai, and Temenothyrai), the third is a short route for light horsemen and foot-passengers to the east, but the second is one of the great trade-routes of history, carrying to Smyrna the trade of the east and north-east. It has been especially important throughout the Middle Ages, after Smyrna had become the single harbour for commerce with western lands¹; but it has a permanent importance in its own nature, being second only to the Maeander valley route in convenience as a path for trade between the Aegean coasts and the east.

An approach from the Lycos valley to Banaz-Ova can be found and is occasionally used for traffic; but it is so circuitous a way to the coast, that it can never have had any great commercial importance. The easiest route would go by Tripolis and Sala to Geubek: the shortest by Hierapolis across Tchal-Ova, Dionysopolis, Atyokhorion, to Hadjimlar and Islam-Keui. This latter is a route of some importance for horse or foot-passengers.

¹ The building of the Ottoman Railway up the Maeander valley destroyed the importance of the more northerly route in recent years.

An easy approach to Banaz-Ova is from the Eumenian valley. This was used by Manuel Comnenus in 1175, when he advanced from the Rhyndacos to the plains of Lampe (p. 227), and again in 1176, when he advanced from the Lycos by Baklan-Ova (Lakerion) to drive the nomad Turks out of Banaz-Ova (Panasion): see pp. 21, 239. It is probable that the trade of Pepouza and Bria, possibly also that of Sebaste, found its way by this path down the Maeander valley to Ephesos in the Graeco-Roman period.

Entrance to Banaz-Ova is absolutely barred on E. by Burgas-Dagh¹, except at the NE. corner. Here two roads enter Banaz-Ova. One comes from Sandykli-Ova (the Pentapolis) through the Moxeanoi and down the stream which flows past Dokela and Akmonia into Banaz-Tchai: this road is barred by mountains from any connexion east of the Pentapolis. The other comes down the Hamman-Su to its junction with Banaz-Tchai at Islam-Keui; and four miles further south it meets the Akmonian road near Susuz-Keui. This is the one and only line of trade leading out from Banaz-Ova to N. and E.; and Islam-Keui or Susuz-Keui² must have been an exceedingly important knot of communication in the busy times of the Roman Empire. It holds the key of the whole valley: it is the open door towards which many tracks converge.

Communication is easy across the northern part of the Banaz-Ova; but in the centre and south the great cañons of the rivers and of all their tributaries, with perpendicular walls, 500 to 900 ft. high, impede anything like heavy traffic. Hence even a path so far to N. as the road direct from Philadelpheia and Ine to Sebaste is difficult; and it seems to me possible that Sebastene trade went to Laodiceia and Ephesos. Further S. than that line, trading communication across Banaz-Ova is not to be thought of. Even N. of it, the explorer observes that the line of communication between two places tends to keep N. of the straight air-line between them, in order to take the cañons more easily.

The character of the country and the roads did not escape that excellent traveller, Hamilton. He says, II p. 159, 'I now became fully alive to the difficulties of getting through this part of the

¹ M. Radet differs, probably from want of personal survey, see p. 597 note.

² The two villages are in the same narrow entrance, on the same road. In respect of natural advantages they are almost equal. Islam-Keui is now the

knot of the roads; but of old the peculiar situation and importance of Akmonia (Ch. XIV) made the roads concentrate at Susuz-Keui, which thus became the market of the fortress Akmonia: see § 13.

country, intersected as it is by so many deep fissures, as I may almost call them; and I perfectly understood why the caravan roads keep to the north by Geubek, where the plain is not intersected by such obstructions.' Even at Geubek, however, the cañon of the Hippourios is very serious; though smaller tributary cañons are not there deep, as they are more to S. M. Radet describes the character of the country in similar terms, on the authority of a French traveller, M. Collange.

§ 2. PEPOUZA is little more than a name to us; but the order of Hierocles is so well marked, that M. Radet and I¹ have independently and about the same time reached approximately the same conclusion as to the district in which Pepouza lay.

Philostorgius probably means Pepouza, when he says that Petousa of Phrygia was the place to which Aetius was exiled² 356 A.D. Epiphanius, who died A.D. 402, says that Pepouza was in his time deserted and levelled with the ground³; but it is apparent that he speaks in exaggerated depreciation of a place which he recognizes as being still a centre and resort for the heretics. It was still in existence as late as A.D. 787, when Theophylactus, superior of a monastery at Pepouza⁴, was present at the second Nicene Council.

Pepouza is chiefly memorable as the cradle of the religious movement called Montanism. The district where the effects of this movement can be first traced lies about Eumeneia, Otrous, and Apameia; and Pepouza must lie somewhere near these cities. The situation which we have inferred from Hierocles, in southern Banaz-Ova, near the edge of the Eumenian plain, suits this condition.

Further, Pepouza was probably not far from the earliest scene of the activity of Montanus. Now he was first filled with the Spirit at Ardabau in Phrygian Mysia⁵; this peculiar term may very well indicate the Mysian country that lay S. and SE. from Philadelpheia on the Phrygian frontier⁶. If Ardabau were in that region, the situation

¹ Radet *En Phrygie* p. 111. We differ as to the village: he says Utch-Kuyu, I have selected the site beside Kara-Halilli and Deli-Heuderli: see above pp. 243 f. Utch-Kuyu is in the Hyrgalean Plain, which debars me from following M. Radet.

² *Hist. Eccles.* IV 8: the correction Πέπουζα is printed in the edition of Valesius.

³ *Haeres.* 48, 14 τιμῶσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι τόπον τινὰ ἔρημον ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ, Πέπουζαν

ποτε καλουμένην πόλιν, νῦν δὲ ἡδαφισμένην.

⁴ *Praeses Pepuzon Acta Conc. Nic.* II, Act. IV p. 792.

⁵ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ the Mysia which lies beside Phrygia, Eusebius *H. E.* V 16: see p. 196. Perhaps for Ἀρδαβαῦ read Κάρδαβα, i. e. Καλλάταβα (p. 199): or perhaps in the inscr. quoted on p. 199 read οἱ κά[το]ικ[οι] ἐν Ἀρδ[ά]βοις.

⁶ It might quite suitably denote the country about Ancyra and Aizanoi,

which we have assigned to Pepouza would be intermediate between it and the cities of Eumeneia, &c., in which the opposition to Montanism in the Phrygian Church was first roused.

Pepouza was considered by the Montanists to be the earthly centre of the true Church, the New Jerusalem in this world, and a neighbouring village Tymion was united with it in this honour: to this city all the Christians were to gather themselves¹. There Christ had manifested Himself to Priscilla, or else to Quintilla, for accounts apparently varied².

The Montanists continued to live for centuries in their own quarter of Phrygia. They had a number of villages, each of which possessed its own bishop: they used a year of 360 days beginning on 24 March (IX *Kal. Apr.*),³ with a cycle of eight years. They are often called Pepouzitai from their chief centre Pepouza⁴. Many Laws and rescripts directed against them are given in *Codex Theodos.* XVI *Tit.* 5. But as late as 722 we hear of severe measures taken by Leo III to convert them, when many of them burned themselves in their own churches⁵.

M. Radet has observed that Justinianopolis in the later *Notitiae* seems to correspond to Pepouza in Hierocles. This acute and convincing suggestion illuminates the subject⁶. Its truth is confirmed by an argument that M. Radet has not employed. In the sixth century Justinian laid waste with fire and sword the home to which the Montanists still clung⁷: we may confidently think that their centre was still at Pepouza, and that the reason why Pepouza is not mentioned

which was sometimes called Mysia; but that region does not suit the other facts.

¹ πολίχνιον τι τῆς Φρυγίας τὴν Πέζουσσαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὠνόμασε Comment. of Aristæus on *Conc. Laodic. Canon.* in Beveridge *Pandectae Canonum Concil.* &c. I p. 456. ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὀνομάσας (πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν αὐταὶ μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας), τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων Eusebius *H. E.* V 18.

² φασὶ γὰρ οὗτοι . . . ἡ Κύντιλλαν ἢ Πρίσκιλλαν . . . ἐν τῇ Πεπούζῃ κεκατευθῆναι, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐληλυθῆναι Epiphanius *Haeres.* 49, 1.

³ Sozomen *H. E.* VII 18 and 19.

⁴ In a rescript of Honorius and Theodosius, dated A. D. 423, *Phryges quos Pepuzitas sive Priscillianistas vel alio latentiore vocabulo appellanti* are men-

tioned as heretics deserving strict repression (so also in 428) *Cod. Theodos.* XVI 5, 59. Sozomen VII 18 speaks of the Montanists or Pepouzitai.

⁵ Theophan. p. 401. Dr. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* s. v. Montanus, thinks that this is false, because the Montanists were destroyed by Justinian. But, like Gibbon, we see in Theophanes a proof of the failure of Justinian's stern measures. Probably the heresy was never really extirpated till the Turkish conquest.

⁶ After these paragraphs were written, I found that I had myself adopted this view in the Table in JHS 1883 p. 373 (CB *init.*), and afterwards discarded it for the different opinion stated above p. 223. See below § 3.

⁷ Procopius *Hist. Arc.* 11.

at any of the earlier Councils, and a bishopric Pepouza is not recognized in the older class of *Notitiae*, is because it was given up to heresy. The New Jerusalem, then, was destroyed by Justinian; but, of course, he would not leave the place a desert. He would naturally make a new foundation, and give the place a fresh start as an Orthodox city with the name Justinianopolis¹; and this city was recognized as a bishopric by Leo VI about 900 in his reorganization of the ecclesiastical system, when the Empire was recovering its vigour after the long and desolating Arab wars.

Oikokome was united in the same bishopric with Justinianopolis. It was therefore a neighbouring town or large village. There is no evidence as to the precise situation; but I cannot think with M. Radet that the bishopric of Pepouza extended into the valley of Peltai, and that Oikokome was in that valley at Sarilar. The mountains must be taken as the boundary of the bishopric, and Oikokome must be sought on the north side of them, in the skirts of the Banaz-Ova, whether at Karib-Hassan, or elsewhere (see § 4).

The name Pouza or Pazon occurs near the sources of the Sangarios: a Novatian synod was held there in 368². It is probably the same place as the Pepouza, which is mentioned as a town on the frontiers of Galatia and Phrygia³. Thus the existence of a second form Pouza for the Phrygian Pepouza, which was suggested on p. 244, is made probable⁴. Further, forms with δ and ζ are interchangeable in Asia Minor⁵; hence we may perhaps conclude that the village Boudaili preserves to the present day the old name Pouza in a form adapted to give a meaning in Turkish⁶. The name Tymion might then be plausibly identified with the modern village Dumanli.

Justinianopolis, the later foundation which replaced the destroyed villages of the heretics, was situated either at Kara-Halilli or Deli-Heuderli, two villages about a mile from one another. At the latter there are evident remains of an ancient city, though I failed to find inscriptions. Kara-Halilli⁷ is the modern religious centre of the

¹ Similarly when Anazarbos was destroyed in 525, it was restored by Justin and called Justinopolis, Theoph. p. 171.

² καὶ οἱ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ δὲ Ἀρειανοί, σύνοδον ἐν Πούζῃ τῇ κώμῃ ποιήσαντες Act. Conc. II 887 ed. Labbe. It is called Παζουκώμῃ by Sozomen VII 18. On the variation in vowel see pp. 382, 222.

³ Πέπουζαν πόλιν τινὰ ἔρημον ἀνάμεινον Γαλατίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Πέπουζα tract. de haeresibus

ap. Coteler. Eccles. Gr. Mon. I p. 293 where the Pepouza of the Galatian frontier is wrongly said to be the Montanist centre.

⁴ Compare Pasa-Paspasa, Salouda-Salsalouda, p. 244.

⁵ See § 7 Alouda-Elouza.

⁶ Compare Gereli p. 168, Sivasli § 5.

⁷ The men of Black Halil: the form was difficult to catch. Col. Stewart gives Karghali, Jackdaw-town.

district: it is a large village with a Medresse or school of religious law; and the people showed themselves more inhospitable and intolerant there than in any other place which I ever visited. It has been heir to the religious importance of Pepouza (compare p. 30).

Sarikli¹, which has a rather fine mosque (no. 445), is in all probability the centre in which the Turks originally settled, when they were first fixing themselves in the country alongside of the Christian population during the second half of the twelfth century. The Christian and the Mohammedan centre were distinguished as Sarikli (the turban-wearers) and Deli-Heuderli², like Seljüklér and Sivasli (p. 581), or like Tefeni and Karamanli (pp. 303, 279 f, 30 f).

The ritual of the Montanists in Pepouza retained many traces that recall the primitive Anatolian character. The importance of women was great: they were prophets, and presbyters, and bishops. Epiphanius describes a common ceremony in their churches, according to which seven lamp-bearing virgins entered dressed in white robes, to prophesy to the congregation: these wept and mourned over the lot of mankind, and worked on the emotions of the people. The usual calumny propagated against all hated religious sects, that of using the blood of a child in their sacred rites, was reported of the Montanists in Orthodox circles. The name Tasko-drougitai was given to them from two Phrygian words used in this district, *τασκός*, peg, and *δρῶγγος*, or *δρῶγος*, nose, because in praying they placed the forefinger on the nose³. This was esteemed a sign of humility and of willingness to submit to the justice of God.

§ 3. BRIA. Hierocles places in this part of Phrygia, between Pepouza and Sebaste, a town Briana; but from a few rare coins with the legend ΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ, and from the ecclesiastical documents in which such forms as Ivria, or Ibria occur⁴, we can restore the correct forms Bria the city and Brianoi the inhabitants⁵. The situation of Burgas suits so

¹ Wrongly called Suretli in CB.

² I was told by a Turk that Deli-Heuder is John the Baptist; but cannot vouch for the fact. Mr. Browne can learn nothing about such a name.

³ The nickname was also rendered in Greek as Passalorhynchitai. In a tractate published in Cotelier's *Eccles. Gr. Mon.* III pp. 377 f, the words *τασκός* and *δρῶγος* are said to be Galatian, in accordance with the error already mentioned as to the position of Pepouza. See also Epiphanius *Haeres.* 48 and 49.

⁴ See next page.

⁵ Writers on Numismatics previous to Mr. Head adopted the false form Briana from Hierocles; just as they invented a city-name Tomarena from the legend ΤΟΜΑΡΗΝΩΝ, which implies a name Tomara. At *Concil. Constant.* A. D. 553 Μακεδόνιος Βριανῶν occurs, and from such forms Hierocles elicited his name Briana; but bishops are very often designated by the name of the people, instead of the city, and this had caused various errors. Compare

admirably the position assigned by Hierocles to Bria that the identification, though not proved by any definite evidence, may be accepted with considerable confidence.

The name Bria is an interesting piece of evidence about Phrygian ethnology and language. *Bria* was a Thracian word meaning *town* or *city*¹. It occurs in Mesembria, Menebria, Poltyobria, Alaaibria², Salybria; and here in Phrygia we find it used as a proper name, 'the City.' It is obvious that Brea mentioned in CIA 31 as the seat of an Athenian colony should be regarded as a by-form of the same name³: possibly Breia was the form actually intended there: Amphipolis is probably the place meant in the inscription.

It is shown in the commentary on no. 218 that Bria, Briya, and Berga were dialectic varieties of the same word, and Bergoula and Brioula⁴ were diminutive forms derived from it, and used like it as proper names in the sense of 'the city.' Bergoula of Thrace is still called Burgas: Bria of Phrygia also is still called Burgas: in both cases we recognize the modern name as the ancient name persisting in a slightly modified form⁵.

Only one circumstance casts some doubt on the identification of Bria and Burgas. Not a relic of ancient life has ever been observed there. Sterrett and I passed through the village hurriedly in 1883⁶; we did not halt, but, if we had seen anything to attract attention we should have stopped and made a more thorough examination. We did not, however, examine the cemetery, or the mosque, or the village as a whole, still less the neighbourhood. M. Paris in 1883, and MM. Legrand and Chamonard in 1891, seem also to have passed through Burgas; and they have published nothing found there. But, though the ancient name remains, it does not follow that the modern Burgas is on the exact site of Bria. It is more probable that the ancient city was built on a stronger and more defensible site somewhere in the neighbourhood on the eastern side, upon the skirts of Burgas-Dagh.

Alina § 10. The modern name Gondane for a village W. of Antioch Pisid. is evidently formed from the old ethnic Γανζανοί. Gondane often gets a more thoroughly Turkish form as Kundanli (see p. 581) from the peasantry; but I convinced myself after repeated conversations that the natives used the form Gondane when they were speaking unconsciously, and Kundanli when trying to be accurate.

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¹ *Βρία γὰρ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ Θράκες* Steph. Byz. s.v. Μεσημβρία.

² *AEMit.* 1895 p. 112.

³ As Mr. JGC Anderson suggests.

⁴ Brioula see p. 191.

⁵ We must suppose that Bergoula was also called by the simple form Berga.

⁶ I had been unexpectedly detained at Payam-Aghlan § 6; and was hurrying southwards late in the day.

Writing in 1883, I inferred from Hierocles that the territory of Bria lay between Banaz-Tchai, Burgas-Dagh, the Eumenian valley, and Tchal-Ova; and, as the only remains of ancient life in that wide district were situated near Sarikli and Karib-Hassan, I supposed that the city which owned that territory was situated there. But we have now seen reason to conclude that there must have been two cities in that large district; and, as Pepouza occupied the SW. part of it, we must give the NE. to Bria. M. Radet has independently reached the same conclusion about Bria, and approximates to this localization of Pepouza¹.

As to the history or antiquities of Bria nothing is known, except that on coins of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna the name of $\Sigma\text{ΤΡΑ}\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\ \text{ΑΠΟΛ}[\Lambda\Omega]\text{ΝΙΟΥ}$ occurs.

In the earlier *Notitiae* the name Bria is usually corrupted to $\text{'}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, with prothetic iota, and the clerical error K for B; but some MSS. which I have collated read $\text{'}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. The form $\text{'}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ coming immediately before $\text{'}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omega\nu$ in *Not. I* has caused the latter bishopric to be corrupted in one MS. into *Kapías*².

Hierocles mentions both Pepouza and Bria: the earlier *Notitiae* mention only Bria, and omit Pepouza: the later mention the latter alone (under the new name Justinianopolis) and omit Bria. Must we not infer from this that there was only one bishop for the entire district of Pepouza and Bria, and the earlier system gave precedence to Bria (doubtless from hatred of Pepouza the nest of heretics), while the system of Leo gave precedence to Justinianopolis?

Justinianopolis is always united in the same bishopric with Oikokome. Can we look for the latter near Bria, understanding that Bria was in a higher position on Burgas-Dagh, and Oikokome in the plain? As to the origin of the name, it appears in the forms *Οικοκώμη*, *Οικονόμου*, and *Οίνοκώμη*: may we not infer from these variants that the full name was $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \text{Ο}\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu$? Evidence may be discovered to prove or disprove these suggestions, which are purely hypothetical as yet.

In these identifications I have returned to my original view, as shown in the table attached to my CB part I³, where Justinianopolis

¹ My identifications are published in vol. I pp. 244 f. M. Radet's appeared almost simultaneously in his *En Phrygie* p. 112.

² Parthey prints it so in his text, but gives the true reading from a better MS. in his appendix p. 319. Gelzer in

his edition of Georg. Cypr. also gives the true reading. This false reading *Kapías* has given rise to some vain imaginings in M. Radet's always ingenious mind (see *Rev. des Univ. du Midi* 1896 p. 7).

³ See JHS 1883 p. 373: above § 2.

is placed to correspond to Pepouza and Bria. I deserted this view for a time, taking Oikokome, which was grouped in the same bishopric with Justinianopolis-Pepouza, as a grecized form of the name Vicus¹, a village of the Siblian country, and Justinianopolis as the great fortress of Khoma. But, as M. Radet rightly says, the occurrence of both Justinianopolis and Sibia in the list of Leo is a strong objection to my late theory; my opinion that in several cases an old bishopric had been by pure carelessness left standing in the later *Notitiae* in addition to the later bishopric (e.g. Justinianopolis and also Sibia, Flaviopolis Ciliciae and also Sis) is in itself improbable; and several of my examples are failing me, as my studies grow more complete.

I must therefore beg the reader to make some changes in Ch. VI § 8, to eliminate the name Justinianopolis² (leaving the historical theory unchanged, for the importance of the fortress Khoma remains unaffected³, and its early history as a fortress is attested by Cinnamus).

§ 4. THE HORSE-ROAD TO THE EAST. This route has played a considerable part in history; but it is very obscure, and little notice has been taken of it. In 1883 Sterrett and I, while exploring the Eumenian valley, first heard of the route across Duz-Bel; and we were told that it was the short road for travellers from Philadelphia to the east. Soon afterwards while riding south across Banaz-Ova from Kalin-Kilisa to Avgan, we crossed a broad track leading E., and learned that it went from Philadelphia to Ishekli (Eumeneia) and over Duz-Bel. In 1886 I attempted to show how important the route over Duz-Bel was in the later Byzantine time; and the theory which I then sketched out⁴ formed (with some improvements) the foundation for Ch. VI §§ 7-10 of the present work. In 1893 the importance which this route had in the travels of St. Paul became clear to me⁵; and a glance at any map shows how direct a path is afforded by it from Ephesos to Pisidian Antioch, while it is far more pleasant for a horseman or a foot-traveller than the great Trade-route, which keeps on a much lower level in its western stages. In studying M. Radet's

¹ Grecized as *βίκος* in an inscr. of Smyrna *Mous. Smyrn.* no. β' (1875 p. 111), *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.* I p. 141. This identification of Oikokome with Vicus is accepted by M. Radet.

² Read Khoma-Soublaion for Justinianopolis, and Vicus instead of Vicus-Oikokome.

³ I should now suppose, however, that

Khoma originated not so early as Justinian's time, but rather in the Iconoclast period, when the defences against Arab raids were strengthened.

⁴ *Amer. Journ. Arch.* II p. 123.

⁵ *Church in R. E.* pp. 93 f: the Apostle's route is stated hypothetically in ed. I, clearly and decidedly in ed. II and later.

suggestive essay *En Phrygie*, it became clear to me that the road which he supposes to have run from Philadelphiea to Apameia is really the Duz-Bel route: with some slight modifications in details¹ his idea can be adopted.

The clearest point about this road is the corrupt name *socratu*. M. Radet looks out for some name of seven letters² to replace it, and suggests Motella, or preferably Pepouza. But close to Motella lies Ἀττοχώριον; and *εἰς χωρίον Ἄττος*³ might be latinized and corrupted readily into s-cor-atu or socratu. Considering that the village lies on the south bank of the Maeander, and that the road passes along the north bank, as M. Radet rightly recognizes, this interpretation seems indisputable.

Further, M. Radet has rightly seen that two roads from Philadelphiea are mixed in one on the Table. When we cut out the first (stations Tripolis and Hierapolis), there remains, *Philadelfia xv Trallis xxviii Socratu ix Pella xii Ad vicum xiiii Apamea Ciboton*⁴. Now all these places have already been discussed in our pages. Taking the distances between them roughly from our map, they come out Philadelphiea xxv Tralla⁵ xxviii Atuochorion xxiv Pella xvi Vicus xiiii Apameia. These numbers suggest that on the Table one station is lost between Atuochorion and Peltai; and at ix M. P.

¹ The real value of a topographical view does not lie in the details, but in the general character. In almost every detail of this road, I have to make some slight modification of M. Radet's view; but, on the whole, we keep very close; and my eyes were closed to the meaning of this line in the Peutinger Table until he set me on the proper track. I mention this expressly, as the superficial reader might conclude from the expression of difference as to details, that I was stating a totally different view. The idea of a road from Philadelphiea to Apameia is a false conception, opposed to any connected and consistent theory of the Roman road-system, except on the postulate that a road may be drawn from any one point to any other across the map.

² 'Nous rencontrons dans la nomenclature géographique un mot de sept lettres, Motella, qui se substituerait bien' for Socratu (p. 110). This is an example

of the principles in M. Radet's work which are essentially inconsistent with those that I follow. When the Table gives a false name, the principle of replacing it by any name containing the same number of letters leads to results which are contrary to all that I can accept.

³ That Greek forms lie at the bottom of certain corruptions in the Table is certain, e.g. Stabiu = *εἰς Τάβιον*.

⁴ It is not quite certain on the Table that Pella (i.e. Peltai) is intended to be on this road; but it intersects a road from Eumeneia pointing to Laodiceia on the Table; and this road past Atuochorion cuts that road at or near Peltai (as the map shows): now on the Table near the intersection is the name Pella.

⁵ Placing Tralla at Aetos, as on p. 200 note 2, and taking Aetos as the name given by the Thracian soldiers, Tralleis, settled here to their own town; while Tralla was the name used by others.

from the bank of the Maeander opposite Atuochorion, the road passes Bekirli, near which we have supposed the central village of the Hyrgalean people to be (p. 128)¹.

At Tralla-Aetos the road would fork, one branch going on direct to the Myso-Makedones and to Ephesos, the other going to the right to join the road from Tripolis to Hierapolis. The fact that the road Philadelpheia-Tripolis coincided in part with the road Philadelpheia-Tralla, would facilitate and almost justify the rendering of the two roads on the Table.

These combinations seem so satisfactory and involve so little change in the Table, while using only the identifications which we had already arrived at from other reasons, that I need not discuss the other details in which I have modified M. Radet's scheme of the road. He does not accept a single number from the Table, but requires them all to be altered; and on independent grounds his localization of Oikokome or Vicus was found unsatisfactory in § 2.

§ 5. SEBASTE occupies a beautiful situation in the fertile ground under Burgas-Dagh. The two villages Sivasli and Seljüklér correspond to it, and are both full of its remains². Sivasli retains the old name in a form adapted to give a more Turkish sound. Either on the site of Sebaste, or by the beautiful fountains of Bunar-Bashi³, about 1½ miles S., there must undoubtedly have been a settlement from the earliest time, which was doubtless organized as a village of the old Anatolian type. Bunar-Bashi especially unites every qualification for attracting a primitive population. But the city was the foundation of the emperor Augustus. That is evident both from the name and the coins bearing his name and effigy⁴, and also from

¹ The *Ravenn. Anonym. Cosmographia*, which goes back to an earlier and completer form of the Table than we possess, gives some help in such questions, in spite of its frightful corruption in the form of names, and its extraordinary irregularity in their arrangement. It mentions *Latrileon*, which (if we take T as an error for Γ) may represent *Hirgaleon* (Parthey p. 106, 7): further *Ateus* (Parthey p. 111, 9) may be the first element of *Atuo-chorion*.

² It is less than 1½ miles from the centre of Sivasli to the centre of Seljüklér. Ruins of Sebaste are scattered over the intervening space, with tumuli

containing finely built sepulchral chambers close to Seljüklér, which was built on the skirts of the Chr. city by the Mohammedan settlers, p. 31. See M. Paris BCH 1883 p. 449.

³ The Senaros, mentioned on coins of the city, may be these springs; but more probably it is the great river of the Sebastene country, Banaz-Tchai.

⁴ The coins of Sebaste were long confused with those of other cities named Sebaste. Magistrates Dionysios and Antisthenes are mentioned on coins of Augustus published by Waddington *Voy. Num.* and Imhoof MG.

no. 495, which seems to be a metrical chronicle relating the early history and mythology of the city. From it we learn that Augustus transplanted to the new foundation the people of the towns in the neighbourhood; and this fact proves that the emperor's action was not simply the renaming of an existing city, but the formation of a new city¹.

Men is the most characteristic type on coins of Sebaste; but the more hellenized coins represent the deity of the city as Zeus, a mere grecized form of the same Phrygian deity. The title *Askaēnos* has not as yet been found in Sebaste; but, as it was in use in the Sebastene village of Dioskome and in Eumeneia, it may be assumed in Sebaste also². The native cultus of the city was evidently the same as at these neighbouring cities, so far as the scanty traces permit a judgement.

The hellenized forms of the god and goddess, Apollo and Artemis, occur in inscr. 480.

The foundation of the Gerousia in A.D. 99 by a group of persons, men and women, varying widely in age and apparently containing all the members of one leading family in Sebaste, is mentioned in inscr. 475.

From inscr. 472 we gather that the supreme board of magistrates was styled indifferently *Strategoi* and *Archontes* (see p. 368).

In this district we meet a new class of sepulchral monument, a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway. The doorposts, the two *valvae*, the lintel, are all indicated; one or two knockers are usually carved on the door; and symbols referring to the ordinary life of the deceased person are often represented on the panels, a basket, a strigil, a mirror, or something of the kind. The door is often surmounted by a pediment, triangular, or semicircular, which is sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured; and in the upper Tembris valley, e.g. the sculptural decoration of the pediment is commonly the ancient Phrygian heraldic device—a pair of lions regarding each other. The inscription is placed sometimes on the upper rim of the pediment, sometimes on the lower rim, occasionally on the actual door in violation of the symmetry and beauty of the whole. See the illustrations Ch. XIV § 2, no. 620, 635.

Tombstones of the door-type are very common in northern, central, and eastern Phrygia; but they are rare in the most completely hellenized cities of the Lycos valley or in Eumeneia or Apameia.

§ 6. THE KOMAI OF SEBASTE. The process of *synoikismos* had not

¹ See § 15.

² See no. 38, 197, 496.

been very thoroughly carried out in the territory of Sebaste, for the villages seem to have retained a certain amount of independence. We find the people of Dioskome making a dedication to the emperor Philippus no. 498, and the people of Le[onna?] one to Apollo and Artemis no. 499. The territory was apparently very extensive, and the outlying villages were so distant that some self-government necessarily remained in their hands, for the title *Katoikia* seems to indicate what we may term the commune of the village, i.e. the meeting of the people for regulating their own affairs; and we must understand in inscr. 498 that the *Katoikia* of Dioskome of the Sebastene people is the assembly of Sebastene citizens settled in the outlying village Dioskome¹.

M. Radet seems to regard Dioskome in a different light. He places it at the village of Seljüklér, close to the site of the Augustan city. Such a situation could only be admitted if we suppose that Dioskome was the old village which existed here before Sebaste was founded. There can be no doubt that the name Dioskome would be very suitable for the old pre-Augustan village in this locality (see § 5). The theory would illuminate the history of the foundation. But it is too illuminative to be accepted without clearer evidence. We should have to admit that the pre-Augustan village was not swallowed up in the new foundation, but continued to exist at its gates as a self-administering *Katoikia*; and that seems improbable. Moreover the inscr. mentioning Dioskome was found far away at Tabaklar across Banaz-Tchai. It is certain that it has been carried for Tabaklar has not the appearance of an ancient site²; and it is also certain that stones are sometimes carried a great distance³. But there are two sites nearer Tabaklar, from which stones could be brought far more easily than from Sebaste; and except for definite reasons I feel bound to suppose that the stones are brought from the

¹ M. Radet assumes that the *Katoikoi* were Macedonians, *Rev. Univ. Midi* II p. 288. A *katoikia*, however, is a settlement, but not necessarily of soldiers. The colonists settled by the Greek kings in Asia Minor were in many cases Orientals, often Jews: all such settlers were classed as *κῆτοικοι*. Further, strangers settled in a town, of which they were not citizens, were called *κατοικοῦντες* (sometimes *οἰκοῦντες*). We agree with M. Radet that the military colonies were the most characteristic kind of *κατοικία*; but they

were often of non-Macedonian soldiers. M. Radet himself says '*à l'époque romaine κατοικία devint l'équivalent de κώμη*' (*Rev. II* p. 6). Why then does he assume that in an inscr. c. 246 A. D. it implies a colony of Macedonian soldiers?

² The stones there are built into a mosque and fountain: now for buildings of that class good old stones are brought in considerable numbers by the architects.

³ But to a city, not to a village (p. 698). See no. 203, p. 366.

nearest¹. In that case the remains at Khirka nos. 500-503, and those at Tabaklar, must be taken as coming from the same ancient site; and the name Dioskome must be applied to it provisionally.

Dioskome must have been a place of a certain importance, inhabited by a section of the Sebastenoi, which, being at a distance of near fifteen miles from its metropolis, held its own meetings and managed its own internal business. The inscriptions nos. 500-503 show that Men was worshipped there with special devotion. On coins of the neighbouring city of Alia, Men is represented precisely as in the relief attached to no. 500. The title Askaēnos is a proof of the antiquity of the cultus. All these facts, taken in conjunction, point to the conclusion that Dioskome had existed before Sebaste was founded; that it was one of a set of *komai* on the Anatolian system², surrounding a central *hieron* of Men Askaēnos; that it was probably close to the *hieron*, as is shown by its name³; and that it was incorporated in the Augustan foundation. Men was often called by the hellenized name of Zeus, see pp. 356 f, 294, etc.

The same fate probably befell another ancient city situated about 5 miles N. of Sebaste, beside the tchiflik Payam-Aghlan⁴, on a steep hill, Hissar. The character of this site is strikingly like that of Akmonia. There is every probability that in an earlier and more unsettled time it was the chief city of the district, and that Sebaste in its beautiful but not very defensible situation supplanted it in a more peaceful age. Then the older site yielded to the growing importance of the more fortunate Sebaste, and sank into the condition of a mere village. M. Radet is in entire agreement with me so far, and quotes my words with approval⁵. Probably, therefore, he would also agree with me in inferring from no. 495 that part at least of the population of the old site was transferred to Sebaste, and the rest remained to act as cultivators and to rank as 'the Katoikia of the Sebastenes in this Kome.' M. Radet differs from me only in one

¹ The deep cañon of Banaz-Tchai is a serious obstacle to transport from Sebaste. The principle of classification is stated Ch. XVI App. I.

² See pp. 101 f, 124.

³ The name Dioskome, like Menokome, Attiukome, Hierakome, Atyokhorion, probably denotes the kome that grew up at a *hieron*: see pp. 102, 132, 167. ΑΤΟΥΚΩΜΗ mentioned in an inscr. of Altyntash (CB § 92) is

probably to be interpreted as 'the village of Ates,' i.e. Attes or Atys.

⁴ Payam, the bitter-almond tree, is a very common element in Turkish local names: Badem, a variety of the word, interchanges with Payam, in the mouths of the peasantry: when the traveller asks which form is correct, the answer is *ikisi bir*, 'the two are one.'

⁵ See p. 597, below.

respect. I was of opinion, that the name cannot in our present state of knowledge be recovered¹: he considers that this old city and later village was Alydda (Aloudda) of the Peutinger Table and the Anon. Ravennas. It seems to me, however, that there is reason to place Aloudda a little further to the west, § 7, and to give a different name to this site².

The inscriptions in this place would probably reward a more careful search than I could make in 1883³. Among the few which I copied we have examples from the last century B.C., the reign of Tiberius, and the third century P.C., no. 500 ff.

§ 7. ALOUDDA. The Peutinger Table mentions a town Aludda: the true form of this name is probably Aloudda, corresponding to Klannoudda and Attoudda⁴, and in later time the spelling Alouda (like Attouda) probably came into use. Now in the Byzantine lists we find a bishopric Elouza or Ilouza. Considering the examples which we find of forms with *d* alternating with forms containing *z*⁵, I can see no reason to doubt that Alouda and Elouza are the same place⁶. The form Elaza also occurs in *Notitia* III: it is probably a dialectic variety similar to those mentioned in § 2 (Pouza-Pazon, &c.).

Elouza is mentioned by Hierocles between Sebaste and Akmonia,

¹ As a heading for the section in CB, I used the term Palaeo-Sebaste, expecting that this would be understood as 'the anonymous town which was supplanted by Sebaste.' It has, however, led some critics to understand that I fancied this to be the name applied to the site under the Empire. I have therefore refrained from using the name; but my theory remains unchanged.

² The conjecture may be permitted that this is the Katoikia Le[onna] of no. 480. See § 15.

³ I went out from Sebaste in the forenoon; and had to return in time to make a long ride to the south. The consequence was that much was left undone both there and at Burgas: see § 3.

⁴ Attoudda on the earliest coins, Attouda on later: Klannoudda on the rare coins (all early). On the Table Aludda and Clanudda are the forms. I do not know why M. Radet uses the form Alydda, which is justified by no

analogy known to me (see p. 617). He also speaks of Clannuda. These two wrong spellings obscure the arguments that tell for my theory, and they have probably weighed with him unconsciously in rejecting it.

⁵ See p. 293, and above, § 2: we find Sebadios and Sabazios, Zizimene and Dindymene, Nazianzos and Nadiandos (*Hist. Geogr.* pp. 285, 348, *Mith. Ath.* 1888 p. 237).

⁶ M. Radet differs to a slight extent: he holds that the names are different and denote different places, but Alouda was only two miles from Elouza; that the Byzantine bishopric corresponded in every respect except name to the older Alouda; and that Elouza is the same name as the modern Eldeniz, a village close to Payam-Aghlan. Probably most philologists will find it easier to identify Elouza with Alouda than with Eldeniz: on M. Radet's philological comparisons, see Ch. XI *App.* III. See pp. 144, 169 n, 435 n.

in the earlier *Notitiae* between Bria and Trajanopolis, and in the later *Notitiae* next to Alia¹. The comparison of the order in these cases suggests that this bishopric was situated in the middle part of the Banaz-Ova but towards E., so as to come naturally after Sebaste and next to Trajanopolis, and the site of Hadjim suits excellently. A bishopric is needed for the great stretch of country between Senaros and Hippourios; and it is a strong proof of the inadequacy of M. Radet's theory, that he leaves that country without an episcopal centre². Moreover, it also tells against his theory that he takes no account of Hadjimlar: the fact that is most nearly certain about this stretch of country is that the ancient and the modern centre is at Hadjimlar. He places ancient cities or villages at Kalin-Kilisa and Yapaklar, where I could see no sign of ancient life, and leaves Hadjimlar a blank.

In Nov. 1881 I spent a night at Hadjimlar³, and saw at once that it has been an ancient site, but found no inscriptions. In 1883 my travelling companion Sterrett visited it on his way from Ushak to Sebaste. He saw digging going on, from which building-stones were being taken. Several of these, bearing inscriptions, had already been defaced, and he was only in time to copy the fragmentary decree of a city. He also pronounced that Hadjimlar was an important ancient site. Further it is the busiest village of this district that I have seen⁴; and must be regarded as the market town. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the furthest south place which is able to take advantage of the ridge acting as a watershed between Senaros and Hippourios. It has a natural water supply: the villages in the centre of the plain are so deficient in this respect that development is

¹ The order in the *Notitiae* is very irregular in Phrygia, but retains something of geographical arrangement broken in fragments. The geographical character of Hierocles's arrangement is well marked in this province, as a glance at the map shows.

² He places Agathe-Kome further north at Yapaklar; but we have seen reason to place it elsewhere (p. 261); moreover Agathe-Kome appears only in the late *Notitiae*.

³ The form in singular Hadjim (i.e. 'my hadji') is also used. The Cassaba Railway Survey calls it Adjama. I cannot vouch for the true form. In 1881 I knew no Turkish, and in 1883

Sterrett was in the same condition; but we used the name Hadjimlar and were understood.

⁴ I have visited many of the villages; but there are still some to be examined. Banaz-Ova is difficult and unpleasant to explore, because a wide view cannot be got. The plain is not a dead level, like the great flat plains E. and NE. from Iconium; it is undulating: most of the villages (Hadjim and Geubek are exceptions) lie in the hollows: the roads keep as a rule to the hollows also. Often one may be unaware of the existence of a village only 150 yds. distant, as the eye looks over it, owing to some very slight intervening ridge.

denied them. Here then on the road from Bria to Trajanopolis, we place Aloudda.

Aloudda must always have derived a certain importance from its position on the road leading from the NW. Banaz-Ova and the upper Hermos valley to Bria and Eumeneia and Apameia. That road was not important enough to find a place in the Table; but in the busy and prosperous Roman or Byzantine times it must have been a route of considerable consequence.

Further, Aloudda stands on the line of communication from Islam-Keui and the north-east to Dionysopolis and the Lycos valley, § 1: that road naturally passes through Motella, and crosses the Maeander at Atyo-khorion. Again, in the Peutinger Table, Aloudda is marked on the great road that connects the north-east with Philadelphieia and Smyrna. It does not lie on the line of that road, but involves a detour of some miles; and evidently it is marked on it for the same reason as Akmonia, which is quite five miles off the road: these were towns near the road and sharing in its advantages, but not exactly on it. Moreover the Table often indicates by a straight line, what is really two sides of a triangle¹; and here apparently it measures to Aloudda along the Hierapolis road, and thence across to Klannoudda. See § 8.

It is remarkable that a town in such a position as Aloudda on the great road should have left no coins, when places like Bria coined money. Perhaps it was dependent on Sebaste during the Roman period, and consequently had not the right of independent coinage. We have seen that the dominion of Sebaste reached to the west of the Senaros and extended over some large villages such as Dioskome; and we may perhaps count Aloudda among the towns which were despoiled of their population and their autonomous city rights in order to aggrandize the city of Augustus, no. 495.

It suits this theory that the only known inscr. of Aloudda, no. 497, belongs to the first or second century B.C., when Aloudda was still important and autonomous.

§ 8. NAIS is never mentioned except in inscr. 513. The name has lasted in popular speech to the present day, and the modern village is called Ine. Comparing the results attained in Ch. XI § 10 with regard to the influence of religious foundations on the early efforts of commercial intercourse, we may hazard the theory that Nais was a temple and a settlement whose existence was determined by reasons of trade and convenient communication. It lies on the best line of

¹ *Weite Ausladungen erscheinen als direkte Wege*, as Prof. G. Hirschfeld said.

road from Philadelphieia and the Hermos valley to the east. The fortified city lay away from any good route, and used Nais as the market, the Bazar or the Agora. The temple of the god protected the traders, as at Kelainai, and at Karia below Attoudda (p. 167); and hence, perhaps, the name Nais was applied to the village or town that grew up round it¹.

Nais was evidently a considerable centre of trade, as there was a *conventus* of Roman traders and strangers resident there (no. 511 ff). It must therefore have been situated on some important road, and there can be no doubt what was the road in question, § 9.

§ 9. THE NORTH-EASTERN TRADE ROUTE AND KLANNOUDDA. The road § 1 connecting Smyrna and Philadelphieia with the east and north-east countries, passed near the village Burgas about 12 miles from Philadelphieia. Burgas probably marks a Greek fortification defending the road. About 40 miles from Philadelphieia is Ine (the ancient Naos or Nais), a home for Roman merchants, and therefore the point on the road to which traffic from this district of Banaz-Ova naturally converged. Ine lies at the head of a cañon, through which the water from the hills to N. flows towards Blaundos and the river Hippourios.

Thereafter the modern trade-route keeps up to N. in order to cross the Hippourios at the head of its cañon, and thus finds an easy road to Islam-Keui and the pass to NE.² It does not admit of a doubt, to any one who rides the various roads himself, that this must always have been the path by which through-traffic from the NE. and E. came to Philadelphieia. But it is remarkable that this is not the road described in the Peutinger Table as running from Kotiaion to Philadelphieia. Akmonia and Aloudda which lie about five miles off the track are both mentioned on the road. Nais does not appear, and where we should look for it Klannoudda occurs³. The explanation must be that the important places were not on the direct line of through traffic in ancient times⁴. The case is the same at the present day: between Ine and Islam-Keui there is not even a village of

¹ The fortified town which had Nais as the market on its territory may have been either Blaundos (six miles S.) or Klannoudda § 9.

² It crosses the Köpli-Su by a bridge between the villages of Elmali and Susuz-Euren, about 10 miles S. of Ushak: this is above the beginning of the cañon. It passes about half-way between the villages of Tabaklar and Yapaklar.

³ Philadelfia xxxv Clanudda xxx Aludda xxv Aqmonia xxxv Cocleo (i.e. Cotieo): evidently a station Apia is omitted before Kotiaion, for the distance Akmonia-Apia is about xxxv M.P.

⁴ Similarly the direct line of the Eastern Trade Route between Euphorbium and Julia is omitted and the detour by Synnada is given (not, however, as a straight line).

respectable size on the line of the road, but all the important places lie off the track. So Akmonia and Aloudda appear to mark the stages in the Table.

As to Klannoudda, the least difficult supposition—in a case where evidence is almost wholly lacking and where every supposition involves difficulties—formerly seemed to me to be that the Greek name Nais was substituted in the grecizing spirit for the Phrygian name Klannoudda; but I should now prefer one of two alternatives. The first is to look for Klannoudda a little way off the direct track, and a little further west, so as to suit better the distance from Philadelphæa, xxxv M.P. As to the exact site, there is at present no evidence; but it deserves note that 3 miles W. of Ine is a village Karadja-Ahmed, which has some religious importance. Perhaps the site of Klannoudda may yet be found on a point of the hills behind this village. The other alternative would be to disregard entirely the number xxxv on the Table¹, and look for Klannoudda at Burgas in the Kogamis valley, as the town guarding the exit from the hill country on to the plain. The types of the Klannouddan coins seem to me rather of the style of the lower country, not of upper Phrygia, which favours this view.

The disappearance of Klannoudda from history is a remarkable fact, and difficult to explain. The disappearance of cities from the numismatic lists is due either to change of name or to absorption in another city. No name likely to correspond to Klannoudda is known; but if it were situated at Burgas, it might have been absorbed in the growth of Philadelphæa. See § 15.

Ine is about half-way between Philadelphæa and Islam-Keui (or Akmonia), near 40 M.P. from each. Aloudda is about half-way between Ine and Islam-Keui (or Akmonia), near 20 M.P. from each.

M. Radet has put forth a different theory as to Klannoudda; and the ingenuity of his views about this district make it necessary to examine his opinion on this point. He places it at Kalin-Kilisa E. of Köpli-Su; and he remarks, p. 105, '*il est surprenant qu'aucun voyageur et qu'aucun géographe n'ait reconnu dans ce vocable turc, à peine déformé pourtant, le mot Clannuda*'². The resemblance, such as it is, has occurred to others. In 1883, while Sterrett and I were in Tchal-Ova, we were told of Kalin-Kilisa on the road to Ushak;

¹ M. Radet pays even less regard to the numbers on the Table: '*tout calcul fondé sur ces nombres serait donc forcément illusoire: ce n'est pas la Table qui*

peut nous servir à déterminer les sites.'

² M. Radet prefers this false spelling. The coins read ΚΛΑΝΝΟΥΔΑΕΩΝ. See § 7.

and the thought that this might be 'the Church of Klan(noudda)'¹ immediately occurred to us, for Kilisa (i.e. ἐκκλησία) is a name often given to ancient sites by the Turks. We therefore made a point of visiting the village; but to our extreme disappointment we found not a trace of ancient life; and we came away with the conviction that it was not an ancient site. Arundel's experience was equally disappointing to him: he found nothing ancient in the village or in an extensive cemetery about a mile away except a Byzantine monogram on a stone in a fountain². He heard, however, later that at a mill at some little distance from the village, there were some remains (though in the village itself the natives assured him there were no old stones at the mill), and that 'it is a place resorted to annually by the Turks, from considerable distances, for the observance of some religious anniversary.'

M. Radet considers that the only reason why unimportant places like Aloudda and Klannoudda are mentioned in the Table is that they were meeting-places of several roads (*des carrefours où bifurquaient d'autres routes* p. 103). The true meeting-places of roads are (1) the neighbourhood of Ine and Geubek, (2) Islam-Keui or Susuz-Keui (near Akmonia), (3) a point where the roads from Sebaste and from Eumeneia to Temenothyrai and the cities of the NW. crossed the road Philadelphiea to Akmonia: now that point is near Hadjimlar, which moreover is also traversed by the short path from Islam-Keui to the Lycos valley. We therefore infer from M. Radet's own reasoning that Klannoudda lay near point (1)³, Aloudda near (3), and Akmonia we know to be near (2).

M. Radet's arguments about the Banaz-Ova show great acuteness and careful study of authorities, but insufficient exploration of the district⁴; and his theories, full of suggestion as they are, and making a distinct step in the elucidation of an obscure subject, lack suitability in details. He does not seize the points of certainty first of all, and then work from them. Moreover his map is not good; he depends on Kiepert; and I am convinced that Kiepert puts both Kalin-Kilisa and Hadjimlar too far to S. My own map agrees with the Cassaba Railway Survey on this point. If I be

¹ See derivation p. 435.

² Discoveries in Asia Minor I pp. 126 f.

³ He speaks, p. 105, of a road from Ushak to Dionysopolis: the latter cannot have been of the slightest consequence in ancient time: the road

from Ushak to the Lycos valley goes by Geubek and Geune.

⁴ His words, p. 98, seem to imply personal evidence; but his difficulties and his statements are not such as I should expect from one who had explored Banaz-Ova.

right on this point, then the direct path from Hadjimlar to Ine would pass very little north of Kalin-Kilisa; and, as soon as any explorer reports that he has found traces of an ancient city near Kalin-Kilisa, I shall be perfectly ready to accept the resemblance in name as evidence in favour of the identification proposed by M. Radet. At present I regard Kalin as an ordinary Turkish adjective: it means 'thick': the expression 'kalin kafa' 'thick head'¹ is often heard in conversation among the peasantry.

§ 10. BLAUNDOS. The site is well known on a spur of the plain projecting into the deep cañon of the Hippourios, above the village of Suleimanli, which lies at the bottom of the cañon far below. The city occupied a situation very similar to that of Akmonia, and of the old hieron near Dionysopolis², but is even stronger than any of them, as the steep slope barely admits ascent at any point except the narrow neck connecting it with the rest of the level Banaz-Ova. The ruins are considerable, and their height makes them visible for some distance over the plain. We have reason to remember this gratefully. About the end of November, 1881, we found ourselves after sunset without a guide, having lost our way from Hadjimlar, wandering through the low scrub that here covers the plain, with no track visible, trying to find Suleimanli and Blaundos, but having no idea in what direction they were. As the light was fading, we descried from the top of a gentle undulation the arches of the aqueduct at Blaundos little more than a mile distant, and through this chance we were able to reach Suleimanli in the darkness.

In the commentary on no. 472 the coin-legends are quoted which show that the supreme board of magistrates at Blaundos was called indifferently *Strategoi* and *Archontes*. The same inference may be drawn from the following legends on coins of the second and third centuries.

ΚΑ · ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΥ · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ (M. Aurelius and autonomous).

CTP · ΚΑ · ΒΑΛ · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ.

ΕΠΙ · ΑΡ · Α · ΑΥΡ · ΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ (Caracalla).

ΕΠΙ · ΤΙ · ΚΑ · ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ · ΑΡΧ · Α · ΤΟ · Β · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ.

ΕΠΙ · ΚΑ · ΜΑΡΚΟΥ · ΑΡ · Α · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ (Caracalla)³.

¹ M. Radet remarks on the discrepancy in respect of form between the Kalinkese (or kase) of Arundel and Hamilton and Kiepert's more correct form: I believe that I was Kiepert's first authority for the form Kalin-Kilisa. Kafa literally 'neck,' as Mr. Browne tells me.

² Compare § 6 and p. 132.

³ I give here only coins of which I have verified the readings in Brit. Mus., except the last, which is from Waddington *Voy. Numism.* Mionnet has others, which confirm the same inference. See no. 514.

According to Mionnet *Suppl.* no. 74, the title KOINON · ΠΡΩ · ΑΥΔΙΑC occurs on a coin of Vespasian; but the reading is incorrect. A specimen exists in the Brit. Mus. and reads ΤΙ · ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟC · ΦΟΙΝΙΞ · ΒΛΑΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ · ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ · ΕΠΙ · ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥ (as Borrell and Imhoof have observed).

Besides the two forms of the name Blaundos on the coins just quoted, the legend ΜΑΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ occurs on earlier coins. The varieties of spelling show that the native name was difficult to represent in Greek letters, and probably difficult for Greeks to pronounce.

§ 11. MYSTIMOLOS. In history Blaundos and Geubek form a pair: the one is the older, the other the later centre: as one decays, the other grows. Now when that is the case, we find, as a rule, that the pair are united in one bishopric; the bishop for a time ranks with a double title; but at last the old name disappears. Blaundos and Mysotimolos rank in that way as a double bishopric¹; and this constitutes strong evidence that Mysotimolos was at Geubek. In the dearth of information we cannot at present go beyond this.

§ 12. ALIA. According to the order of Hierocles, Alia was between Akmonia and Siokharax, according to the later *Notitiae*, between Siokharax (p. 633) and Elouza. These authorities point to a site near Islam-Keui; and M. Radet rightly urges that this situation must be accepted. At the same time we must bear in mind that some difficulties exist in this identification: (1) we should expect that Islam-Keui would be one of the group of bishoprics connected with Akmonia, separated from the rest of Phrygia Pacatiana in the earlier *Notitiae*, and restored to it in the later; for it lies on the best road connecting Akmonia with Hierokharax. (2) Islam-Keui is so important a situation, § 1, that we should expect there a city of consequence, not a place that struck only a few rare coins. These arguments weighed with me in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 138 so much that I supposed Islam-Keui to be a market and trading-centre in the

¹ The precise facts in the *Notitiae* are stated p. 206, 600. Blaundos appears in the late *Notitiae* as Phlaudos (ethnic Phlaudeis); but, as is shown in JHS 1883 p. 37, the forms Blaundos, Blandos, Blandos, and Mlaundos are interchangeable. Ph in later documents for earlier b (original bh) is found also in *Phoba* p. 130. The name Blaundos appears in varying forms, as Blados in Hellespontus (now Balat, which I probably was wrong

in doubting, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 133: M. Radet and Kiepert are probably right here). The *ἡροι* between Mysotimolos and Blaundeis-Phlaudeis is omitted by most *Notitiae*; but that is the case also with Diocaesareia-Prakana (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 364), which appears as two separate bishoprics in De Boor's *Notitia* owing to the omission of *ἡροι*. On Mysotimolos see also Buresch in *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 p. 126.

territory of Akmonia, using the coinage of that city (being in fact the Keramon-Agora of the *Anabasis*: see § 13). But the evidence on the other side is stronger; and I gladly accept M. Radet's rectification.

As at Sebaste, the coin-types show that Men was the chief deity in Alia. The similarity of the religious cultus at Alia to that which we have previously found common in Phrygia and Lydia is attested by a passage of Aelian, which evidently refers to the eponymous heroine of the city: 'Αλία τῇ Συβάρεως παριούση εἰς ἄλσος Ἀρτέμιδος (ἦν δὲ ἐν φρυγίᾳ τὸ ἄλσος) δράκων ἐπεφάνη θεῖος, μέγιστος τὴν ὄψιν, καὶ ὠμίλησεν αὐτῇ *de Anim.* XII 39. Here the misfortune of the goddess is said to have befallen the eponymous Alia, who is, of course, merely a heroized form of the city-goddess: on the subject see p. 94.

Dedications to the city-goddess were sometimes made in the form Θεᾶ Ἀλιανῇ (no. 520). It is a similar bent of mind that leads the Christians throughout mediaeval and modern time to regard the Panagia of some particular village as specially sacred and powerful, and to pray to her in particular. So a person who had reason to know the power of the goddess of Alia, made a dedication to her even at a distance from her city. This fact, taken in conjunction with the fragment of Alian religion that survives in Aelian, makes it probable that there was an ancient and notable cultus at Alia with a special *panegyris*, to which people resorted from a distance. See p. 442.

This panegyris of the goddess of Alia may probably be connected with the cold healing spring of Irk-Bunar, 3 miles up the Hammam-Su from Islam-Keui¹. The baths there are a great resort at the present day, and give the name Hammam-Su to the stream beside which they rise. No. 520 (found at Koula) is probably a dedication following upon a visit to this healing resort.

The name is distorted in the Byzantine documents. Hierocles has Ἀδιοί (corrupted from Ἀλιοί): De Boor's *Notitia* ὁ Ἀλίων, but most other *Notitiae*² ὁ Ἀλίνων (apparently corrupted from Ἀλιηνῶν, bishop of the people of Alia). The lists at the Councils give the name in better form, *App.* II. Probably a name Alina was elicited from the ethnic, like Briana, Kolona³.

¹ See Sir C. Wilson's *Handbook to Asia Minor* p. 131. Cuinet *Turquie d'Asie* IV p. 218 speaks of hot springs at Hammam-Boghaz, *dans le Nahie de Banaz, près du chef-lieu*. This description seems to indicate Irk-Bunar; and

if so, it is a mistake (arising from the fact that the great *hammams* in Anatolia are almost always at hot springs).

² III, X, XIII are corrupt, p. 635.

³ See § 3: Ἀφόβιος ἐπ. Κολώνης 431 was bishop of Koloe.

It is true that the name Alia was perhaps a common one ; we know of a *katoikia* at a village Alia west of Aizanoi, probably an outlying village of that city¹ ; but there is every probability that the Phrygian city Alia was the seat of the chief cultus.

The name Alia may be connected with *ala* quoted by Stephanus as a Carian word meaning *horse* (s. v. Alabanda) ; and the Lydian royal name Alyattes may perhaps be a compound of this element with the divine name Attes. Dionysius² says that Alia, daughter of the Earth-born Tylos, was by Kotys mother of Asie and Atys : these names are taken from the midst of old Lydian mythology.

A remarkable legend on coins of Alia ΑΙΘΚΑΜΕΝΟΥ · ΦΡΟΥΓΙ must mean that a citizen Phrougios³ acted as envoy and successfully begged help for the state in some enterprise⁴ either from the emperor, or the senate, or the Koinon Asias, or the proconsul of Asia. The same term is used in the following legends on coins :—

ΑΙΘΚΑΜΕΝΟΥ · Π · ΚΑ · ΜΑΞ · ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΑΝΟΥ Eukarpia (Demos on obverse).

ΑΙΘΚΑΜΕΝΟΥ · ΤΙ · ΒΑΚΚΙΑΔΟΥ · ΕΦ Ancyra Phr. (Nero and Poppaea).

ΒΑΚΚΙΑΔΟΥ · ΑΙΘΚΑΜΕΝΟΥ · Ancyra Phr. (Roman Senate on obverse).

ΑΙΘΚΑμένον ΚΑΝΔΙΑΔΟΥ · Hadrianopolis-Stratonikaia (Hadrian).

This was the easiest form in which an embassy could be commemorated in the brief legend of a coin. If the term *πρεσβ.* had been used, it was liable to be confused with the *legati* of the proconsuls (*πρεσβευταί*), of whom there were three in Asia.

The case of Eukarpia is instructive : there appears on its coins a fine group representing Artemis both in Greek and in native type, sometimes with the legend above quoted, and sometimes with ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ · Γ · ΚΑ · ΦΛΑΚΚΟΥ, the former commemorating the embassy, and the latter the erection of some work⁵ (of which

¹ S. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1890 p. 69.

² *Ant. Rom.* I 27. See p. 435 n.

³ On the name Phrougios or Frugi see no. 446.

⁴ J. Friedländer compares the legend with CIG 5908, where the action of an envoy, who had been commissioned to request from the emperor a grant of land for a temple, is expressed as *πρεσβέοντα καὶ αἰτησάμενον τὸ τέμενος*. We

may therefore understand that in each case the coin commemorates some case when the citizen mentioned acted successfully as envoy. Friedländer misses the sense, when he supposes that the citizen who is named on the coin proffered the request to his own city. See *Hermes* IX p. 493.

⁵ ΔΙΑ on coins of Laodiceia &c. p. 166 then corresponds to the epigraphic form *διὰ ἐπιμελητοῦ*.

probably the sculptural group served as a type, the part for the whole). See Ch. XVI § 7.

§ 13. KERAMON-AGORA must lie at the entrance to the great pass out of Banaz-Ova § 1. M. Radet, approving my former demonstration to this effect, rightly selects Susuz-Keui as the actual site rather than Islam-Keui; and I gladly accept the correction. We have here another example of the distinction between the market and the fortress, which has so often met us elsewhere¹: Akmonia was the fortress lying off the main track in a strong position: Keramon-Agora was the open market where strangers traded under the protection of the deity in whose worship all the market united². We may understand that in ancient time Susuz-Keui was the most important centre of the valley, and Islam-Keui was of less consequence: in modern time the opposite is the case³.

§ 14. TRAJANOPOLIS. Its position is assured by no. 515, which is built into the mosque at Tcharik-Keui. The stones at Tcharik-Keui seem all to have been brought from the ancient site at Giaour-Euren, about three miles to N. M. Radet, on the contrary, holds that Tcharik-Keui itself must be the site of Trajanopolis. It is, however, my regular experience that the stones of an ancient site are found in the villages round about, and rarely on the actual site. The villagers carry away all good blocks of stone that lie near the surface of the ancient site to build their mosques and fountains. Hence there remains nothing of the slightest interest visible at Giaour-Euren, but the villagers assured me that the fine stones in Tcharik-Keui were all brought from the Euren.

About A.D. 119 the people called Grimenothyritai, inhabiting the uplands on the south skirts of Dindymos between Ushak and Keramon-Agora, resolved to build a city of the Greek type, and obtained from Hadrian the honour of being permitted to call the city after his predecessor Trajan⁴. But the *synoikismos* was not complete, for, as

¹ But his distinction that Islam-Keui would be called 'the last Mysian city on the side of Phrygia,' while Susuz-Keui is 'the last Phrygian city on the side of Mysia,' is (1) too great a refinement, such as no one who had ridden over the open valley between the two would, I think, suggest, (2) absolutely incorrect: there is not a shred of evidence that the valley SE. of Mt. Dindymos was reckoned in Mysia: rather

Xenophon reckons the whole valley as the end of Phrygia, separated by Dindymos from Mysia. M. Radet also reckons the town at Islam-Keui as more important than that at Susuz-Keui. The opposite was the case, § 1, no. 522.

² See p. 413.

³ The inscr. of Keramon-Agora are classed under Akmonia Ch. XIV App. I.

⁴ Γριμενοθυρίται, ὧν ἔστιν ἡ Τραιανόπολις Ptolemy V 2, 15.

M. Imhoof-Blumer informs me, coins of the Grimenothyreis¹ continued to be struck in this and the following reigns in a series parallel to that of Trajanopolis. Similarly the Mekkadenoi of Temenothyrai, the neighbouring people on the west, between Hippourios and Hermos, made their *synoikismos* under Vespasian or Domitian, and named their city Flaviopolis; but the people Temenothyreis continued to strike coins, and the name Flaviopolis finally almost disappeared from use. The site of Flaviopolis at Ushak was determined finally by M. S. Reinach²; but the suggestion of M. Radet that there was a distinct town of the Temenothyreis³ seems to me in the highest degree probable. The neighbourhood of Kure⁴, 12 miles W. of Ushak on a tributary of the Hermos (probably the Hyllos of Pausanias I 35, 7), seemed to me in 1881 to show clear traces of an ancient settlement; and I should look there for the town of the Temenothyreis. But it is probable that the city on the site of Ushak must have become more prosperous than the town at Kure; and we may perhaps regard the Temenothyrai of the later centuries as being the city of Ushak, which had gradually supplanted the older centre and appropriated its name. See p. 599.

With the abbreviated form Tranoupolis, which occurs often in Byzantine lists, compare the expression *lege Hana* (for *Hadriana*) used in II 11 of the inscription of Aïn-Wassel⁵. See also *Trani* for *Traiani* in Dessau *Inscrip. Select.* 1449.

It is remarkable that the *synoikismos* of Flaviopolis and of Trajanopolis did not take place for more than a century after that of Sebaste, showing that the Graeco-Roman civilization did not penetrate so rapidly along the 'Royal Road' (see § 1) as along either of the great trade-routes from Smyrna and from Ephesos.

The Antiquities of this frontier district will shortly receive much new illustration from a report of Dr. Carl Buresch. In the last letter which I received from him shortly before his sad and premature death—a letter dictated by him when he was too weak to write himself—he mentioned several of his interesting discoveries. Until his paper is published, it would be impossible to discuss the district properly; and I have therefore postponed to my next volume the fuller consideration

¹ Grimenothyreis is the name on coins.

² *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1890 pp. 56-65.

³ He quotes myself as already holding the view.

⁴ Does the name Kure contain any

reminiscence of the transportation of new colonists hither by Cyrus? see *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 124, 128.

⁵ Bruns *Fontes* ed. VI p. 382; Schulten *Hermes* 1894 p. 208; Carton *Rev. Archéol.* 1892 p. 216.

of the north-western region of Phrygia from Blaundos to Aizanoi, merely giving here a few notes to justify my map.

There is no doubt that some inscriptions at Ushak have been carried from Akmonia. I have myself copied at the latter site stones which have since been seen at Ushak by others (see nos. 400, 500). Hence it is by no means safe to use all texts of Ushak as illustrations of the history of Temenothyrai. Some belong to Trajanopolis, and some to Akmonia, though undoubtedly the majority belong to Flaviopolis or Temenothyrai.

§ 15. LEONNAIA OR LEONNA. After this chapter was in print¹, I read about M. Imhoof-Blumer's discovery of a new Phrygian city, Leonnaia²; and he informs me that the only known coin is of the second or first century B. C. Now the Phrygian cities of that period which coined money belong almost exclusively to the west. In central or eastern Phrygia only Amorion and Synnada, the two greatest cities, coined money earlier than Augustus. But in the west coins of the earlier period were struck at Akmonia, Apameia, Apia³, Attoudda, Blaundos, Cibyra, Clannoudda, Dionysopolis, Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Laodiceia, Peltai, Tripolis. These are the cities to which Greek municipal institutions would naturally spread earliest. We must look for Leonnaia, therefore, in the western part of Phrygia: an obscure place like it, if situated in the centre or east, would not be likely to strike early coins. Probably every one who considers the western cities in succession will agree that Sebaste or the neighbourhood is the probable home of this coin. No other place fulfils the two conditions, of being likely both to strike early coins and to change its name. Sebaste is in a district which probably developed early; and the name and coins of Sebaste began under Augustus.

There are two possibilities in this case; and evidence is not sufficient to decide certainly between them. (1) There was a city Leonnaia of the pre-Roman period whose name was changed to Sebaste by Augustus: (2) There was originally only a village on the site where Sebaste was founded by Augustus, and Leonnaia was the city at Hissar, five miles N.⁴ (no. 500): as M. Radet says, *les ruines d'Hissar sont celles du plus ancien chef-lieu du district. Puis, à l'une de ces*

¹ The name is inserted in the proofs in § 6.

² *Revue Suisse de Numism.* V p. 4 (of extract).

³ M. Imhoof-Blumer tells me of an early coin reading ΑΠΙΑΝΩΝ.

⁴ By an astounding error, M. Radet

speaks of Hissar as being on 'le chemin d'Eukarpia (Emir-Hissar) à Flaviopolis (Ushak),' p. 104, and à un croisement des routes p. 105. With such a radical misconception (the route which he marks is impossible for a road), it is not strange that his topography differs from mine.

*époques de paix où l'on recherchait avant tout l'espace et le confort, la prééminence fut accaparée par la ville de Sebaste . . . La capitale primitive, tombée sous la dépendance de l'autre, fut bientôt réduite à la condition de simple village*¹. The coinage must belong to *la capitale primitive*, to which in that case the name Leonnaia or Leonna must belong.

Decision between these alternatives depends on the question: was there a city or merely a village on the site of Sebaste in the pre-Augustan period? M. Paris thinks there was a city²: I have taken the view that there was only a village: M. Radet adopts both views, sometimes regarding it as a *κώμη*, sometimes quoting M. Paris's opinion as his own³. I see no evidence justifying a confident decision; but the language of no. 495 points to the view that at Sebaste there was only a village, not an older city (p. 580). M. Radet is agreed as to the meaning of the inscr. On the whole, then, the probability is that Leonnaia was at Hissar; but I quite admit that M. Paris may after all be right, and that Sebaste was not a new foundation, but only an old city renamed (in which case it would be Leonnaia).

The occurrence of a village in the Sebastene territory whose name began with Le . . . favours our view. If Leonnaia was Sebaste, it could hardly remain as a separate village in the Roman time. The inscr. was found at Seljukler; but either it may have been carried over the easy 5 miles of road from Hissar, or, more probably, the village made its dedication to Apollo in the city.

§ 16. THE TURKISH CONQUEST. The Banaz-Ova was overspread by the nomadic Turkish tribes between 1158 and 1175. In 1176 Manuel made a slight effort to drive them out; but though they were (according to Nicetas p. 254) compelled to retire for the time, yet they returned, as we may be sure, immediately after the Byzantine forces retired. That is the only explicit reference to the Turkish invasion of the district; but it is evident from the campaign of Manuel in the Pentapolis in 1158, that the Glaukos valley was already completely overrun by the Turks, and places in it had begun to be called by Turkish names⁴, and therefore we may infer that the Banaz-Ova was

¹ *En Phrygie* p. 104. M. Radet gives these sentences as an abstract of my view; and goes on *jusqu'ici on ne peut que souscrire pleinement à ces remarques*.

² BCH 1883 p. 449.

³ *L. c.* pp. 104 f, *Rev. Univ. Midi* II

pp 286 ff.

⁴ *Σαράρα* is either Hissar-Abad or (as Tomaschek suggested) Sheher-Abad (see p. 341): it is probably Sandykli: see Cinn. p. 196, Nicet. p. 162. Ch. XVI § 9.

by that time beginning to feel their approach. On the other hand it is clear that the Pentapolis was reserved for the Byzantine empire in the shameful arrangement made with the Turks about 1072, and that in 1092 direct communication between Akroenos (Afion-Kara-Hissar) and Sibia was still open through the Pentapolis (see ch. XVI § 9); and in such circumstances Banaz-Ova must also have been in Byzantine hands.

The vast undulating plain is peculiarly suited for nomadic life, and badly suited for civilized life, hence the ancient names, and probably the ancient population, have almost completely disappeared (except on the skirts, Burgas, Sebaste, perhaps Geveze p. 31, Dumanli and Boudaili p. 575).

NOTES. 1. The Mekkadenoi were on the N.W. frontier of Phrygia, according to Ptolemy, quoted p. 664 (reckoning the country N. from Mt. Dindymos as not Phrygian, *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 145 f). Temenothyrai was a town of the Mekkadenoi BCH 1895 p. 557; and the Mekkadenoi extended as far W. as the hot springs on the Hermos, 2 hrs. N.E. from Koula (see inscr. badly published *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 p. 116, where read *ἐν Θερμ[αῖς] Θησείως, κώμη τῆς Μοκα[δδηνῶν (γῆς)]*; the copy has MOKAAA). In giving the Mekkadenoi to Phrygia, Ptolemy may appear hardly consistent with himself in V 2, 15, where he assigns the Grimenothyritai (between Ushak and Islam-Keui) to Mysia; but it is clear that he took that people as inhabiting Mt. Dindymos with its glens and its S. slopes down to Trajanopolis (Giaour-Euren), while Mekkadenoi, Moxianio, and Kidyseis dwell along N. frontier of Phrygia. See p. 664.

2. Before reading M. Radet *En Phrygie*, I intended to place Alia conjecturally on the upper course of Banaz-Tchai (which I have not explored), as indicated on the map and in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 138 (as possible alternative). Islam-Keui would then be a village of Akmonia,

APPENDIX I.

INSCRIPTIONS.

1. PEPOUZA.

470. (R. 1883, 1887). Karib-Hassan. *Αὐρ. Τατρία Σωσθένους, σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Ἰέρωνι, Τ[ρύ]φων[ι] τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὶ κατεσκεύασεν*¹ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ μ. ἔ. ἐν ᾧ κηδευσθήσετε καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ αὐτῶν τέκνα · ἄλλω οὐκ ἐξέσθε · εἰ δὲ μή, θήσι τῷ ταμείῳ προστίμου δην. ,αφ'.

471. (R. 1887). Eküz-Baba (Ox-Father). *Αὐρ. Διονύσιος [δὲς τοῦ?] Λουκίου ἱερέως Διὸς Σωτήρος [. . .] εἰπν[ί]σας.* The restoration is a mere guess, as there is no clue to the shape of the stone or the extent of the gaps after *Διονύσιος* and *ἱερεύς*. Dionysius had apparently given a public feast.

2. SEBASTE.

472. Seljüklér. CIG 3871. *ἡ πόλις Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον [Σεουήρον?] Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν [στρα]τηγούντων τῶν [περὶ] Εὐξενον Ἀπολ[λωνίου?] ἀρχόντων.* The restoration *Σεουήρον* is given in brackets in Arundel's copy, and may rest on some evidence.

The importance of this inscription lies in its use of the two words *ἀρχόντων* and *στρατηγούντων*, showing that they were used indiscriminately of the same board of magistrates at Sebaste. With this text should be compared a series of coins of Blaundos bearing the legends

(1) *CTP · AY · ΠΑΠΙΑ · EP · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ* (autonomous).

(2) *CTP · AYP · ΠΑΠΙΑ · EPMO · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ · ΜΑ* (Trebonianus Gallus).

(3) *ΕΠΙ · APX · Α · AY · ΠΑΠΙΟΥ · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ · ΜΑ* (Volusianus).

(4) *Ε · AP · Α · ΠΑΠΙΟΥ · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ · ΜΑΚΕ* (Volusianus).

(5) *APX · Α · AY · ΠΑΠΙΟΥ · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ · ΜΑΚΕΔΟ* (Trebonianus Gallus).

¹ In 1883 my copy bears *-ασαν*. The stranger. Hassan was, probably, the first three lines, hidden in 1883, were leader of some immigrants. dug up by me in 1887. Karib or Gharib,

Aurelius Papias¹ (gen. Παπίου and Παπία) was *strategos* at Blaundos either in the year 251–2 or 252–3, and the title First Archon was applied to him as exactly equivalent: he was the president of the supreme board of magistrates.

An Archon is mentioned on coins of Caracalla and Julia Domna. On a coin of Caracalla is represented Perseus slaying the Gorgon, with Pallas aiding him; it has the legend ΕΠΙ · ΛΟΥ[Κ · Κ]Ε[ΚΙΑΛΛ]ΙΟΥ · ΑΝΤΩΝ · ΑΡΧ. Mionnet *Suppl.* no. 575 who gives it from Sestini, has ΛΟΥ · ΑΜΕΞΑΛΙΟΥ; but in the Br. Mus. coins of Julia Domna mention the same magistrate: the name on them is ΛΟΥ? [ΚΑΙ]ΚΙΑΛΙΟΥ · ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ. The name Memmius was much used at Sebaste (no. 477), and at one time seemed to me to underlie Sestini's ΜΕΞΑΛΙΟΥ.

473. (R. 1883). Seljüklér. Differently Wadd. 730. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. δ Σεβαστηνῶν ἐτείμησαν Κλ[αυ]δίαν Νεάρχου θυγατέρα Ἀμίαν, γυναῖκα φιλόδοξον, ἀλείψαντα δις δρακτοῖς καὶ ἐπιρῦτοις ἀπαρητηρήτως καὶ πολυτελῶς, κτλ., under superintendence of [—] τοῦ Μηνο[γένους]² καὶ Διογένους τοῦ Κώκου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ Διουνσίου τοῦ Ζηνοδότου.

According to M. Waddington Zenodotus is named on a coin of Nero, and if he was the person here named the inscription might be dated under Domitian. In no. 475, which is dated in 99, Μελίτων Κώκου occurs; and he may be brother of Diogenes here. See no. 477.

The word δρακτοῖς is explained by Waddington no. 1602 as oil 'taken in the hand' for rubbing on the body, i.e. oil for use in the palaestra³; and he understands ἐπιρῦτοις as indicating that the oil was not given by measure, but drawn by each recipient as he wished from a store which was always running free, a sense which is emphasized by ἀπαρητηρήτως, without any person to watch how much each took.

474. Sivasli. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 268 [ἀγαθῇ τ]ύχῃ. [ὑπὲρ τῆς Αὐτ]οκράτορος [Δομιτιανοῦ erased⁴ Κα]ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμ[ανικοῦ] νεύκης, καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ δήμου Σεβαστηνῶν [—] καὶ τῶν [πραγματενομ?]ένων [ἐν Σεβα]στ[ῇ? Ῥωμαίων?] διαμονῆς [καὶ σωτηρίας?] Διὶ [χ]αρ[ι]σστήριον. Μάρκος Ἀθάλιος Μάρκου υἱὸς [Αἰμιλί?]α

¹ Hermo[genes] was either his *cognomen*, or (more probably) his father's name.

² The text is ΜΗΝΟΙ which suits Μηνογένους or Μηνόκριτοι, but not Μηνόφιλος, Μηνόδοτος, Μηνοχάρης, &c.

³ The term frequently occurs, see also

Wadd. 1602 a, 730, CIG 2782 (read ἔλ[α]ια δρακτοῖς), and Liermann p. 80 quotes also BCH 1887 p. 379 and 383 (Stratonicea), BCH 1886 p. 520 (Nysa).

⁴ The fact of an erasure is not recorded, but may be assumed as certain, see no. 513.

Λουγείνος τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησε ἐκ τῶν ἰδίῳ σὺν πάσῃ κατασκευῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ. ἔτους ρογ'. ἐπιμελησαμένου Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Φιλίππου.

The supplements here given are uncertain, and differ considerably from the text as transliterated by the first editors. The date is A.D. 88-9¹. The numerous strictly Italian names in the inscriptions show that a certain number of Romans resided at Sebaste, doubtless as traders, and the fragmentary copy suits the restoration in this respect. Some epithet of the Demos is required after Σεβαστηνῶν.

475. (R. 1883). Sivasli. Published with many divergences by M. Paris BCH 1883 p. 452. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. [ἔ]τους ρπγ'. ἐπὶ ἱερέων Ἀσκληπιάδου [τ]οῦ Ἑρμογένους καὶ Ξάνθου Ἀρτέμιωνος οἱ ἰσελθόντες [εἰ]ς τὴν γερουσίαν. Then follows a list of seventy-one names (three being women, Κλαυδία Τευθραντίς, Ἰουλία Ἰουλιανή and Ἰουλία Τευθραντίς her daughters)².

M. Paris considers that this list gives the names of those who entered during a number of years following A.D. 98-9; but, though the engraving is a little irregular, I saw no reason to avoid the natural interpretation of the Greek aorist participle that these 71 persons entered the Gerousia in that year, i.e. that the Gerousia was founded in that year. M. Paris's interpretation would require *εἰσερχόμενοι* instead of *ἰσελθόντες*. The one argument that I see in his favour is that the lowest name Ἰουλία Τευθραντίς Πρόκλου θυγάτηρ is obviously that of a younger daughter of Claudia Teuthrantis and C. Julius Proclus; and it might be naturally inferred from the arrangement that the father, mother, and two eldest children (whose names are consecutive), entered together, and the younger daughter was enrolled at a later time. But I think it must be assumed either that Julia Teuthrantis was omitted in her proper place by an error of the engraver, or that she was added as an afterthought, or that one or two names at the end were entered in later years. The use of the aorist *ἰσελθόντες* seems to me conclusive.

The following relationships among the members are possible: 9 Diodoros and 30 Menophilos Lepidos, sons (the latter by adoption) of Menophilos. 17 Glykon son of 6 Aristonis: 44 Diodoros son of 26 Patrokles. It is quite possible that father and son might both be enrolled in the Gerousia in the same year; for evidently 20-25, father, mother, and four children

¹ Domitian took the title Germanicus . Φλέγων, 40-1 Ἀλέξανδρος Μελίτωνος Λουγείνος, Διόδωρος Ξανθίππου, 46 Γέμιος Λάδων (perhaps scribe's error for Γέλλιος, but text is clear), column II l. 40-1 Παπᾶς Μηνοκρίτου τοῦ καὶ Μοντάνου. All these I read on the stone.

² In this list M. Paris's text must be amended as follows: l. 5 Θεογένης Παπᾶ τοῦ καὶ Ἀντωνίου, 30-1 Μηνόφιλος β' Λέπιδος φύσει Εὐπάτορος, 32 Μ. Οὐαλέριος

entered together¹. This shows that membership of the Gerosia was to a considerable extent a family matter in Sebaste: probably it was founded by an association of persons varying greatly in age. It must be understood that a grown person is either *νέος* or *γέρων*; and that one who was not a *νέος* might enter the Gerosia. But the discrepancy of age in the family of Julius Proclus is extreme, and suits rather an association founding a new society than the cooptation of new members year by year (as M. Paris supposes) into an existing society.

Names connected with the cult of Mithras are very rare in Asia Minor. Mithradates or Mithridates probably spread purely for historical reasons, and was hardly connected with Mithraic worship. Mithres is quoted by M. Cumont *Monum. relat. au culte de Mithra* I p. 80 as occurring five times in Lydia, twice in Caria, once in Pisidia, and once in Phrygia; but it too may have its origin not in religious reasons but as a mere Greek diminutive of Mithridates.

The incorrect spelling Mithridates is found as early as Xenophon *Anab.* II 5, 35, III 3, 4, and in later time became almost universal. It occurs at Apameia in the first and second centuries after Christ no. 294-297, and at Dorylaion ab. 70-60 B.C. (if we can trust Cicero's spelling *pro Flacco* 17). This inscription of Sebaste is almost unparalleled in preserving the correct form so late and so far west.

476. (R. 1883). Sivasli. M. Paris in BCH 1883 p. 449. κατὰ τὰ πολλάκις δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Μεμμίαν Ἀρίστην Τευθραντίδα ἀρχιέρειαν τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ἴδιοι θρεπτοὶ παρ' ἐαυτῶν ἐπιμελησαμένου Κλ(αυδίου) Μεμμίον Κύρου τοῦ τροφέως αὐτῆς. ἔτους σπθ'², μη(νὸς) ια', κ' (or ι', ακ').

The date is A.D. 205. Evidently Claudia Teuthrantis, no. 475, in A.D. 99 was an ancestor of Memmia Ariste Teuthrantis. The relation in which the latter stood to Claudius Memmius Cyrus, her *τροφεύς*, is uncertain. Was the latter a freedman of her family, who brought her up when she was left an orphan?

477. (R. 1883). Sivasli. M. Paris in BCH 1883 p. 451. [Ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτέλεσαν Κό(ιντον) Μέμμιον Χαρίδημον Τευθράντα Ἀσίας ἀρχιερέων ἐγγονον, ἥρωα³, ἀριστον ῥήτορα, τῆς ἀναστάσεως προνοησαμένης⁴ Στατειλάς Καλλιγόνης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἔτους τκθ', μη(νὸς) θ'.

¹ See *stemma* no. 477.

² M. Paris reads ἔτους πθ'. My copy

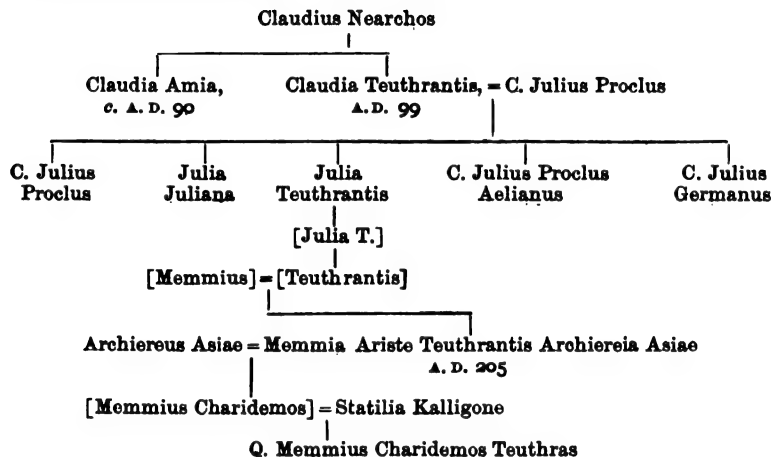
has Ἰ. I which may denote μηνὸς ἡ'.

³ The text has a point after ἥρωα.

On the sense, implying that Q. Memmius was dead, see no. 226.

⁴ ΠΟΝΗΣ. M. Paris reads ποιησαμένης.

The date is A.D. 245. Q. Memmius Charidemos Teuthras seems to be grandson of Memmia Ariste Teuthrantis no. 476: the latter was evidently wife of an Asiarch, as we gather both from the present inscr., and from the common rule that husband and wife were High-priest and priestess of Asia. If, as is probable, no. 473 relates to a member of the same family, the *stemma* may be restored:



478. CIG 3884. Carried to Ishekli (Eumeneia), where Pococke copied it.

Dedication to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ὁ Σεβαστηνῶν τὸν ἴδιον θεὸν καὶ ἐνεργέτην: the statues and bases were superintended by [A. Ty]ρρωνί[ου] Ἑρμέου.

The previous editors suppose that Eumeneia changed its name to Sebaste and designated itself by this latter name alone for a short time; but it is wrong to attribute this inscription to Eumeneia, see Ch. X § 4.

L. Tyrronius Hermaios belonged to a family that is often mentioned, no. 479, 530, 559. It is noteworthy that he superintended 'the statues and the bases.' There were therefore at least two or more companion statues erected together, probably of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, with a similar inscr. on each of the bases.

479. Sivasli. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 267. ξρους σλ', μη[νός] η'. Λούκιος Τυρρώνιος Ἑρμῆς μετὰ τῶν τέκνων Τυρρωνίου Ἰουστίνου καὶ Τυρρωνίας [Χι?]όνης, καὶ Τυρρωνίας Πανλείνης τῆς γυναικός, Λουκίῳ Τυρρωνίῳ Ἰούστῳ ἐνεργέτῃ μ. χ.

The date is A.D. 146; and it is therefore possible that Hermes is the same as Hermeos who superintended the statue of Marcus Aurelius no. 478 about 161-6. It seems possible that Ἑρμῆς might be used in nom.

with 'Ερμέου in gen., as nouns in -ις (for -ιος) gen. -ιου are frequent in Lydia and Phrygia.

480. (R. 1883). Seljüklär. CIG 3871 c, Wadd. 731. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτείμηναν Καπίτωνα Σωκράτους πρεσβεύσαντα ἐπὶ τοὺς κυρίους αὐτοκράτορας σὺν καὶ τῷ ὑφ' Σωκράτει σπουδαίως καὶ πιστῶς.

On embassies to the emperors see no. 305.

481. (R. 1883). Sivasli. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. τὸν ἀνδρειότατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον (υσεβ has been engraved above half-erased πιφαν) αὐτοκράτορα Φλ. Ἰοβιανὸν τὸν Ἀύγουστου (the letters with dots underneath are above some erased inscription).

482. (R. 1883). Bunar-Bashi. ἀγαθῇ [τύχῃ]. τὸν ἀνδρεῖ[ο]τατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον Φλ. [Ο]υαλένταν Σεβαστόν. In this inscription, all except the first three words and the first τατον is engraved above an erasure.

483. (Sterrett 1883). Sivasli. [ἡ Σεβαστηνῶν πόλις τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων——]. This inscription is on an architectural fragment.

484. (JRSS 1883). Sivasli. συνδικήσαντα δὲ συ[——] πολλὰς ἀμέμπ[τως].

485. R. 1883. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. [ὁ Σεβασ]τηνῶν on a fragment.

486. Sivasli. Wadd. 736. Ἰππόδαμος Τροφύμῳ ὑειῷ ἐδίω μ. χ.

487. Sivasli. Wadd. 732 with different restoration. [T.] Antonius Longus Fabia Papia filio du(lcissimo) memo[ri]ae [causa].

488. (R. 1883). Seljüklär. Τατία Μηνοδότου Διονυσίῳ τέκνῳ μ. χ. ἔτους σγδ', μη(ν)ος ια', β'. A. D. 210.

489. (R. 1883). Seljüklär. Α ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΕΟC ΒΟΡΖΩ.

This inscription is written in a vertical line, each letter above the one following it. The final Ω is inverted, and may probably be intended as a symbol for ου in the Byzantine style. This city Borzos is obviously the same as Brozos, which appears in the *Acta of Conc. Const.* 536 A. D. as another name for Bria (see *App.* II § 2): see also no. 453.

490. (R. 1883). Sivasli. Ἀσκληᾶς β' τῇ μητρὶ μ. χ.

491. (R. 1888). Yailer. Μαρκιανὸς Λουγίνῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ [αὐτοῦ? ———] μνημῆς χ. καὶ Πίρμα μητρὶ ζώσῃ.

There is no clue to the extent of the gap. Pırma is the grecized form of Firma.

taking the population of the surrounding cities, settled them to make this city (Augustus who ruled over the Italians), and called the city by this name Sebaste after the emperors of the Romans who are entitled Sebastoi, for he loved much¹ our country and the fair plain: for verily, when pestilential atmosphere and civil war were slaying many, coming hither² [and warned by omens] of birds, [he built etc.].³

The restoration of these lines will, doubtless, be improved in details; but it gives so suitable a sense as to disprove the suggestion of M. Cumont that '*devant chacun des vers conservés, il doit en manquer un ou même deux autres.*' Moreover, I have never seen any example of an epigram engraved, as M. Cumont supposes, in long lines containing each two or three hexameters, while lines of one hexameter are common. Hence we must follow the canon, laid down by G. Hermann and reiterated by Dittenberger (*Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet* p. 293), *proficiendum vero semper ab eo, quod maxime simplex est, ut pauca deesse putemus.*

The restoration of l. 1-12 is more difficult, and my text is printed with all reserve (ideas of Mr. Bywater, Cumont, Buresch, and J. G. C. Anderson are used in it). A council of the gods seems to be held, at which a prophecy is made by Dionysos about the future Sebaste and the (previously) existing city (Dionysos is doubtless the hellenized Men, pp. 126, 295 etc.). The 'highest summit' l. 3 is resumed in *μετήγορον* 5 and *ῥόν* 6; and *οὐδός* 6 designates a temple on this height. The old city and temple were on this hill, the later Sebaste was in the plain. The general sense of 6-12 is: "at present men, foolish, admiring the lofty hill, have been eager to go up to that peak and found a noble temple, and to raise aloft the baked bricks, to be situated thus in the clouds of heaven." Thus he spake; and the gods approved the word of Dionysos. And our city in this way pleased the mind of Zeus. And when the young god produced for men the holy nectar-like cup [this I take from Buresch³], he was received [*δὲ* apodotic] among the gods,' etc.

According to this inscr., whatever be its authority, Sebaste was a new city, peopled from surrounding cities; and the foundation was made by Augustus, when he visited Asia after the battle of Actium (as M. Cumont points out). As restored, the inscr. suits well our theory that Leonnaia, in its lofty situation on the hilltop of Hissar, was the capital city of the district before Sebaste was founded, § 6 and § 15.

496. CIG 3872. Sazak. *ἔτους σνη', μ(ηνος) α' δ'. Μακουλεῖνα Ἀπολ-
λ[ω]ν[ι]φ[ι]δ[ι]φ[ι] ἀνδρ[ι].*

¹ *ἐφιέλατο* from *φιλέω* (*ἐφιέλατο* Iliad E 61, Y 304).

² Understanding *-ικάν(ω)ν*.

³ But he has *νέκταρο[ς] οἶνον*.

3. ALOUDDA, DIOSKOME, LEONNA.

497. (Sterrett 1883). Hadjimlar.

ου, ἀναγράφαι δὲ πάντα τὰ οὕτως δ-
 εδογμέ[να ε]ἰς [στήλην λιθίνην τὸν να-
 ιο[π]ύην, ἀναστήσαι [δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σωτ-
 ῆρος (1) Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῶι, σ[τεφαν-
 οῦν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ δημ[ο]σίαι πανδημ-
 εὶ θυσίαι θάλλου στεφάνωι εἰ[ν]οίας ἐνεκ-
 εν, τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀριστ[ε]ία ἀγαθ-
 ῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνβλέποντας ὅπως πάντοτε ἐ-
 σμεν ἐπιστρεφεῖς ἐν ἀποδόσει ἀξίας χ-
 ἀρι(τος) τοῖς εὐεργετοῦσιν, πειρᾶσθαι ἀεὶ? ἀ-
 γαθοῦ τινος παραιτίους [ἐσ]εσθ[αι]? τῷ δήμῳ.

Many of the restorations are due to Mr. J. G. C. Anderson. The spelling *ναιοπύην* is remarkable: *νεοπύης* occurs CIG 2826, etc. In l. 10 the engraver seems to have omitted *τος* before *τοῖς*.

This inscr. marks Hadjimlar as the site of a city at least as early as 50-100 B.C., perhaps even earlier. See p. 586.

498. (R. 1883). Tabaklar. Αὐτοκράτορι [Philip erased καὶ τῷ σύμ]-
 παντι οἴκῳ [τ]ῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν]. ἔτους τλ', μηνὸς δεκάτου, ἡ Διοσκωμ[η]τῶν
 κατοικία [τῇ]ς λαμπροτάτης Σεβαστ[η]νῶν πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόρων [. γ ο ρ
 τ]ον κατεσκεύασεν. ἐπιμελησαμένων [Λ. ? Ἐγν]ατίου Γλυκ[ω]ν[ι]ανοῦ [καὶ
 Λ. ? Ἐγνα]τια[ν]οῦ καὶ Λ[ουκ]ίου Ἐγνατ[ί]ου Λόνγου καὶ Γ[α]ίου Ἐγνατ[ί]ου
 Πάϊτου καὶ [. . .]τιανοῦ¹ Ἐγνατίου Κλωδιανοῦ καὶ [— —] Λόνγου.

The date is A.D. 246.

498 *bis*. (R. 1883). Tabaklar, in a fountain. [εἰ τις εἰσβιάζ]υτο
 σ[ῶ]μα] ἕτερον, μήτε ἄρρεν μήτε θῆλυ τραφῇ αὐτῷ μήτε τῶν ἰδίων τι
 ἀκμά[ζ]η. Λούκιος Σεουηριανὸς Λεῖτος Σερουνη[ν]ιανὸς Λεῖτω καὶ Σεκούνδη
 γου[ε]ῦσι μ. [χ.]

499. Seljüklér. Wadd. 733. ἔτους σια'. [ἡ] Λε[όν]να κατ[οικία] Ἀπόλ-
 λωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμ[ιδ]ι. 126-7 A.D.

M. Radet restores ἔτους σια', [μ(ηνὸς) Δ]ε[ίου]. ἡ κατ[οικία] Ἀπόλλωνι
 καὶ Ἀρτέμ[ιδ]ι (*Rev. Univ. Midi* 1896 p. 288); but he has to alter con-
 jecturally one of the few letters in the copy on which the restoration has
 to be based. Probably there will be a general feeling in favour of the
 form restored by M. Waddington, one of the most skilful of epigraphists,

¹ The right form is perhaps [. . .]γιανοῦ.

who alone had access to the manuscript copy. M. Waddington thought that the gap after ΛΕ was longer than M. Radet allows. If [δυναίων] is too long for the gap, Λε[δύνα κατ]οικία agrees exactly with Waddington's estimate of the number of letters lost, and seems quite a possible form. Date by year without month occurs no. 474, 475, 506, 508, and often elsewhere.

The only point where Waddington's restoration excites suspicion is the conclusion: the copy has ΜΕΑΙ, where he restores [Ἀρτέ]μ[ιδ]ς. ΜΕΑΙ is more probable, giving the restoration κα[θιέρωσεν ἐκ θε]μελ[ίων].

500. (R. 1883). Payam-Aghlan. [—]ον ἐν δλφ [τῷ βίφ ζήσαντ]α καλῶς καὶ ἀμέμ[πτως, καὶ πρ]ὸς πάντας προσενηνε[γμένο]ν δεξιῶς, κ[α]ὶ προηγημένον [ἐν] τῇ πατρίδι [πά]ντοτε ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς, καὶ μηδέποτε φεισάμενον ἐν ἐπιδώσεσιν (sic) καὶ ἀναλώμασιν καὶ παν[θ]υνίαις, ἐν τε τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν ἐπισήμως στρατηγήσαντα καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα καὶ μὴ φεισάμενον ἀναλώμασιν, καὶ πανψήφει [— γη]τα τετειμ[ημένον]. ΓΗ in last line doubtful.

This inscription probably belongs to the early Roman period, and may be dated during the first century B.C. The lettering is of that period; and the language shows a mixture of the vague laudatory generalities of the Hellenistic style and the precise businesslike enumeration of offices that characterized the Roman style. The spelling shows signs of degeneracy; but that is quite consistent with the period in Asia Minor, where spelling and pronunciation early became confused. A city existed on the site at that time.

501. (R. 1883). Payam-Aghlan. Τιβερίωι Καίσαρι θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ νίφ Ιε[ρ]ε[ῖ] μεγιστῷ.

In one case iota is adscript, in another it is omitted.

502. (R. 1883). Payam-Aghlan. Μενέστρατος καὶ Τεύταμος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μ. χ. ἔτους συζ', μη(νὸς) ζ'. The date is A.D. 213.

503. (R. 1883). Payam-Aghlan. Αὐρ. Ἰμᾶς [β' Μό]σχου [κατ' ἐπι-τ]αγήν [τῆς θεᾶς] πεν[—]σιν [—].

The restorations are uncertain.

504. (R. 1883). Site near Payam-Aghlan. [ὁ δεῖνα Θεο?]δώρω μ. [χ.

505. (R. 1883). Payam-Aghlan. [ὁ δεῖνα Γ]λύκωνος μετὰ τῆς σ[υμ-βί]ου Διονυσίῳ τῷ νίφ μ. χ.

506. (R. 1883). Khirka: on a marble stele with a relief of Men, with Phrygian cap and crescent on the shoulders. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἔτους συνδ'. Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ Φράγτρα Ἠλιοφῶντος Ἀντιόχου καὶ Πονπείου Μάρκου ἀνέθηκαν.

The date is A.D. 169-70. *Φράτρα* seems to be used perhaps in the sense of *θίασος*. *Ἡλιοφῶν* seems to be chief of the *φράτρα* along with Pompeius. Men Askaênos or Askainos is known at Eumeneia, see nos. 88, 197, at Apollonia and at Antioch in Pisidian Phrygia, at Sardis, and at Aphrodisias (CB no. 32, LW 668).

507. (R. 1883). Khirka. Γάιος Τατιά γυναικὶ φρονίμῃ καὶ φιλάνδρῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν μ. χ.

508. (R. 1883). Khirka. ἔτους σοθ'. Λούκιος Εὐφράτου ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί] Ἀμμίᾳ ζῶντες μ. χ. The date is A.D. 194-5.

509. (R. 1883). Khirka. Μά[ρ]κελλος 'Ρούφου Γάιος. | Τρόφιμος Κακραμίδρας. Ζμάργδος Γαίου. | Τρόφιμος Τιμοθέου. 'Ιουλιανὸς Κοινοῦ. | 'Αγαθηφόρος. 'Αντυλλος. Κάρπος.

The upper part of the stone is broken: this list seems to be the end of a list of members of a *θίασος*. Perhaps we should read *Κακρᾶ Μιδρᾶς* (another form of *Μιθρῆς*).

510. (R. 1883). Khirka. Κλεύνεικος ἑαυτῷ καὶ Δόμνῃ γυναικὶ μ. χ.

4. WEST SIDE OF BANAZ-OVA.

511. (R. 1883). Ine. Αὐτοκράτορι [Δομιτιανῷ erased] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ τὸ δι' Λουκίῳ Μινουκίῳ 'Ρούφῳ ὑπ(άτοις), ἔτους ροβ', μη(νὸς) Πανήμου, οἱ ἐν Νάει κατοικοῦντες 'Ρωμαῖοί τε καὶ [ξένοι?].

The consuls are those of Jan.-March A.D. 88. If we could regard it as certain that the monument was erected not later than April 15, when Minucius was succeeded by new consuls, we should have a decisive proof that the Phrygian year 172 began before Sept. 1, A.D. 87 (for Panemos was the eighth month); but it is quite in accordance with the usage of the period to use the names of the consuls of Jan. 1 throughout the year. In the ordinary Asian year Panemos lasted from 24 May to 22 June, in the hypothetical Phrygian year (see p. 204) Panemos corresponded exactly to April.

The *praenomen* of Minucius was formerly uncertain, and Klein gives it as Quintus: this text shows it to have been Lucius.

The inser. was perhaps never completed; at least I could not detect any trace of letters after *καί*.

512 (R. 1887). Ine. CIL III 7050. Mutilated list of Roman names.

513. (R. 1883). Ine: on two marble fragments, which probably belonged to one stone. Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρων]ι Καίσαρι Σεβασ[τῷ] Γερμανικῷ

κ]αὶ τῷ δῆμῳ . . . ΙΣ Μάκερ τὸ πρόπυλον ἀνέθη[κεν καὶ τ]ὰ ἐργαστήρια. But as the gap between the fragments is of uncertain extent, it is possible that the inscription was dedicated to Augustus: Αὐτοκράτορ]ι Καίσαρι Σεβασ[τῷ κ]αὶ τῷ δῆμῳ . . . ΙΣ Μάκερ τὸ πρόπυλον ἀνέθη[κε καὶ τ]ὰ ἐργαστήρια.

514. (R. 1881). Geubek. Different in CIG 3866. Βλαυνδέων Μακεδόνων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἀγνότατον Γ. Ἀσιν. Ἰουλιανόν, τὸν κράτιστον υἱὸν Γ. Ἀσιν. Προτείμου Κοναδράτου ὑπατικοῦ, τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην τῆς πόλεως· ἐπιμελησαμένου Αὔ[ρ.] Γλύκωνος β' [τ]οῦ Νίγρου.

This inscr. must be compared with the legend on coins of Philip the elder: ΕΠ · ΑΥΡ · ΓΛΥΚΩΝΟC · Γ · ΝΙΓΡ · ΑΡΧ · Α · ΒΛΑΥΝΔΕΩΝ · ΜΑΚΕ. The first archon on coins about 250 is the son of Aur. Glykon mentioned in the inscr. Niger was grandfather of the latter, and great-grandfather of the former: the formula in the inscr. is equivalent to Γλύκωνος (Γλύκωνος) τοῦ Νίγρου (υἱοῦ). This formula of filiation, in which τοῦ is not to be taken with Νίγρου, but with (υἱοῦ) understood, the (son of) Niger, is often misinterpreted by modern scholars, e.g. by Dr. Hula¹ in *Eranos Vindobonensis* pp. 100–102, who takes the right sense from the formula Πτολεμαῖος β' τοῦ Λευκίου (where, of course, τοῦ agrees with Πτολεμαίου expressed in the abbreviated way by δίς), but interprets τοῦ as agreeing with Λευκίου, adding the note that the article is commonly used with the name of a grandfather or remote ancestor, but not with the name of a father. It was also exposed to misunderstanding among the Phrygian population, whose Greek was often very inaccurate; see no. 211.

515. (R. 1883, 1887). CIG 3865 b. Ἀγα[θῇ Τύχῃ]. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα], θεοῦ [Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ] υἱόν, θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνόν, Τραιανὸν Σεβαστόν Ἀδριανὸν δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἡ Τραιανοπολειτῶν πόλις τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην, ἐπιμεληθέντων [Σωσ]θ[έν]ους Ἀρτε[μι]δώρου τοῦ Μενίππου καὶ Φιλάνθου Σωσθένους. ἔτους σδ', μη(νὸς) Δεῖλου β'.

The epimeletai of the erection are father and son. The date in autumn A.D. 119 shows that it cannot be inferred in such cases of foundation of a new city that the Emperor was actually present, for Hadrian was at Rome at that time, as Durr *Reisen des K. Hadrian's* p. 24 shows. Hence we must modify the expression of M. Radet BCH 1887 p. 118, in speaking of the refoundation of Hadrianopolis Stratonikaia, '*Il est*

¹ Probably the origin of the error, which is now widespread, lies in S. Reinach's *Traité d'Épigr. Gr.* p. 508 (a work where an error of this kind is

very rare). Waddington rightly understands the formula always, if I recollect correctly.

inadmissible qu'Hadrien ait pu fonder Stratonicee et étant lui-même ailleurs qu'à Stratonicee; though I entirely agree with M. Radet, as to the probability of his contention that Hadrian went from Pergamos by Germe, Nakrasa, Stratonikaia, and Thyatira, to Sardis in the autumn of A.D. 123.

516. (R. 1883). CIG 3865 c with several differences. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνινὸν Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν Παρθικὸν καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐῆρον Σεβαστὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν καὶ Μηδικόν, ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ Ἱεροκλέους Ἀρχιεπίμου ἄρχοντος τὸ β' καὶ Ἀρτέμωνος Ἑρμογένους καὶ Φιλάνθου Τρύφωνος καὶ γραμματέος Διονυσίου Π[υ]θοδώρου ἐπιμεληθέντος Νεικ[ομά]χου β'. ἔτους σνα', μηνὸς ιβ', [ι]α'.¹ γ.

The date is day 11, month 12, A.D. 167. The final γ in a separate line may perhaps mean the third copy of the inscr. executed in triplicate by the engraver: there would be needed two copies for the bases of the two statues, and a third for some other reason, perhaps for the archives (p. 368).

517. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 265. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. ἡ βουλὴ Αὐρήλιον Κλώδιον Εὐτύχην, ἱππικόν, καὶ ἡ λαμπροτάτη Τημενοθυρέων πόλις ἡ πατρὶς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόρων ἐτείμησεν ἐπιμελησαμένου τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Αὐρηλίου Σκο[π]ελιανοῦ Ζεύξιδος βουλευτοῦ.

This inscr. must be compared with the legend on a coin in Brit. Mus. ΚΚΟΠΕΙΑΝ[ΟC] ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΥCΙ (obverse *Hiera Synkletos*)². The inscr. belongs to the third century, as is shown by the *praenomen* Aurelios (see no. 235). See no. 301.

518. Ushak. S. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1890 p. 56. [τ]ὸν ἀξιο-λογ[ώ]τα[τ]ον ἄρχοντα [α'] τῆς λαμ[πρ]οτάτης Τη[μ]ενοθυρέ[ω]ν πόλεως διὰ π[α]σῶν [ἀρ]χῶν καὶ λε[ιτ]ου[ργ]ῶν ἐνδόξως ἐλ[θ]όντα [ἡ] λαμπρο[τ]άτη Ἀμοριανῶν πόλις [gar of 13 lines] περὶ ἐκ[α]τέρ[α]ς τὰς [πα]τρ[ὶ]δας αὐτοῦ εὐεργεσί[α]ς καὶ [φ]ιλοστοργί[α]ς κτλ. (Complete, BCH 1895 p. 555).

The person mentioned was citizen both of Amorion and of Temenothyrai, and had gone through the regular course of municipal office in the latter city. Coins of Temenothyrai under Mammaea (and autonomous) mention ΜΑΡΚΟC · ΑΡΧ · Α · ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΥCΙΝ: others ΛΟΛ · ΖΕΝΟΦΙΛΟC · ΑΡΧ · Α · ΤΟ · Β · ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΥCΙ.

¹ The stone has γα for ια'.

² This suggestion (made by M. Radet from an incomplete coin of Wadding-

ton's) is proved to be right by the full legend here given.

519. Ushak. M. S. Reinach l. c. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ὁ [Φλαβι]ο[πολ]ειτῶν [Τ]ειμενοθ[υρέ]ων ἐτελ[μ]ησεν Εὐσιν Ἀ[πο]λλωνίου ἥρωα τὸν ἐαυτ[ῶν] εὐεργέτην. The name Eusis is very suspicious. General Callier's copies, which M. Reinach used, are very defective; and the restoration does much credit to his ingenuity. Perhaps Euxis, an abbreviated form from Euxitheos, is the right form. If Eusis is right, it might be connected with Eusios, a surname of Dionysos in Laconia, from εὔσοι (for the usual εὔοι).

5. ALIA.

It is impossible to distinguish certainly the Alia and Akmonian inscr. I assign to Alia those found in Islam-Keui and villages on the higher course of Banaz-Tchai: those lower to Keramon-Agora and Akmonia: and those on Hamman-Su to Siokharax. But one inscr., no. 533, which is said to have been seen at Islam-Keui, clearly belongs to Keramon-Agora. Inscr. are very easily carried in a return waggon.

520. Wadd. 699 a: at Koula. Μηνογένης Λακίου θεῶ Ἀλιανῇ εὐχὴν, δοὺς παραθήκην καὶ ἀπολαβῶν.

As Koula is a great centre of trade, it is possible that this inscription has been carried thither from Alia. The name Menogenes suits a city where the worship of Men was so well-developed. Inscribed stones and other antiquities are certainly carried to Koula from a great distance (see p. 152 note). But in this case a different explanation should probably be sought, for Ushak, an even greater centre of trade, lies between Koula and Alia and would be more likely to attract the antiquities of the latter city. Menogenes, a trader or traveller, deposited money in some one's charge before his departure; and at the panegyris at Alia, or on some other occasion, he made a vow to the Alia goddess about this deposit, and paid his vow when he got the money safely back. I may quote here, as an example of a dedication to the goddess of a distant city, the following, which was accidentally omitted in its proper place in Ch. IV.

520 bis. (R. 1883). Geveze. [Μητρι θεῶν? Σι]πυληνῇ [ἀνέθηκεν? Αὐρ.?] Μητροδώρος.

This inscription is on a fragment of what must have been a very interesting stele. There is no clue to the length of the gaps, which may have been longer. Beneath the inscription was a relief, showing in the centre some architectural subject (now broken), and on the right of it a helmeted warrior looking towards, and raising his shield high behind his head (most of the figure is broken): doubtless there was a corresponding figure on the left (now broken). The name Metrodoros shows a connexion between the dedicator and the goddess.

521. (R. 1881). Islam-Keui: (R. June 1881). Ζωσίμης Ἴσοχρύσῳ πατρὶ γλυκυτάτῳ μ. χ. καὶ μητρὶ Τατίᾳ ζώσῃ.

Isochrysos is given as a man's name in Pape. Ἰσόχρυσον, wife of a noble of Stratonikaia named Sempronius Clemens, occurs in BCH 1888 p. 85.

522. (R. 1881). Islam-Keui. Ἔτους τμ'. [Αὐρ.] Μάρκος Μάρκου σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Εὐτυχίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις Μάρκῳ? καὶ ζῶντες [ἐ]αυτ[ο]ῖς κατεσκεύασαν τὸ ἥρωον — καὶ ἐτέρῳ υἱῷ Ἀτάλῳ ταχυμύρῳ μ. χ. εἴ τις δὲ ἀνορύξῃ μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι τὸν Μάρκον καὶ τὴν σύνβιον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ παῖδιά, εἴ τις προσάξῃ χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον, τέκνων ἁώρων περιπέσου[το συνφοραῖς].

The metrical formula of imprecation at the end is exceedingly common in slightly varied forms in the rustic and less civilized parts of Phrygia further to N. and E. (cp. no. 527). It hardly occurs in the more civilized parts of Phrygia. This is the first example we have met, as we reach the limits of Banaz-Ova and are about to enter the mountains. The epitaphs found at Islam-Keui are distinctly less hellenized and more Phrygian than those found at Susuz-Keui or Ahat-Keui. This suits the other conditions of Alia, and solves the difficulty which I formerly felt in placing it at Islam-Keui (p. 592). The grammatical construction of the imprecatory formula shows that it was written by a person incapable of correct expression in Greek: and we often find this metrical formula beside imprecatory formulae in the Phrygian language.

523. Islam-Keui. (Sterrett 1883). MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 262¹. A. Ἔτους τη'. Χελειδὼν Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡλιάδῃ [ἀ]νδρὶ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ ἐαυτῇ ζῶσα σὺν καὶ τοῖς [ιδίοις αὐτῆς] τέκνοις Ἡλιάδῃ καὶ Ἀρίστωνι κατεσκεύασεν. B. See no. 460.

This epitaph is of the more educated Graeco-Phrygian style.

524. (R. 1881). Islam-Keui. Καούρος ζῶ[ν] ἐαυτῷ . . . τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν].

Κλ. Οὔρος seemed to me not to be the text. The name Καούρος is probably Phrygian: it may perhaps be compared with Κόβαλοι, δαίμονες τινες περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Harpocr., and Κόλεμος.

525. (R. 1881). Islam-Keui. CIG 3876². Ἀμμία Διογ[ένους] Μεσ-

¹ Sterrett omits the date τη', BCH leaves unnoticed a blank line, which Sterrett indicates, and which I fill with ιδίοις αὐτῆς. St. alone notices (B)

on another side of the stone.

² Said to come from Oturak-tchai, see note on no. 533.

σικίφ τ[ῷ υἱῷ] αὐτῆς. CIG notes that a sword is carved at the right, but reads Διογένης Ἰδ]ιωτ[ι]κ[ῷ μ. χ.].

526. Banaz. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 273. *ἔτους τλθ'. Αὐρίλιος Ροῦφος Ἑρμῆς ἀδελφῷ καὶ Ρουφίῃ ἀνεψιῷ ταχυμύροις μ. χ. Αὐρήλιος Ροῦφος ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ [—].* Probably we should alter the text to Ἑρμῆ, with the editors.

527. Gumulu¹. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 272. *Στράτων σαλτά[ρι]ος² Καλλίστη γυναικὶ καὶ Πολυνείκῃ θυγατρὶ καὶ Γλανκ[ίπ]πῃ υἱῷ μ. χ. καὶ ἑαυτῷ σ]ὺν κ[ε] Α]λ. Ὀρέστ[η]³ ζῶν ἐπύησα· καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν Ἰουλιανὸς καὶ Στράτων καὶ Νεικήτης· εἴ τις δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσει μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι τὸν Στράτωνα, τέκνων ἁώρων περιπέσοιτο συνφορά[ις].*

Straton was a *saltuarius*, or guard on an estate, like the *δροφύλακες* described on p. 281. This estate was in all probability the imperial estate which we hear of in later times under the name Tembre or Tembrion (and probably also of Eudokias). It seems to have included the upper waters of the river Tembris, and the slopes and glades of Dindymos on E., NE., and SE. Its N. limit is marked by an inscr., CIL III 7004, between Aizanoi and Apia or Appia: see *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 178, 213, 146. Our inscr. indicates that it extended as far S. as the borders of Alia.

528. Hassan-Keui. BCH 1893 p. 272. To Menander, his parents Ἀβάσκαντος and Ἀφφιδάς, his wife Κοίριλλα, and children Ἀβάσκαντος and Δημοσθένης. *ἔτους τκβ'* (A.D. 237–8). The name Cyrilla became common among the Christians; but that is not strong enough evidence to place this among Chr. inscr.

528 *bis*. This inscr. has by a slip been given as no. 575.

¹ This and the following are placed here doubtfully. MM. Legrand and Chamonard arrange them in their paper between Susuz-Keui and Banaz; but Gumulu and Hassan-Keui are unknown to me there, and are not given in any map of the district. I conjecture that they are villages on the upper Banaz-

Tchai near Cutchuk-Oturak (which is a different place from Oturak): there are several villages there, which I have seen from a distance but not visited.

² CAΛΤΑΓ . . OC in copy.

³ MM. Legrand and Chamonard read σ]ὺν κ[α] Ἀορέ . . η.

APPENDIX II.

BISHOPS OF THE BANAZ-OVA.

1. PEPOUZA OR JUSTINIANOPOLIS.

No names are known.

2. BRIA.

The discovery that the name Bria took also the forms Breiza and Berga (equivalent to Pria, Preiza, and Perga) perhaps may elucidate the mysterious signatures at the Council of Constantinople in 536; and the signatures constitute an argument that these various forms are equivalent. At the first and third *actiones* of the Council Μακεδόσιος Βριάνων, *Macedonius Berianus* or *Berianensis*, was present¹; at *Actio* IV Μακεδόσιος Βριάνων, *Macedonius Berianensis*, is mentioned at the beginning as present, but the signature at the end of the *Actio* is Μακεδόσιος ἐπίσκοπος Βρόζου ὁρίσας ὑπέγραψα, *Macedonius episcopus Bereanus*² *definivi et subscripsi*, showing that Βρόζου, Bereanus, and Βριάνων, all designate the same bishop. But in *Actio* V the signature is Μακεδόσιος ἐπ. τῆς Βρουσηνῶν πόλεως, *Macedonius ep. Brusenorum*. Le Quien solves the difficulty by taking all the forms as corruptions of the name Elouza; but this seems a counsel of despair, and moreover Alexander of Elouza was present: see next section. It seemed at one time to me that there were present two bishops, of Bria in *Act.* I–IV, and of Brouzos *Act.* V, the former having departed early and the latter having arrived late; but this seems inconsistent with the two lists of *Act.* IV, where we must identify Βρόζου with *Bereanus* and Βριάνων, and that is confirmed by no. 489, which mentions a city Borzos near Sebaste.

Le Quien does not recognize any bishopric either of Pepouza, or of Justinianopolis, or of Bria.

3. SEBASTE.

1. Modestus 451.

2. Anatolius ep. Sebastenorum civ. 553. The order would suit better a connexion with the Cilician Sebaste than with the Phrygian. Rufinus of Sebaste in Armenia was also present. Le Quien assigns Anatolius to Phrygia and also to Cilicia.

¹ He is omitted in *Actio* II, probably by a fault of MSS. Βριανῶν is the right accent. ² *Brozi* and *Butritinus* in margin.

3. Plato 692.
4. Leo 787.
5. Euthymius 869.
6. Constantinus 879.
7. Theodorus some time between 976 and 1025.

4. ELOUZA.

In a list of bishops present at *Conc. Ephes.* A.D. 431, which is printed in *Acta Concil. Chalcedon.* (Labbe IV p. 284), the name *Theodoro Alyddensi* is given, with marginal correction *Aninetensi*. The order of enumeration, and the original lists of the Council (in Labbe vol. III), show that the marginal reading must be accepted: *Alyddensi* is a mere corruption.

1. Macedonius 518 (see *Conc. Constant.* A.D. 536 *Actio* III).
2. Alexander 536. Le Quien gives Macedonius as still in office in 536; but see Bria. At this Council there is some confusion between two bishops, Alexander of Barkousa¹ and Alexander of Elouza (*Elusanus*): both were certainly present at *Act.* III and IV, as they appear in the same lists². This Alexander must be the Phrygian, not the Palestinian, for he is mentioned in *Act.* III after Palaiaopolis, Gordos, Cyme, and before Midaion (moreover Le Quien gives Zenobios as bishop of Elousa in Palestine in A.D. 536).
3. Evagoras πόλεως Ἰλούζων is mentioned as absent from *Conc. Chalced.* 451³.
4. Patricius πόλεως Ἰλούζων *Conc.* 680.
5. Eustathius Ἐλούζων 879.

5. BLAUNDOS.

1. Phoebus ἐπ. Πολυχαλάνδου Λυδίας 359. In this name the second part points to Καλάνδου a corruption of Βαλανδοῦ (a form common in the *Notitiae*): the second part seems to be a corruption of Τιμόλου. The original form of the entry was probably Φοῖβος ἐλάχιστος ἐπ. Μυσσοτιμόλου καὶ Βαλανδοῦ.
2. Elias ἐπ. πόλεως Βλανδοῦ, civ. Bleandri.
3. Onesiphorus ep. Blandi 458.

¹ The forms Βαρκούσων, *Barcutorum*, *Paraxianus*, *Pagrasonus*, or *Justinianopolitanae civitatis*.

² Another Alexander of Colonia Capp. was also present, and appears in the

same lists. Alexander of Elouza does not sign.

³ Theodoulos in 431 belongs to Elousa of Palestine.

6. TRAJANOPOLIS.

1. Metrodorus? see Temenothyrai.
2. Joannes *c.* 460.
3. Joannes 536.
4. Asignius 553.
5. Tiberius 692.
6. Philippus *Τρανονπόλεως* 787.
7. Eustratius 879.

7. TEMENOTHYRAI AND FLAVIOPOLIS.

1. Metrodorus fourth century? see above.
2. Matthias *Τεμένου Θυρών* 431 (falsely attributed by Le Quien to Themizonium, see p. 274).
3. Gregorius *Τιμενουθήρων* 787.

8. ALIA.

1. Gaius *πόλεως Ἀλιδίων* (*civ. Aegarorum*) 451.
2. Glaucus ep. Alionorum *civ. Phrygiae Pacatianae provinciae* 553.
3. Leo or Leontius *Ἀλέων* (implying an ethnic *Ἀλεύς*, different from the legend on coins *Ἀλιηνῶν*) 787.
4. Michael 879 } rival Ignatian and Photian bishops.
Georgius 879 }

APPENDIX III.

ROUTES IN BANAZ AND TCHAL DISTRICTS.

THE views stated in these pages are founded on patient survey of the localities. I entered the country with no opinions, ready to be led by the evidence in any direction. The country was almost unknown; and opinions were impossible from dearth of maps and facts. I looked for traces of ancient life, and accepted as an ancient site any place where I found traces of ancient life. That prejudice against the opinions of others, with which M. Radet charges me repeatedly¹, could not possibly

¹ I regarded it as a joke on his part, and quoted some of his words in a footnote I p. xvi; but he repeats the same charge in milder terms *Rev. Univ. Midi* II p. 115 (in a very generous notice of

the first part of this work). I have pondered for months over some of his opinions, which finally I could not accept, see p. xvii.

actuate me at that time, for there hardly existed any opinions to be prejudiced against (as a glance into the discussion given in any geographical work of the names in this chapter will show). My survey has, of course, been incomplete; for the country is vast and travelling slow. It is therefore advisable to show both the extent and the limits of my observation (though reports of natives and travellers in several cases assured me that I need not visit certain villages). The survey is really an important part of the evidence in some of these chapters; for scholars may assume that I mention every place where I found traces of ancient life, and that the omission of any village from my reasoning is due to the belief that I was justified in regarding it as not ancient.

(1) 1881 May (with Sir C. Wilson), Kure, Ushak, Islam-Keui, Irk-Bunar: up Hammam-Su.

(2) 1881 Nov. (with Mrs. Ramsay and A. C. Blunt), down Hammam-Su, Islam-Keui, Ahat-Keui (Aghar-Hissar, Emiraz¹), Hadjimlar, Geubek, Suleimanli, Geune.

(3) 1883 May (with Sterrett), from Bulladan, Mandama, Geuzlar, Sazak, Demirji-Keui, Alfaklar, Khanchallar, Zeive (Badinlar), Develar, Orta-Keui, Bekirli (Utch-Kuyular), Seurlar (Bekirli, Tcham-Keui, Destemir, Utch-Kuyular), Yaphilar, Kai-Bazar, Demirji-Keui, Seid, Mahmud-Ghazi, Isabey.

(4) 1883 June and July (with Sterrett), from Kidyessos, Otourak, down Hammam-Su, Islam-Keui, Erjesh, Susuz-Keui, Tcharik-Keui, Ushak, Balma, Elmali, Serikler, Kalin-Kilisa (Avgan), Tiyan, Keukez, Erziler, Seljukler, Sivasli (Payam-Aghlan), Bunar-Bashi, Burgas, Pederlar, Tchokakli, Keul-Kuyu, Deli-Heuderli, Kara-Halilli, Karib-Hassan, Geuzlar, Sarikli, Utch-Kuyular, Bekirli, Zeive, Kai-Bazar, Eski-Seid, Seid, Demirji-Keui, Sazak, Kabalar, Geveze, Geuzlar, Mandama, Ada, Jabar, Sighama, Serai-Keui. Sterrett made separate excursion Kara-Halilli, Pashalar, Bey-Keui, Keuseli, Muradja, Medele, Zeive.

(5) 1883 August (with Sterrett), from Philadelphia, Devrent, Yuruk-Keui, Ine (Karadja-Ahmed), Ushak, Iki-Serai, Tcharik-Keui, Tabaklar, Yapaklar, Khirka, Kizilje-Suyut, Susuz-Keui, Ahat-Keui, &c.: see Ch. XIV App. III.

(6) 1883 October (alone), from Kidyessos, down Hammam-Su, Islam-Keui, Devrent, Orta-Keui, Giaour-Euren, Iki-Serai, Ushak, Keul-Keui, Tchardak, Bey-Sheher, Devrent, Sheikh-Elym-Dede, Esseler, Takmak, Kran-Keui, Deliler, Philadelphia.

¹ When an excursion was made starting from and returning to any place, the villages visited on that excursion are enumerated within parentheses after the name of the starting-point.

(7) 1886 August (with Brown), from Afion-Kara-Hissar, riding by night, by straightest road down Hammam-Su, past Islam-Keui and Yuruk-Keui, reach Philadelpheia on the fourth morning.

(8) 1887 May (with Hogarth and Brown), from Hierapolis, Bel-Evi, Isabey, Seid, Demirji-Keui, Kabalar, Sazak, Orta-Keui, Badinlar, Medele, Destemir, Tcham-Keui, Haz-Keui, Kirk-Yilan, Utch-Kuyular, Zeive, Seurlar, Beyilli, Kavaklar, Tchitak, Sarilar, Gumje, Exava, Dumanli, Kaikilli, Sarikli, Karib-Hassan, Ekuz-Baba, Yaka-Keui in Eumenian plain.

(9) 1887 July (alone), from the monument country by Tchah-Keui, Tunlu-Bunar, Otourak, Islam-Keui, Ahat-Keui (Emiraz, Gaili, Doghla, Aghar-Hissar), Susuz-Keui, Ine, Yuruk-Keui, Philadelpheia.

(10) 1888 May (with Mrs. Ramsay), from Serai-Keui, Mandama, Geuzlar, Sazak, Kabalar, Develar, Orta-Keui, Badinlar, Zeive, Seurlar, into Eumenian valley.

(11) 1888 June (alone), from Serai-Keui, Mandama, Emir-Keui, Ak-Dere-Devrent, Kodja-Geuzlar, Sazak, Khanchallar, Zeive, Bekirli, Utch-Kuyular, Boudaili, Kara-Halilli, Deli-Heuderli, Durakli, Yeghiler, Irje Tchifik, Irje-Keui, Susuz-Keui (Gedikler, Oghuz), Islam-Keui, Otourak.

CHAPTER XIV.

AKMONIA AND THE AKMONIAN DIOCESE.

§ 1. The Akmonian district p. 621. § 2. Foundation and religion of Akmonia p. 625. § 3. Population of Akmonia (1) Tribes and Guilds p. 629. (2) Gerousia, Neoi p. 630. (3) Hymnodoi p. 630. § 4. Moxeanoi p. 631. § 5. Diokleia p. 632. § 6. Siokharax p. 632. § 7. Aristion p. 633. § 8. Kidyessos p. 634. § 9. Orina p. 635.

Appendices: I. Inscriptions p. 637. II. Bishops p. 663. III. Ptolemy V 2, 27 and Strabo p. 576 (XII 8, 13) p. 664. IV. Routes p. 666.

§ 1. THE AKMONIAN DISTRICT. On the E. skirts of Banaz-Ova lies a mountainous region, separating it from the Pentapolis of Phrygia on the upper course of the river Glaukos (Sandykli-Ova). This region was inhabited by a people called Moxeanoi; and on its N. W. edge was situated the great city Akmonia. The highest point in these mountains is Ahar-Dagh, a lofty flat table-shaped hill (perhaps over 7000 feet high). Ahar-Dagh is a very prominent object in the traveller's view from even the western parts of Banaz-Ova, and from the outskirts of Ushak: the level flat line of its broad summit catches his eye as it rises over all intermediate hills. It is a marked watershed. From its N. slopes runs the highest source of the Tembrogius or Tembris, which flows into the Sangarios and thereby into the Black Sea. On its S. slopes rise branches of the Maeander, Ahat-Keui-Su flowing W. to Banaz-Tchai, and Aram-Tchai S. to the Glaukos¹. On N.W. rises the Hammam-Su, and on E. the Akkar-Su, which runs to the great lakes of Paroreios Phrygia².

The Ahar-Dagh, as a central point in the mountain system of western Anatolia, exercises a strong determining influence on the

¹ The latter rises in a great deep nearly circular hole, with very steep sides, apparently about two miles in diameter, like a vast cup. I skirted its outer rim for a mile or two. There seemed only one break in its lofty side-walls, where the stream flowed out to

S. It is marked (not quite correctly) from my report as Krater in Kiepert's latest map.

² The last two spring, not from the actual hill of Ahar-Dagh, but from the sides of the ridge that contains the Tembris (see next paragraph).

road-system. It stands midway between the great mass of Mt. Dindymos (Murad-Dagh) and the lofty volcanic mountains between Sandykli and Afion-Kara-Hissar. Travellers going N. or N.E. from Banaz-Ova have therefore small choice of roads: unless they are going to the Pentapolis they must ascend the Hammam-Su to its source near Siokharax, and then cross a broad lofty ridge which projects N. from Ahar-Dagh and acts as a sort of aqueduct to bear away the Tembris towards Kotiaion. Here the road forks beside a tumulus with a Turbe on the top, which stands on the outer edge of the ridge and commands a wide view¹; and one branch, descending the valley of the Akkar Su, traverses the whole length of Phrygia Paroreios, or goes E. to Galatia while the other branch goes N. to Apia and Kotiaion. This road is at the present time one of the main trade-routes of Anatolia (Ch. XIII § 9).

The road to the Pentapolis ascends the Ahat-Keui-Su by Akmonia to Diokleia, and then crosses a low ridge till it strikes a stream flowing S. by E.: it descends this stream a few miles, and then crosses another ridge into the Sandykli-Ova². The fine open valley in which the Banaz-Tchai, the Hammam-Su, and the Ahat-Keui-Su unite, is therefore a singularly important point in the road-system of every period in Anatolian history. Several important thoroughfares converge to it and again diverge from it. Yet, singular to relate, this valley has never been occupied by an important city: the beautiful situation and immense natural strength of Akmonia, only four miles to the east, made it the military centre of the whole district, and gave it the command over a great part of the valley where the roads and rivers meet. But the wealth of Akmonia must have depended mainly on this valley, and the remains at Susuz Keui (Keramion-Agora)³ and Islam Keui (too numerous to have been all brought from Akmonia) prove that under the *Pax Romana* the superior convenience of the open valley made it the permanent residence of a considerable population.

¹ A *Turbe*, with the grave of a *Dede* (heroized ancestor), is a relic of pre-Mohammedan superstition which has been incorporated in Mohammedanism as a practical religion. Such foundations very often mark an ancient site. This particular tumulus, as I believe, marked a stage on the 'Royal Road' and was used for signalling, among other purposes: the line of the Royal road is marked by mounds at im-

portant points, especially where it enters mountainous district (e.g. near Islam-Keui, at Besk-Karish-Eyuk, at Bei-Keui). See pp. 29 f.

² The horse-road crosses this ridge; but the wagon-road keeps on down Aram-Tchai, and then turns left to Eukarpia and Sandykli. On M. Radet's error about the road to Eukarpia see pp. 572, 597 n.

³ See Ch. XIII § 13.

This close connexion between Akmonia and the open valley where Keramon-Agora lay furnishes the explanation of the Akmonian foundation-legend. Akmon and Doias were brothers, sons of Manes the great god of the district, § 2 : from the one brother the city derived its name, while Doiantos Pedion was called after the other. We have here evidently a local legend explaining by the usual device of a genealogical myth the relation in which the plain stood to the city.

The streams which flow from Ahar-Dagh to S. and W. traverse narrow, fertile valleys. The most important is Ahat-Keui-Su : on its upper waters lay the town of Diokleia, and about four miles above its junction with the Banaz-Tchai was the great city of Akmonia. On the Aram-Tchai and its tributaries no town of any importance could ever have existed, for the situation is contracted and quite unsuited to maintain city life, but villages or small towns flourished in the green shady valleys, especially at the villages of Yannik-Euren and Hodjalar. In 1883 Sterrett and I visited almost every village of the district, and arrived at the conclusion that no city except Diokleia could be placed amid this hill country¹. Under Ahar-Dagh, in particular, about Ulu-Keui, Akche-Badarik, and Eldesann, the character of the mountain glens and the absence of any trace of ancient life forbade us to place any ancient city or town.

The most probable situation for the second town of the Moxeanoi, Siokharax, was at the N. limits of their territory, on the road from Banaz-Ova, near the sources of Hammam-Su, about the villages of Otourak and Halaslar. Further E. on the same road were two marked sites, probably the two cities Aristion and Kidyessos, of which the latter (the extreme frontier town of Pacatiana) struck a few rare coins.

Geographically, these towns form a group — Akmonia, Diokleia, Siokharax, Aristion and Kidyessos. Now in the older ecclesiastical system, it is remarkable that none of these five cities are mentioned. Yet they all were bishoprics (except Siokharax); and some of them were represented at the Councils held in the fifth and the eighth centuries. Why then should they be omitted from all the *Notitiae*, which show the older system, while they are mentioned in the *Notitiae* of the later system? I see only one conceivable reason : this

¹ At Yannik-Euren the remains are certainly not those of a city but of a mere village or halting-place on the road between Eumeneia and the Pentapolis. At Hodjalar and Dolatann was

a similar village. There were a few fragments of marble at Tchukurdja, but it was a place of no consequence. Elsewhere we saw nothing.

group of bishoprics formed a special subdivision of the great province Pacatiana, and they were not grouped under either of the metropoleis Laodiceia and Hierapolis. We have already, pp. 108 f, concluded that Justinian subdivided the large province Pacatiana. The governor of the entire province he had made a *Comes*; and it was natural that he should subdivide it, placing the parts under special officers. The importance of Akmonia, and the fact that these five bishoprics formed a group at the extreme E. corner of Pacatiana, suggested that this section should be separated. Thus Pacatiana was divided into three parts, Laodicean, Hierapolitan pp. 108 f., and Akmonian.

It is certainly extraordinary that, if an Akmonian group was constituted, it should never be mentioned in the early *Notitiae*, as the Hierapolitan group is mentioned, under a separate heading. But it would be still more extraordinary that, if there were nothing distinctive in the position of these five bishoprics, they should be omitted from all the *Notitiae* of the period. It is a question and a choice between difficulties.

This arrangement was probably brought to an end, when the N.W group of bishoprics was severed from Laodiceia. To compensate for the loss it would appear that the Akmonian group was restored to Laodiceia: the two changes seem to have occurred between the Councils of 692 and 787¹.

It must be confessed that the order of enumeration at the Councils gives no ground for distinguishing an Akmonian group. But there is not really sufficient ground for forming a judgement from the signatures of 553, 680, and 692, the only Councils which touch the case². None of these Councils were largely attended by Phrygian bishops; and there is no certain case of any bishop from this group at these Councils. Still, if our conjectural reading Akmonia in 680 be right³, it would follow from that one case that Akmonia was then one of the Laodicean bishoprics; in that case we should have to suppose that this group occupied some peculiar and intermediate position subordinate to Laodiceia, yet not on the same footing with the ordinary bishoprics mentioned in the *Notitiae*.

¹ See table of Phrygia Hierapolitana Ch. III *App.* III. In De Boor's *Notitia* the N.W. group is severed from Laodiceia and attached to Hierapolis; and the Akmonian group is mentioned under Laodiceia: now De Boor's *Notitia* gives the changes introduced under the Iconoclast Emperors somewhere about 740.

² Akmonia in 680 depends on a change of the text, where Le Quien prefers a different alteration. Diokletianopolis in 553 may be the bishopric of Thrace (or elsewhere); and the order in 553 is too vague to afford any ground for reasoning. See *App.* II.

³ See *Appendix* II.

§ 2. FOUNDATION AND RELIGION OF AKMONIA. The city stood on an elongated hill (a spur of Burgas-Dagh) which stretches towards N.W. between Ahat-Keui-Su and a small tributary that joins it from S.E.¹ The position is one of great natural strength, similar in character to those of Blaundos, of Lounda, and of Leonna². On the steep sides of the hill are numerous graves, many of which have been uncovered since 1883: the stones which are recovered from them are partly used in the village and partly sent to the masons and stone-cutters of Ushak. There are ruins of a theatre, an odeon, and some other buildings on the site³, and also dilapidated walls of defence, showing that the natural strength of the position was fully taken advantage of to make an almost impregnable fortress of the Greek period. The character of the situation resembles the foundations rather of the early Diadochic period than of the Pergamenian kings; but the Pergamenian character of the early Akmonian coinage is distinct.

The remains of Akmonia mark it as a city of great wealth and importance; and this is confirmed by its dignity as enjoying the Neokorate, and as the seat of a high-priesthood in the Imperial cultus. Yet, in spite of its importance, it is rarely mentioned in literature; and its history is a blank. Peaceful, continuous development and prosperity seem to have been its lot. Its territory did not extend very far to E., on which side Diokleia is only about six miles distant; but on W. it ruled the rich valley Doiantos Pedion § 1, and commanded the trade of the N.E. route, Ch. XIII § 1 and 9.

In this situation Akmonia was in frequent communication with the N. Phrygian cities, and its inscriptions show traces that connect it with their development and distinguish it from the S. Phrygian cities, such as Apameia and Eumeneia⁴.

According to the foundation legend⁵, Akmonia was a city of the ancient Phrygian period, though it was probably refortified by the Greek kings: its founder was Akmon, brother of Doias (§ 1), and son of Manes. Manes was evidently the local name for the great god

¹ I cannot understand why Kiepert in his most recent map indicates Akmonia near two miles to E. of Ahat-Keui. One can throw a stone from the walls of the ancient city into the streets of Ahat-Keui, which is right below. Akmonia should be marked S. and SW. from Ahat-Keui, not E.

² See pp. 237, 584, 591, 607.

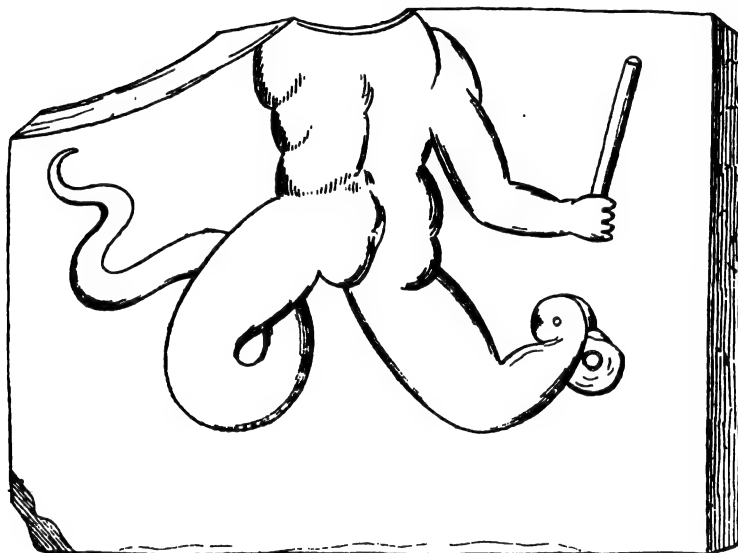
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³ Excavation would be fruitful. See Hamilton I 112 ff., BCH 1893 pp. 259 f.

⁴ See no. 466.

⁵ Alexander Polyhistor *περί Φρυγίας* lib. III quoted by Stephanus s. v. 'Ακμόνιος (cp. Δοίαντος π.). κτίσαι δ' αὐτήν 'Ακμονα τὸν Μάνεως: 'Α. γὰρ καὶ Δοϊαντά φασιν ἀδελφούς. Nonnus quoted p. 483.

of the district, as we see from inscr. 466: he was assimilated to the Greek Zeus, but his native Anatolian character is expressed by the additional names Manes and Daes¹, and the title Heliodromos, 'the Sun in his course,' and he is represented as the Sun-god with radiated head, and as the horseman-god, no. 467 B, to whom the name Men is especially appropriate². Probably, Manes is an earlier and more purely native form of the later name Men, which is modified to give



a meaning in Greek³. Akmon is originally a name used in the cultus. Akmon is the heaven⁴, corresponding to the ultimate sense of Zeus. According to Nonnus XIII 142 he was one of the seven Korybantes. The battle between Zeus and the heaven-scaling Giants was a myth

¹ The title Daes is obscure: is it connected with *daos*, the Phrygian word meaning jackal? cp. Smintheus, Bassareus, Mouse-god, Fox-god (*Class. Rev.* 1896 pp. 21, 158, Ridgeway).

² See Pl. II 5. An article of interest and value by M. Perdrizet on Men, BCH 1896 pp. 55 ff., is founded on a theory of the nature of the pagan gods which I cannot accept, viz. that Men is the Moon-god and nothing else (and so each deity has a definite sphere).

³ Manes appears in Lydian legend as an early king, father of Atys (who in

his turn was father of Asies): in this mythological form, Manes is evidently the father-god of the Lydians. Herod. I 94, IV 45. Manesion and Manegordos were old Phrygian cities. Manes Manosou personal names CIG 3989 h.

⁴ *ἄκμων οὐρανός* (*ἄκμωνιδαι οὐρανιδαι*) Hesychius. It occurs in the corresponding forms in Vedic Sanskrit, Zend, and Old Persian in the same sense. In Greek mythology Akmon is sometimes the father of Ouranos, sometimes the same as Ouranos (Bergk on Alcman fr. 108, Roscher *Lexicon*).

2. FOUNDATION AND RELIGION OF AKMONIA. 627

familiar in Akmonia. It is represented on coins¹, and, probably, in a relief of which a fragment (p. 626) was seen by Hamilton. This deity approximates in character to Zeus Bronton, who is so frequently mentioned in N. Phrygia.

The Neokorate on coins of Akmonia begins under Alexander Severus; but is more likely to have been conferred by Caracalla, who was very liberal with that honour. A coin described by M. Imhoof-Blumer represents that Emperor on horseback approaching a hill on which stand two female figures: this would almost suggest that Caracalla visited Akmonia on its hill².

The title *Stephanephoros* (no. 536), according to the theory which we follow, was applied to the magistrate who wore the garland, and represented the authority in political matters, which originally belonged to the priest of the supreme god, Manes-Zeus.

There was a cultus of the Emperors in Akmonia, as in every city of the Empire. In an early inscr. no. 534, the priest is styled *Sebastophantes*, i.e. *Flumen Augusti*; about A.D. 60 (coins, p. 639) and 200, he has the dignity of a high-priest, no. 532; and we find Poppaea, no. 530, honoured as *Sebaste Eubosia*, 'Imperial Fertility,' and on coins the 'Goddess Rome' appears in the features of Agrippina the mother of Nero.

The epitaphs at Akmonia are engraved either on stones of the 'Door' type, described in Ch. XIII § 5, or on single blocks from *herou* of a more pretentious kind. The latter seem to have been in some cases small temples³, to judge from the style of the stones that remain. The former were often of a very elaborate and artificial kind; and the illustration from a drawing by Mr. A. C. Blunt (see next page) may be taken as a fair specimen. Such stones were prepared in the trade, and kept on stock, a blank tablet being left to contain the inscription, which in this case (and in some others that I have seen) was never added. In other cases there was no special tablet prepared to receive the inscription, which was incised round the edge of the stone, or even irregularly across the carving of the door. Many of the 'Door-stones' are surmounted by a pointed or semi-circular pediment, in which case the inscription usually runs round the edge of the pediment, or across the division between the pediment and the 'Door,' or both.

In 1881 we saw on the site of Akmonia a torso of a statue of Herakles, of full life-size, evidently a copy of the Farnese Herakles

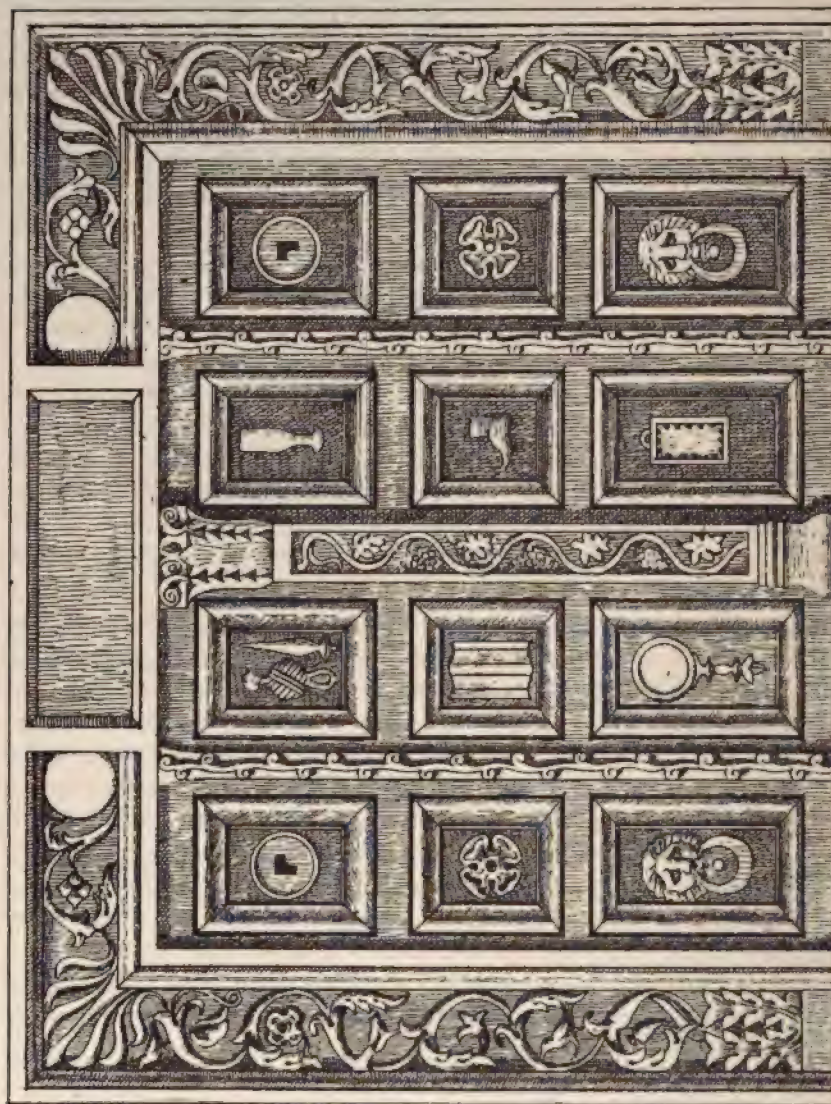
¹ Pl. II 3, 4.

as at Smyrna.

² MG p. 391. He suggests that the two women may be the Nemeseis, double

³ On this kind of grave-monument see Ch. X § 4 and p. 99.

of Glykon. Evidently this statue was the model which the Akmonian artists used for the types of the coins on Plate II fig. 6, 7¹: both are



described by Mionnet, one is of Caracalla, the other of Gallienus; the

¹ No 10, Mionnet *Suppl.* no. 19; no. 11, *id.* no. 23. The club of Herakles in no. 16 is rested on a rock according to Mionnet, on a skull according to

M. Imhoof. I am indebted to the kindness of the latter for the casts which are here reproduced.

former is more correctly described and reproduced by M. Imhoof-Blumer *GM* p. 204 and Pl. XII 1.

Statues of this kind, or other works of art, were often presented to their city by rich citizens, whether in their private capacity or as magistrates. At Cyzicos Fl. Aristagoras in his priesthood gave a statue of the goddess Homonoia (*Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 130); at Stratonicea Sempronius Clemens gave many statues (*BCH* 1888 pp. 87, 95); at Lagina Eros gave a statue of Hermes while acting as Agoranomos (*BCH* 1887 p. 160); at Sardis Chryseros gave five Erotes as Agoranomos (*CIG* 3946, *LW* 618, J. Schmidt¹ *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 146); see above pp. 415, 433. It is observable that it is often an Agoranomos who presents such statues. It was part of his duty to beautify the streets by works of art, as well as to superintend weights and measures; and in no. 549 both purposes were fulfilled by the erection of the Zygostasia, which therefore probably took place while the person commemorated was acting as Agoranomos.

There is an almost complete dearth of evidence as to the character, position, duties, and number of the Agoranomoi in a Phrygian city. The references can as a rule be naturally taken as denoting a single official, elected annually; and one passage would almost suggest that he was a member of the supreme board of magistrates (see pp. 70, 69). But there is no passage which can be said to disprove the view that there was a body of agoranomoi (such as existed in Athens, Sparta, Halikarnassos, &c.). It is highly probable that their character was more and more assimilated to that of Italian aediles, as municipal institutions were romanized; but the local inscr. give little evidence; and it is not safe to apply to the smaller Phrygian cities, which assimilated Greek institutions only in Roman times, the facts that can be learned about Agoranomoi in Greek cities.

§ 3. POPULATION OF AKMONIA (1) TRIBES AND GUILDS. In Akmonia the division into tribes occurs side by side with a grouping according to trade-guilds². It would appear that the latter was the older classification³; doubtless at Keramon-Agora the trades existed under

¹ Χρυσέως β' ἀγορανόμος. Schmidt (against Wadd.) wrongly connects β' with ἀγορανόμος. In all cases where doubt exists, β' or δ' or τὸ β' is to be connected with the preceding word, as in *CIG* 2572, 2583, *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 99 (*CIG* 3429 is wrongly punctuated: the wrong connexion in *CIG* 9259 has strangely misled Hatch, Harnack and

many other theologians, see Headlam in *JHS Suppl. Papers* 1892 p. 24). No. 534, *LW* 755, is exceptional, due to translation from the Latin *bis praef. fabr.*

² ἡ τῶν γραφῶν συνεργασία no. 532, cp. no. 8: φυλὴ Ἀσκληπιδίης no. 531, Ἀρτεμισιδίης 532.

³ On this subject see above p. 105

the old Lydian and the Persian rule (Ch. XI § 10); but the names of the tribes mark them as an institution of the Greek period. Remembering the marked Pergamenian character of the early coins of Akmonia, we may conjecture that a refoundation was made by the Pergamenian kings. In the third and second centuries B.C. Attalus and Eumenes were doing everything in their power to extend their influence in N. Phrygia, intriguing with the priests of Pessinus, making alliance with the Gauls, sending armies through the N. districts of Phrygia¹. Even when the Seleucid kings were in possession of S. Phrygia, the N. was more open to Pergamenian ambition. In accordance with these facts, we may regard a close connexion between the Pergamenians and Akmonia, and even a Pergamenian *ktisis*, as probable.

(2) GEROUSIA, NEOI. Both these bodies are mentioned in inscr. 549, where an income of the Neoi is implied: see (3).

(3) HYMNODOI. At Akmonia, for the first time in Phrygia, we meet this body, whose existence, however, may be assumed in most Phrygian cities². The *Hymnodoi* were a body of persons connected with the native cultus, doubtless practising certain ceremonies of a musical character in honour of the gods, as their name denotes, but also in all probability having a social side, like a *sodalitas* among the Romans³. They had, probably, an annual income, with the management of which the *Argyrotamias* was concerned; and this income was perhaps secured according to the method that has remained in use in Anatolia for religious foundations to the present century⁴, and which was the recognized practice among the Romans. A fixed rent, much below the permanent value, was charged on an estate; this land belonged to a private owner (originally, as a general rule, to the donor), and descended in his family; and, so long as he paid the fixed rent to the society or foundation, his possession was absolute⁵. This custom is,

(where, however, the name Akmonia should be deleted in l. 18).

¹ On this subject, see under Apia or Appia.

² Probably their name varied, but their character was similar, in different cities: the *Semeiaphoroi* of Hierapolis p. 97, the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi* of the Limnai, *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 409 ff., the *Korybantes* of some places, the *Boukoloi* of Ch. X § 2, were societies of a similar character, half religious, half social,

like 'the Brothers' of the Anatolian Seljuk cities pp. 97 f. The existence of societies like these made it easier for the Christians to organize themselves in similar societies.

³ M. Lévy *Rer. Ét. Gr.* 1895 p. 247 seems to hold this view: I follow him.

⁴ The government recently took over the revenues of most foundations, charging itself with the maintenance.

⁵ When Pliny founded an orphanage in his native city Comum, he provided

according to Mommsen, styled *avitum* in an inscr. of Ferentinum CIL X 5853 and in one of the receipts found in the house of the banker Caecilius Jucundus at Pompeii, while in another receipt it is called *avitum et patritum*¹. The duty of the *Argyrotamias* would, on our theory², embrace the responsibility for collecting these rents and paying them to the foundations which owned them. See No. 549.

There is no absolute proof that this system of charging income on land was the case with the college of *Hymnodoi*, but analogy and general probability are in favour of the theory. It is probable that the same method was practised in other similar societies; and from them it has descended to modern times. In almost every respect the dervish establishments and Tekkes are analogous to the societies of *Hymnodoi*, *Theologoi*, *Semeiaphoroi*, *Boukoloi*, &c.³

The inscriptions afford no evidence as to the duties and conduct of the society of *Hymnodoi*. We are left to conjectures founded on the name.

When the cultus of the Emperors was founded in an Asian city, it was commonly modelled upon the constitution of the existing seats of religion. The priest of the Emperor wore the crown, just as the priest at the *hieron* of the great god did⁴. As there were *hymnodoi* and *theologoi* connected with the *hieron*, so we find *hymnodoi* in the Imperial cultus at Pergamos, Smyrna, and Ephesos; and we may assume that similar *sodalitates* were formed in other cities⁵.

Hymnodoi of the Gerousia are mentioned in one case at Smyrna. The nature of the connexion is uncertain. M. Levy sees in it a confirmation of his theory about the original of the Gerousia⁶.

A boy from Akmonia named T. Flavius Sarpedon won the prize for acting in comedy at the Artemisia in Ephesos (probably in the second half of the second century)⁷: this fact, combined with the existence of a theatre and an odeon, shows that some literary interest existed in the city.

§ 4. MOXEANOI. This people is mentioned by Ptolemy in the neighbourhood of the Kidyseis and Peltenoi and Lykaones and

for it in this way, making over an estate of his own to the municipality and taking it back in permanent possession at a small fixed rent, *Epist.* VII 18.

¹ The reading is not absolutely certain: Mommsen *Hermes* XII p. 123.

² It is slightly developed from the suggestive explanation given by M. Paris, see Ch. XI § 23 (3) and no. 549.

³ See p. 630, n. 2.

⁴ See p. 56.

⁵ On the *Hymnodoi* in the Imperial cultus see Fränkel II no. 374.

⁶ See Ch. X § 22 (3), and M. Lévy's suggestive paper *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895.

⁷ Brit. Mus. no. 606: the agonothetes was L. Aurelius Philo.

Hierapolitai¹, a description which points to either the Banaz-Ova or the hilly country between it and Sandykli-Ova; and inscr. 615 decides in favour of the latter. In this sequestered situation, they could not play any part in history; and the name seems never to be mentioned by any other writer. They may, perhaps, have been a race older than the Phrygians, driven by the latter into the mountain region, see Ch. XV § 8.

There came to be two chief centres of the Demos, Diokleia and Siokharax; and about the year 200, dissensions arose between the two as to which was the premier city of the Moxeanoi. The quarrel seems to have been carried before the proconsul or even before the Emperor; and in inscr. 615 the people of Diokleia boast that it had been decided in their favour. Similar quarrels between rival claimants to the title 'First City' occurred very frequently: Tarsos vied with Anazarbos², Ephesos with Smyrna and Pergamos, Nikomedeia with Nikaia, Philippi with Amphipolis³; and in such cases, each claimant aimed at cumulating titles on itself, inventing new ones and appropriating those invented by its rival⁴.

§ 5. DIOKLEIA. The approximate situation of the city is placed beyond question by inscr. 615 and by the name of the village Doghla or Dola, near which it was found; but no traces *in situ* of Diokleia are known to me. The autonomous rights of the city are proved by some rare coins of the time of Elagabalus, reading ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΝΩΝ · ΜΟΙΕΑΝΩΝ⁵.

The reading Δόκελα in place of Διόκλεια given in the older editions of Ptolemy V 2, 23, seems to rest on no MS. authority; but it is probably the correct native form, which was hellenized as Diokleia. The same change occurred in the Dalmatian Doklea⁶, which is more commonly called Dioklea. The Emperor who was born there bore first the name Dokles, then the grecized Diokles, then the latinized Diocletianus. In the Council of Chalcedon 451 and perhaps of Constantinople 553, the Phrygian Diokleia is called Diocletianopolis (*App.* II).

§ 6. SIOKHARAX. The name is known only from some very rare coins: the first known belonged to M. Waddington; and when in

¹ Μοξιανοί Ptolemy V 2, 27: see *App.* III.

² Waddington BCH 1883 pp. 281 ff.

³ See my *St. Paul* pp. 206 f.

⁴ E.g. Tarsos πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη καὶ καλλίστη μητρόπ. τῶν γ' ἐπαρχιῶν προκα-

θεζομένη καὶ β' νεωκ., μόνη τετελειμημένη κτλ.

⁵ I must be understood as an imperfect Ξ. On the coins of Siokharax the same form occurs.

⁶ Ptolemy II 17 (15), and Pliny III 28 (143).

1883 my paper in JHS pp. 417 f was published, he sent me an account of the hitherto unknown coin, the legend of which he read as [I]ΕΡΟΧΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΩΝ · ΜΟΙΕΑ¹; but since that time, others have been published, with the legend clearly ΕΠΙ · ΦΙΛΙΣΚΟΥ · ΑΙΛΟΥΧ · ΚΙΟΧΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΩΝ · ΜΟΙΕΑ². From this legend the corrupt entry in Hierocles 'Ιουχαράραξ between Alia and Diokleia can be easily corrected into 'Ιουχάραξ for ΣΙΟΥΧΑΡΑΞ.

With regard to this town nothing is known; and no inser. remains to throw any light on it. The general situation is fixed within a reasonable distance of Diokleia and Alia. I formerly placed it conjecturally at Otourak at the head of Hammam-Su; but there is no definite evidence. M. Radet accepts the suggestion: and it may stand provisionally. The only other suggestion possible would be to seek it at Hodjalar, which was the most important site among the eastern Moxeanoi; but that does not suit so well the order in Hierocles (Alia, Siokharax, Diokleia).

The quaint name Siokharax is of unknown derivation (on Kharax see p. 229). It has been exposed to a steady process of deterioration in Byzantine times, as was natural with such a strange form: c. A.D. 530 Iokharax (Hier. corruptly), c. A.D. 750 Orax or *Ορακα (De B. Not.), *Οραξ or *Ορακα (late *Notitiae*).

§ 7. ARISTION is even more obscure than Siokharax. The order in Hierocles and the *Notitiae* is our only guide. Now the district about Geune and Karadja-Euren on the upper Akkar-Su has evidently contained an ancient site, as the remains are numerous³; and Hierocles whose order comes from W. to Kidyessos, mentions Aristion immediately before it. Hence I have appropriated the name to that site: but there is no sufficient evidence. The order in De Boor's *Notitia*, Kidyessos, Aristion, Hierokharax⁴, confirms this assignation: it seems to go along the trade-route.

Aristion was a bishopric; and a bishopric is wanted in the valley of the upper Akkar-Su, which is of considerable extent and fertility.

¹ See *Academy* 8 Mar. 1884.

² Löbbecke *Zft. f. Numism.* 1890 p. 23, *Babelon Rev. Num.* 1892 p. 120. Αἰλοῦχος is probably a native Phrygian name (see no. 294): M. Babelon suggests that it is a grecized form of the Roman *Allucius*.

³ Sir C. Wilson speaks of Byzantine remains at Duz-Agatch, a neighbouring village (*Handbook* p. 131): in 1883

Sterrett and I concluded that these came from Karadja-Euren, the main site.

⁴ The names are much corrupted in form; and Keretapa is introduced among them by a mistake in order. The order in the later *Notitiae* is too haphazard: Themisonion, Diokleia, Aristion, Justinianopolis.

M. Radet places Aristion in the country of the Moxeanoi at the village Eldesann or Aldizoun. I can see no probability that this is correct: (1) Eldesann is from all points of view an impossible site (see § 1): (2) M. Radet passes the certain site at Karadja-Euren unnoticed, and crowds the ancient names into this hilly country, where he apparently has never been and whose character is evidently unknown to him¹: (3) there were two towns of the Moxeanoi; and without evidence it is not justifiable to suppose that Aristion also was one of their towns. M. Radet's sole argument for his identification lies in the resemblance between Aristion and the form Aldizoun, which he gives on authority unknown to me: the name sounded to me Eldesann, but Kiepert writes it Aldedizen. Identifications on the ground of such a very slender resemblance possess no value, unless preceded by the proof that the ancient name belongs to this neighbourhood², and that the locality is suited to be an ancient site. (4) If Aristion were a city of this district, Hodjalar is the site.

§ 8. KIDYESSOS is the last and most important city of the Akmonian group. It struck coins from the time of Nero onwards. The coins are uncommon, but show considerable variety, and the legends point to a city of some consequence:

ΚΙΔΥΗΣΣΕΙΣ · ΕΠΙ · ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΥ · ΠΕΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ · ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ
(Domitian).

ΕΠΙ · ΑΥΡ · ΟΥΑΡΟΥ · ΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΥ · ΚΙΔΥΗCCEΩΝ (Philip).

ΕΠΙ · ΑΥΡ · ΜΑΡΚΟΥ · ΑΡΧ · ΠΡΩ · ΤΟ · Β ΚΙ[ΔΥ]ΗΣΣΕ[ΩΝ]
(Philip).

In the time of Domitian we can hardly suppose that the term high-priest could be applied on coins of Kidyessos in any sense except 'high-priest of Asia³.'

The Sitchanli-Ova was the territory of Kidyessos, as is proved by no. 625. This valley is of considerable extent and exceedingly fertile; and a city of some importance is to be expected in it. But it projects far into the province of Salutaris; and I was astonished to decipher the name of Kidyessos on a badly defaced pedestal in the

¹ He places also a bishopric Orine among these hills, § 9.

² He essays the proof by quoting the order of Hierocles, Diokleia, Aristion, Kidyessos: he draws a line across the map from Diokleia to Kidyessos, and finds Eldesann near the middle of this line. If that were the way of finding

ancient cities, discovery would be a very simple matter. A marked feature of M. Radet's topography is the extreme ease of his methods: everything is simple—on paper.

³ The form *Κυδδησαίς* in Ptolemy may be a native form, see *App.* III.

cemetery of a village on the N. edge of the plain. The discovery was a critical step in the progress of Phrygian topography; for, without this fixed point to work from, the whole surrounding district would be a matter of guesswork, and there would always have been a false presumption that this valley, like the country to N. and to S., was part of Salutaris, not of Pacatiana.

The inscriptions give little information about the city. They are few in number. The continuous demands made by a large city like Afion-Kara-Hissar for good stones or marbles has almost exhausted the supply of surface stones in the districts around and in easy communication. Moreover there are in the Sitchanli-Ova several large villages with fine mosques and buildings, which have used up many ancient marbles.

§ 9. ORINA. Among the hills of the Moxeanoi M. Radet places also a town which he calls *Orine*. Hierocles mentions in Salutaris a place κληρος Ὀρίνης¹; the latest *Notitiae* contain in Pacatiana the two entries Ὀράκων, Ὀρίνων; and M. Radet identifies Ὀρίνης and Ὀρίνων², and places them near the frontier between the two provinces. But (1) a comparative study of the *Notitiae* shows that the late (and verbally most corrupt) *Notitiae* here present two false forms, the earlier forms being Ὀράκων and Ἀλίνων for Ἀλίων (as in De Boor's *Notitia*, in varying order)³, and the initial letters in the first name affected the second. (2) Wesseling's explanation of the two places in Salutaris as κληρος ὀρεινῆς and κληρος πολιτικῆς seems to me to carry conviction with it. (3) It seems to me unjustifiable to suppose that any variation of frontier between Pacatiana and Salutaris occurred between Hierocles and the *Notitiae*⁴. M. Radet's principle is one which I cannot admit: *un diocèse formant carrefour entre trois frontières pouvait ou ressortir à la province du nord, ou se rattacher à celle de l'est, ou passer dans celle de l'ouest, ou rester circonscription indépendante* (*En Phrygie* p. 119). (4) Supposing that Salutaris originally included the site of this supposed Orina (which later was transferred to Pacatiana), how can that province

¹ Ὀρίνης in Burckhardt's text: *rr. ll.*

Ὀρίνης, Ὀρίνος.

² Ὀρίνων in some MSS. of *Not. III.*

³ See p. 593. M. Radet lays in several places a stress which seems to me exaggerated on the local order in the lists; and yet he neglects the very marked connexion (on which see p. 592) between Oraka and Alina, two bishoprics

on the same road.

⁴ In JHS 1883 p. 373 *table* I admitted such variation in regard to Kotiaion. Afterwards I saw my error, which has recently been revived by M. Radet *En Phrygie* p. 119. Variation in Pisidia c. 372 is certain, because we know of the formation of a new province Lycaonia, including part of it.

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have been called Little Phrygia? Let any one mark out the bounds of Pacatiana and of Salutaris on the view that the latter stretched over Orina W. and Amorion E., and judge for himself whether Pacatiana was Great and Salutaris Little. (5) The boundary line between Salutaris and Pacatiana becomes singularly complicated, when Orina and Propniasa-Praipenissos are in the former and Kidyessos in the latter. Yet M. Radet sets greater store than I do by a straight boundary line : see above p. 482.

APPENDIX I.

INSCRIPTIONS OF AKMONIA AND KERAMON-AGORA.

529. (R. 1884). Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858 *b*, LW 749. [ή β. καὶ δ δ.]
 δ Ἀκμονέων ἐξ ἐ[π]ιταγ[ή]ς. The extent of the inscription is uncertain.
 The words restored at the beginning formed a separate line.

530. (R. 1881.) Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858, and rightly¹ Wadd. 754.
 Ἀγ. Τ. Ὁ δ. καὶ ἡ β. ἐτείμησεν Νικίαν Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Λούκιον ἱερέα
 Σεβαστῆς Εὐβοσίας διὰ βίου, ἀγορανομήσαντα πολυτελῶς, καὶ στρατηγήσαντα
 ἀγνῶς, καὶ γυμνασιάρχῆσαντα δύο πενταετηρικοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰουλίας Σεουήρας καὶ
 Τυρρωνίου Ῥάπωνος, καὶ γραμματεύσαντα πιστῶς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιηταμένου
 τῆς ἀναστάσεως Συμμάχου ἐφηβάρχου καὶ ἱερέως τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.

The expression *πενταετηρικούς*, with *ἀγῶνας* (or *ἐνιαυτούς*?) understood, implies that the games were held regularly at intervals of four years. It is possible that Nicias Lucius was gymnasiarch for the whole of two *lustra*, or perhaps he only held office twice during the years when the games took place and the gymnasiarchate entailed greater expense than in ordinary years. So in no. 294-297 the gymnasiarchate in the year of a *conventus* is mentioned as specially expensive. The curious name Nicias Lucius differs from the ordinary Greek or Phrygian nomenclature. It is clearly an example of two alternative names used by the same person, and not a case of a double name, of which both parts were needed for a complete legal designation: the full form would be Νικίαν τὸν καὶ Λούκιον² or ἐπικληθέντα Λούκιον. These names are evidently chosen as representative of Greek and Latin, and the resemblance between them is so marked that they probably have been selected on that account.

The alternative name originates in bilingual countries. A person who mixes in the surroundings connected with both languages uses a name for each. Thus in the intermixture of Greeks in the government and

¹ Wadd. has *γραμματεύσαντα*: but the second *μ* is omitted on the stone. there is no room for τὸν καὶ on the stone, as Franz recognizes in the *Ad-*

² This form is restored in CIG, but *denda*.

affairs of western Asia, a native who came into regular relations with the Greeks learned the Greek language and adopted Greek manners. But he did not altogether cut himself off from his own country and people: he had also his native name and used his own language in the proper surroundings. Thus the two names were strictly alternative to each other, and were employed in totally different circumstances, designating him as Νικίαν τὸν καὶ Λούκιον, 'the man who 'in one place is Nicias and in another Lucius.' But this strict and original sense of the alternative name ceased to be so necessary, as time passed and the Greek language became known more and more generally among the population: the alternative name became more of a fashion, and less of a practical device. In the older documents the two names are generally taken from two languages, in the later documents they often belong to one language. Moreover the alternative name was liable to be confused with the double name, as the *cognomen* of Roman nomenclature became mixed up with it; but the alternative name was not required as part of the legal designation, whereas the *cognomen* was ¹.

Examples of both types occur in a Pergamenian inscr. (Fränkel II no. 485) dating before about 60 or 70 A.D. (1) Greek and Anatolian Τρύφων Κοράλλης, Μηνογένης Μιννᾶς, Ἀσκληπιάδης Πάρις, (2) Greek and Latin Ἀπολλώνιος Πόπλιος, Μηνόφιλος Φῆλιξ, Γ. Ἰούλιος Ροῦφος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδείσιος: but Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἐπίκειος and Μηνόφαντος Πολύβιος are double Greek names of the later fashion. Carian examples are Ἀριστομένης Σκύμνου Μᾶτρης ὁ καὶ Ὑσσάλδωμος, Ἑρμῖας Ἐκατόμνως, Φανίας Κασήσους ². The usage among Jews is well known, and it has often been remarked that a certain resemblance between the Hebrew and the Greek or Latin name seems to have determined the choice in many cases.

Further the familiar designation of an individual in his own city or among his own friends was analogous to the alternative name: both were expressed by the same formula τὸν καί³. The baptismal name given to a Christian, and the private name given to him and used by his family, belong also to the same class and are expressed by the same formula.

The exact date is shown by the name of Julia Severa, who is

¹ The *cognomen* in Rome had developed out of what was originally a nickname or individual pet name, not required as part of the legal designation: hence, even after it acquired a footing in the legal designation, it was added after the father's name and the tribe.

² Hula and Szanto *Bericht über eine*

Reise pp. 17, 8 (Wien. Sitzungsab. 1894).

³ This formula was rendered in Latin by *qui et*, which was declined correspondingly (τῷ καὶ cui et, τὸν καὶ quem et): this unidiomatic and ungrammatical form in Latin bears the stamp of a translation, not of a true native formula.

mentioned on many coins of Nero, Agrippina, and Poppaea. The legend is usually ΕΠΙ · ΣεΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΥ · ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝΟΣ · ΚΑΙ · ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ · ΣεΟΥΗΡΑΣ · ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ; sometimes ΕΠΙ · ΑΡΧ · in monograms is added, and on a coin of Agrippina ΕΠ · ΑΡΧ · ΤΟ · Γ. This pair of magistrates therefore were in office for the third time not later than the year 58-9; and they were still in office when coins of Poppaea as Augusta¹ began to be struck in A.D. 63. We may infer from these coins compared with inscr. 530, that Servenius Capito ceased to be magistrate about that year, and Julia Severa succeeded him, with Tyrronius Rapon as a colleague, and they held office for at least eight years; and during this time Nicias Lucius was gymnasiarch during two successive *lustra*. This inscription, therefore, dates about 70-80 A.D.

The reference to Julia Severa and Tyrronius Rapon is introduced in a rather unusual way. It is not usual to date the offices enumerated in inscriptions of this character, unless there is something specially honourable or remarkable in the dating. Now Julia was a person of note. It is evident that she was superior in dignity to Tyrronius; and her fame is preserved by other memorials, see no. 549, 552-559.

Further we may infer from this inscr. that Julia Severa and Tyrronius Rapon were in all probability married², and held office for some time in company. If so, we must draw the same inference about Servenius Capito and Julia Severa, see no. 559. After the death of Servenius soon after 63, Julia Severa married Tyrronius Rapon. Servenius was noble, and is mentioned first; and as we shall see below no. 552, he belonged to a family of great distinction. Tyrronius, the second husband of Julia, belonged to a less distinguished family, and his wife gets precedence in office and in order³. Their marriage would be certain, if we can understand that they were high-priest and priestess (who were always married) holding the penteteric festival when Nicias was gymnasiarch. Julia was high-priestess and Agonothetis no. 550. In that case we should probably understand APX on coins of Servenius and Julia in the same sense. Usually APX means archon on coins; but perhaps the use of monogram may justify our interpretation.

¹ L. Meyer published in *Zft. f. Num.* I p. 336 a coin reading ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ · ΣεΒΑΣΤΗ and having the names of Servenius and Julia on reverse. This coin confirms Mionnet's interpretation of ΘΕΑΝ · ΡΩΜΗΝ on a coin of these magistrates as Poppaea: she was represented as the personified goddess Roma with turreted head.

² It seems hardly in accordance with ancient custom to associate a man and a woman so markedly as is done in this document unless they were married.

³ Compare the facts about Priscilla or Prisca in the New Testament, who is commonly mentioned before her husband (*St. Paul the Trav.* p. 268). On the name Tyrronius see p. 650.

Our theory is not essentially affected, if APX means archon. Both on the coins just mentioned and in this inscr., two magistrates are named. Either the supreme board at Akmonia consisted only of two persons, like the *duoviri* of many Roman colonies, or there was something special about Servenius and Julia and Tyrronius. The number two for the board is out of keeping with the usual rule in Asian cities, and is not probable in Akmonia. The general rule is to mention only the chief archon, summing up the rest in some such formula as *οἱ περὶ τὸν δαίνα ἄρχοντες*; and it seems clear that in these cases the two are mentioned because they were persons of special rank, and their office was a distinction to the city, and the gymnasiarchate gathered additional glory from having been held in years when Julia and Tyrronius were in office.

Nicias was priest of an empress who was identified with the Great Goddess under the title Eubosia, the giver of good pasturage¹ and good crops. Franz and Waddington, after Cavedoni, point out that the ear of corn and the poppies accompanying the head of Agrippina on coins of Akmonia imply the identification of that empress with the Great Goddess: hence they conclude that Sebaste Eubosia was Agrippina. But this inscription cannot possibly be so early as the time of Agrippina; and it is most improbable that her *cultus* would be continued after her death. Moreover the busts of Poppaea on Akmonian coins are accompanied with ears of corn and grapes, a representation which is remarkably suitable to the Great Goddess at Akmonia (see no. 548). It is possible that a cultus founded in honour of Agrippina was afterwards turned into a compliment to Poppaea², each empress being represented with the attributes of the Great Goddess; but probably the cultus was founded for Poppaea, and it would not survive her death in A.D. 65 except among a people where Jewish influence was strong: now Nicias and all the others were probably Jews (no. 559). See p. 651.

In other cases the name selected by a Jew was suggested by the meaning of his name in Hebrew: so Solomon *Εἰρηνοποιός* CIG 9897; and M. Renan conjectured that Dulciorella in the inscr. of Narbonne (Le Blant II 621) was the Latin equivalent of Noëmi. See p. 651.

531. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858 *δ*, and (rightly) Wadd. 758³. Ἀγ. Τ. Τ. Φλ. Πρεῖσκον Οὐβιανὸν τὸν ἀ(ρ)χιερέα καὶ κτίστην καὶ

¹ λιμοῦ δὲ γενομένου συνελθόντες οἱ ποιμένες ἔθνον εὐβοσίαν γενέσθαι Steph. s. v. Ἀζανοί quoting Hermogenes.

² Similarly, if Mionnet can be trusted, the Akmonians celebrated both Agrippina and afterwards Poppaea as ΘΕΑΝ

· ΡΩΜΗΝ, representing Roma on their coins with the features of each empress in succession.

³ Wadd., however, has APXIEPEA, but the stone has AIX.

προστάτην τῆς πόλεως ἡ πατρίς· τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένης φυλῆς Ἀσκληπιάδος· ἐπιμεληθέντος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Λευκιλίου. See no. 532.

532. Devrent-Keui. S. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1890 p. 66 from copy of General Callier. The text is similar, but the tribe is [Ἀρ]τ[ε]μ[ι]σ[ι]άδος, and the *epimeletes* is different (either [Ἀ]ολλί[ου] or [Ἀ]ολλί[ανου]).

This inscription should be compared with the following legends on coins (all in Br. Mus.).

ΕΠ · ΦΛ · ΠΡΙΣΚΟΥ · ΓΡ · ΥΟ · ΑCΙΑΡ · ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ (Julia Domna).

ΕΠΙ · ΦΛ · ΠΡΙΣΚΟΥ · ΥΟ · ΑCΙΑ · ΓΡ · ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ (Caracalla).

ΕΠΙ · ΦΛΑ · ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΥ · ΝΕ · ΓΡΑ · ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ (Caracalla¹).

Another coin in Mionnet reads

ΕΠΙ · ΦΛ · ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΥ · ΝΕ · ΓΡ · ΥΟΥ · ΑCΙΑΡΧ · ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ (Severus).

Flavius Priscus the younger was Secretary at Akmonia not later than 210-1. His father, who bore the same name as he², had been Asiarch, and was probably the person mentioned in this inscription; but the inscription was engraved before Priscus became Asiarch, while he was High-priest at Akmonia. It is hardly allowable in an inscription to suppose that the word Ἀσίας has been omitted either accidentally or intentionally after ἀρχιερέα. The inscription, then, dates not later than about A.D. 180. In an inscr. of that date we should expect the form Λουκίλιος, instead of Λευκίλιος (see no. 290).

533. Islam-Keui³. CIG 3874. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ.] κ[α]ὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτέλειον Κλαύδιον Θεμισταγόρον [υἱ]ὸν Κυρεῖνα Ἀσκληπι[ά]δην, υἱὸν τῆς πόλ[ε]ως, [ἄνδρα? ἐκ πρ]ο[γ]όνων ἐν[ε]ργ[ε]τικὸς τῇ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, π[ρ]ο[ε]σβε[ύ]σαντα? πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστόν?]

The Roman traders undoubtedly resided either at the market-town of Susuz-Keui or in Akmonia, and not at the insignificant Alia. See Ch. XI § 17. υἱὸς πόλεως, a title of honour.

¹ Mionnet no. 36 reads ΝΕΓΡ · Α, and assigns to Elagabalus; but Mr. Head considers that the bust on the obverse represents Caracalla.

² The son would not be called νίος (which is practically equivalent to δῖς), unless the father had borne the same name: on the sense of νίος see Mr. Wroth's careful note in *Br. Mus. Catal. Coins of Aeolis* p. 130. Waddington

Voy. Num. p. 8 interprets ΝΕΟ as νεοκόρου (as Marx does in the case of an Elaeian coin, commented on by Wroth l. c.).

³ Seetzen says it comes from Oturak-tchai, i.e. the river that flows from Oturak. The river is usually called Hammam-Su: it joins the Banaz-tchai near Islam-Keui; and 3875, 3876 belong to Islam-Keui (see no. 525).

534. Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858 e, LW 755. [Ἀ? Σα]λοῦιον¹ Ἰέρ[ωνο]ς υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα [Μ]οντανόν, δις ἑπα[ρ]χ[ο]ν τεχνειτῶν, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας, Σεβαστοφάντην, καὶ [ἀ]γνωσθέντην διὰ [β]ίου, ἣ τῶν γυαφίων συνεργασία τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην.

The inscription is older than the foundation of the second temple of the provincial cultus in Ephesos, which took place under Antoninus Pius. L. Salvius Montanos had been promoted to Roman citizenship. His father had no *praenomen*. Montanos was a common Phrygian name.

In an Ancyran inscription published by M. Perrot *Explor. Archéol. de la Galatie* I p. 232, M. Papirius Montanos, High-priest (i.e. of the imperial cultus), must evidently be taken as husband of Claudia Sabina Sebastophantis who is mentioned next to him. This conjecture becomes almost a certainty by comparison of a Pessinuntine inscription published by Perrot l.c. p. 214, where we read ἀρχιε[ρέ]ως τοῦ κοιν[ο]ῦ Γαλα[τῶν], Σεβαστοφάντ[ου], ἀγνω[σ]θέντου: here we find an example of the custom of cumulating titles, of which one implies the other. Montanos must have been Sebastophantes, since his wife was Sebastophantis, but the second title was not added, and may be taken as regularly accompanying the office of Archiereus of the Emperors. But in the Pessinuntine inscription, which is more elaborate in the titles, the person honoured is styled both Archiereus and Sebastophantes. We may therefore conclude that Montanos was priest or high-priest in the cultus of the Emperors at Akmonia, as well as high-priest of Asia (*flamen Augusti* in Latin): cp. no. 531. The γυαφίων συνεργασία, BCH 1895 p. 557 no. 3².

535. (R. 1881). Fountain east of Ushak near Devrent-Keui. Wadd. 1677³. Σύμ[μα]χον, Συμ[μά]χου υἱόν, τὸν [ρήτ]ορα καὶ πρῶτον [ἐν] τῇ πόλει, λογισ[τῇ]ν βουλῆς τε καὶ γερ[ου]σίας, ἀδελφὸν [Λολ]λίου Δημητρίου, [τοῦ] τῆς ἀρίστης μνημ[ή]ς ἀξιου. Λόλλι[ος] Λολλι[?]ανὸς ὁ κράτισ[τος] ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸν θεῖον.

This fountain is nearer Trajanopolis than Akmonia; but many stones are carried from Ahat-Keui along the road past the fountain to Ushak; and the occurrence of the name Symmachos in no. 530 and Λόλλιος in no. 532⁴ gives a reason (though uncertain) for classing this inscription to Akmonia.

On the title λογιστῆς see Ch. X § 6. Here probably the title is equivalent to 'auditor of the two bodies in the city which control the finances.'

If we could identify the elder Symmachus in this inser. and in no.

¹ [Φου]λοῦιον in CIG seems too long. of one line after υἱὸν τόν.

² Brought from Akmonia (no. 616).

⁴ But Λόλλιος at Temenothyrai no.

³ Waddington wrongly supposes a loss 519.

530, the date would be about A.D. 100; but this inscr. seems to be decidedly later than that. Moreover the *stemma* which would result from the identification shows an utter lack of family similarity of names.

536. Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858 c, Wadd. 756. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν [Μ]αρκίαν Σεκούνδιλλαν θυγατέρα Μ[αρ]κίου¹ [Τ]ίλωνος² στεφανηφόρου, καὶ γυναῖκα Τ. Γ. Ἀντωνιανοῦ [γρ]α[μμα]τ[έ]ως τῆς π[ρ]ό[φ]εως κτλ.

On the Stephanephoros see pp. 56 f., 103.

537. (R. 1881 in part). Two separate fragments, (a) in CIG 3858 m and (b) 3861 d³. Τ. Φλ. Λαρ[τ]ίδιος || Συγκλη[τ]ικὸς κ[αὶ] Τ. [Φλ.] Δι[ο]γε[ν]ια||νὸς Συγκλη[τ]ικὸς [Ιερ]έ[?]ω[ς] [υἱ]οί[?]

This inscription can hardly be later than the beginning of the second century. At that time it would be impossible to suppose that these two natives of Akmonia belonged to a Roman senatorial family; and Συγκλη[τ]ικὸς must therefore be a personal name (cp. no. 392). The name Lartidius may have been adopted in Akmonia from S. Lartidius, *legatus pr. pr.* of C. Asinius Gallus proconsul 6-5 B.C. C. Lartidius Niger was *proc. Aug.* at Apollonis Lyd., 43-6 A.D., BCH 1887 p. 84.

538. (R. 1888) and 539 (R. 1881): Susuz-Keui: in long lines on two fragments of entablature: the second badly in CIG 3861 c. First line [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Οὐεσπασιανῶ καὶ Τίτῳ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Δομιτιανῶ⁴. Second [ἡ] θυγάτηρ Ρούφιλλα ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως Μάρκου Κλωδίου Ποστούμου τοῦ πατρὸς⁵ τὸ πρόπυλον ἐπὶ τῆς [ἀγορ]ᾶς. Third κα[τ]α[σ]κευάσας⁶ ἀποκαθέστησεν.

The dedicatory inscription of a public building in Keramon-Agora.

540. (R. 1881). Fountain E. of Susuz-Keui: entablature fragment. First line πατρὶ πατρίδος καί. Second [ἡ] θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ [Ρούφιλλα]. This is probably to be restored as another dedication by Rufilla to one of the Flavian emperors, perhaps Vespasian and [Titus].

¹ Le Bas's copy has ΜΙΚΙΟΥ, but the daughter's name assures the correction.

² CIG [Φ]ίλ[ω]νος, Wadd. Τίλ[ω]νος, prob. [Τ]ίλωνος or [Γ]ίλ[ω]νος would be better (Latin Gillo).

³ Fragment (a) found at Ahat-Keui contains the first half of each line, (b) in a wall at Susuz-Keui contains the ends of the lines. The distinction be-

tween the fragments is marked |, and between the lines ||.

⁴ Δομιτιανῶ is erased, but legible (it was not read by Hamilton).

⁵ Hamilton reads Ποστούμου, ΠΑΤΕ for ΠΑΤΡ, and puts the rest in a third line beginning ΟΣ.

⁶ This seems to be an error of engraver for -άσας ἀποκ.

of actors, οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, was united¹. The title is here given to the chief god of the city (probably under Pergamenian influence): see no. 543.

At Thyatira we find τὸν ἐκ πατέρων διὰ βίου ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου BCH 1887 p. 102.

At Baris of Pisidia Καθη[γ]εμόνα Ἑρμῆν Sterrett E. J. no. 91².

At Herakleia of Caria τοῦ Προκαθηγεμόνος Ἰρακλέους (Kubitschek and Reichel *Wien. Akad. Anzeiger* 16 Nov. 1893 p. 12 in reprint).

The title προηγεμένων figures in the account of the Phrygian Mysteries given by Demosthenes³. It was borne by the leader in the celebration. As borne by the god, it designates him as the revealer of his own worship and the first celebrant of the Mysteries.

547. (R. 1881, 1888). CIG 3858^f and Wadd. 768, very differently⁴. Διονύσῳ κὲ Αὔρ. Κάλισαρι Μ. Αὔρ. Σεου]ήρῳ Ἀλεξάνδρ. κὲ [τῷ σύμπ]αντι οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ Εὐ[.] κατοικίᾳ ᾧ. Αὐρ. Πολυννε]ῖκης Πολυννε]ῖκους ἱερέως τὸν βωμὸν σὺν [τοῖς περιφ]ερομένοις κίουσιν καὶ κόσ[μῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰ]δίῳιν ἐπήυσεν.

It is very common to associate the worship of the emperor with the cultus of the patron god of the city.

548. (R. 1881). Emiraz. Unintelligible in CIG 3860 *i* and Wadd. 767. ὁ Φοῖβος [κα]ὶ ἡ Σώ[τει]ρα θεὰ ΜΝΗΤΙΑ. Μάρκος Μηνοφά[ν]του [ἀ]νέ[θη]κεν ὑπὲρ Τερτίου [υἱοῦ]?

The inscription is difficult, and has suffered since the time when Le Bas copied it: Τερτίου was almost the only word legible to him, but in 1881 that part of the stone was broken away completely. Perhaps one or two letters are lost after θεὰ at the end of the line. There is a strong punctuation on the stone after ΜΝΗΤΙΑ, and these letters must be part or the whole of an epithet of the goddess. The persistence of T before I shows that the epithet is not a strict Greek word, but a local form (perhaps ἸΑμνη(σ)ία cp. *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 77, 278 n., 312, or Ἰμνη(σ)ία).

Over the inscription is a relief, now much defaced. A quaint female half-figure, of which the body is oval, rests or stands on a low altar; a vine-branch projects from the side of the altar, and a bunch of grapes hangs from the extremity of the branch; between the altar and the inscription is a long-handled axe (not bipennis) with a ring at the end. The

¹ BCH 1880 p. 170.

Assoc. Relig. p. 114.

² A correction of the published text is needed.

⁴ Among other differences, a whole line is omitted.

³ *de Cor.* 259-60. See M. Foucart

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epithet Σώτειρα, which occurs also at Apameia (p. 435), is best known at Cyzicos, where an ἱερεὺς τῆς Σωτήρας Κόρης τὸ β' καὶ ἐξηγητὴς τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων τῆς Σωτήρας Κόρης is mentioned BCH 1890 p. 537.

549. (R. 1887). Ahat-Keui, on two ornate stones of a *heroön*: the name of the deceased must have been on a third stone which probably contained an honorary inscription. Each separate entry is engraved within and around a crown. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 261.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος δεκαπρωτεύσαντα. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος χρεοφυλακήσαντα. νέοι καὶ ὑμνωδοὶ ἀργυροταμίαν γενόμενον.	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀγορανόμον. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος στρατηγόν. ἡ γερονσία τὰ ζυγοστάσια πρὸς τῷ μακέλλῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποιήσαντα.
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On Dekaprotai see p. 63, on the Recorder Ch. X § 5 and no. 197, on Argyrotamias XI § 23 (3), on Strategos pp. 67 ff, no. 290, 472.

The Hymnodoi are evidently an association of some kind; and they united with the Neoi in honouring the deceased on account of his action while acting as Argyrotamias. Hymnodoi are frequently mentioned; and both their name and the general character of the references show clearly that they originally had duties of a religious character, connected with the special religion of the city¹. When the worship of the Emperors was instituted in Asian cities, it was modelled after the ancient religious institutions of the country, and thus bodies of Hymnodoi formed part of the cultus at Pergamos (Fränkel II no. 374), Ephesos (Hicks no. 604, and 481 ll. 192, 328, 371²), and Smyrna (CIG 3170, 3148). The reason why Neoi and Hymnodoi honoured the Argyrotamias must have lain in his official services to them. Comparing the hypothesis about his office which we have adopted from M. Paris (Ch. XI § 23, 3), we may infer that he managed land, from the rent of which a certain annual sum was due to these bodies.

Single Hymnodoi are mentioned CIG 3160, 3348 (Smyrna), *Ath. Mitth.* II p. 57 (Teira), BCH II p. 614 (Cibyra), Hicks no. 604 (Ephesos);

¹ As is clear in such expressions ὑμνωδὸς τῆς ἀγιωτάτης Ἀρτέμιδος *Ath. Mitth.* II p. 57 (Teira).

² Θεσμοφδοὶ in ll. 328, 371, which sug-

gests to Mr. Hicks the view that this title was appropriated to the imperial Hymnodoi, for the sake of distinction from those of Artemis.

but the fact that in CIG 3170 the Hymnodos makes a dedication to his *Synhymnodoi* shows that in all cases we may safely understand members of a body. A body of Hymnodoi is implied in Hicks no. 481, CIG 3148, 3170, 3201, Fränkel no. 374, *Mous. Smyrn.* no. 187 (where the Neoi and the Hymnodoi are associated).

Macellon here evidently denotes the provision market, Latin *macellum*. Beside it the person honoured by the Gerousia erected at his own expense the *Zygostasia*, probably a device for the regulation and testing of weights. The rare word *Zygostasion* is explained by the reference in *Col. Justin.* 11, 27, 1 in *aestimatione frumenti quod ad civitatem Alexandrinam convehitur, quidquid de crithologia et zygostasii munere Eminētia tua disposuit*. An official connected with it, *ζυγοστάτης*, is mentioned *ib.* 10, 71, 2. A *Zygostasion* at Apollonia *ad Rhynū*. CIG 3705, where a part of a street is defined ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ. μέχρι τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως.

The reason why the Gerousia connected itself with this particular act of the deceased person may have been that he was a Gerousiast, when he made the *Zygostasion*.

550. (R. 1888). Oghuz-Keui: architrave fragment: first line [πατρὶ] πατρίδος, καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ τε ξ[ν]: second Ἰουλίαι Σ[εο]νήραι ἀρχιερεῖαι καὶ ἀγωνοθέτ[ιδι].

In no. 551 we have an exact parallel to this fragment.

551. At a Mill between Susuz-Keui and Ahat-Keui, CIG 3860 c Wadd. 752¹. First line [τοῦ] κόσμου τοῦ τε ξ[ν]: second [Σε]ρουνηλαί Κορνοῦται καὶ ἀ[ρ]χ[ιερεῖαι]. See no. 552-560.

552-558. (R. 1883). There was in Akmonia a *heroon* in honour of a distinguished man, doubtless a citizen of Akmonia, who had had a career of some distinction in the Roman service. Several different inscriptions were engraved on this monument. Most of them are small fragments unintelligible by themselves; but they are explained by, and help to complete a stone in the cemetery at Shabban, 3 miles NE from Ahat-Keui. [ἡ Ἀκμων]ῆ[ων πόλις? ἐτέμνησεν Λούκι]ον Σερουήνιον Λο[υκίου υἱὸν Αἰμ]ιλία Κορνοῦτον, δέ[κανδρον ἐπ]ὶ τῶν κληρονομικῶν δικα[στηρίων, τ]αμίαν δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐπα[ρχείας] Κύπρου, ἀγορανόμον, στρατηγ[όν], πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγ[ον] Μάρκῳ Ἀπωνίῳ Σατουρνείῳ Ἀσ[τ]ίας ἐπαρχείας, τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐεργέτ[ην].

The fragments 2 Wadd. 751 (R. 1881), 3 Wadd. 750, 4 Susuz-Keui (Sterrett 1883), 5 Wadd. 765, CIG 3860 k 7², relate to the same person.

¹ Le Bas gives a adscript, but Hamilton omits them: Le Bas has AIA, Hamilton AIX.

² The copy is very bad, and desperate.

They are put together in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* I p. 146. The most important is (1) on a piece of the entablature of the heroön, parts of two lines whose length must have been very great: [δέκανδρον ἐπὶ τῶν κληρονομικῶν δικαστηρίων, ταμίαν δήμοῦ κτλ.], and [οἱ γον?]εῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἥρῳον κατεσκευάσαν¹. This shows the character of the monument: it was a *heroön*, probably in the form of a small temple, with a long inscription in two lines running round the entablature, and with other inscriptions in the walls. (2) is probably complementary of (1) if we can assume that the letters of the upper line in it are a little larger than those of the lower line (though Le Bas does not notice the difference): assuming this we may restore [. . . Αἰμιλία Κορνοῦτον, δέκανδρον] κτλ. as in (2)], and [ζήσ]αντά² [τε κοσμίως καὶ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δημωφελῶς, οἱ γον?]εῖς αὐτοῦ κτλ. as in (2). (5) is part of an inscription in three or more lines; and it contains [δήμου Ῥωμαίων] ἐπαρχείας Κύπρου] and [—]ατοι Κορνοῦ[τον]³ with some other badly copied letters.

With these six fragments, we must probably take 558 (R. 1881) CIG 3858 ἡ τὸ κοινὸν Γαλατῶν⁴. It is remarkable that the *Koinon* of the province Galatia should place a decree in Akmonia; but this is explained by the fact that the family of Servenius Cornutus was connected with Ancyra in Galatia as well as with Akmonia. An Ancyran inscription has [τὴν ἐκ βασιλείων [Σε]ρουνηλίαν Κορνοῦ]ραν Κορνηλίαν Καλπ[ορ]υ[ία]ν Οὐαλε[ρ]ίαν [Σ]εκ[ο]ῦνδαν Κοτίαν Πρόκιλλαν . . . ρλίαν Λουκοῦλλαν⁵. As Mordtmann rightly remarks, the occurrence of this very rare name Servenius at Akmonia and Ancyra shows that the same family was connected with both cities; and he therefore infers that Servenia Cornuta and Servenius Capito of Akmonia were relatives of Servenia Cornuta at Ancyra. Thus it becomes explicable that the *Koinon* of Galatia honoured L. Servenius Cornutus in a decree which was engraved on his splendid monument in Akmonia, in the same way as it honoured two Galatian ladies at Ephesos, *Br. Mus.* no. 558.

In no. 550, 551, Servenia Cornuta and Julia Severa seem to be placed in some sort of parallel with each other, and we find other evidence of a close connexion between the two families.

Servenia Cornuta of Ancyra was descended from kings, and therefore her family must have claimed regal descent. Mordtmann understands, following Franz and Waddington, that she was sprung from the old

¹ These restorations differ much from Waddington's.

² This seems preferable to στρατηγ]ήσαντά τε on account of (2); the τε seems assured by the copy, though the letters are imperfect.

³ Probably miscopied.

⁴ It is the beginning of an inscription.

⁵ A. D. Mordtmann *Monumenta Ancyrana* p. 18, better Domaszewski *AEMit.* 1885 p. 129. Compare p. 651 n., 674 n.

Galatian kings; but an examination of the whole circumstances must, I think, lead to a very different conclusion. The phrase τὰς ἐκ βασιλέων is analogous to the following: ΤΙ. Σεουήρον¹ βασιλέων καὶ τετραρχῶν ἀπόγονον CIG 4033 and Καρακυλαίαν² ἀρχιέρεϊαν, ἀπόγονον βασιλέων, γυναικα Ἰουλίου Σεουήρου CIG 4030. Here are two other families of royal descent, which intermarry. Further ΤΙ. Severus, who is mentioned in CIG 4033, 4034, at Ancyra, is said by Aristides to belong to Upper Phrygia³; and, as a family bearing the name Julius Severus was prominent at Akmonia, we may adopt the hypothesis that this ΤΙ. Julius Severus belonged to that family. Thus we find that two families of royal descent are connected with Akmonia, members of both play a prominent part in Asia, and also have a distinguished career in the Roman service, both have also some connexion with Galatia.

Further we find that these two families intermarried. Servenius Capito and Julia Severa are mentioned together on a great number of Akmonian coins of Nero, Agrippina, and Poppaea. The legend generally is ΕΠΙ · ΚΕΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΥ · ΚΑΠΙΤΩΝΟΣ · ΚΑΙ · ΙΟΥΛΙΑΣ · ΚΕΟΥΗΡΑΣ. The conjunction of a man's name with a woman's in this public way on coins must imply that they were married, a rich and noble pair who behaved very generously to the state. One coin of Agrippina reads ΑΡΧ · ΤΟ · Γ, and it is quite inconsistent with ancient feeling to suppose that a man and a woman were elected together three times and conjoined on many public documents, if they were not married (see no. 530).

Thus we find that the three families of royal descent in Ancyra and Akmonia intermarried; and this seems to imply among them great exclusiveness and separation from the ordinary citizens. We do not find in ancient life as a rule such a spirit of exclusiveness; but the explanation of the unusual character of these families was furnished by the following inscription.

559. (R. 1888). Erjish. τὸν κατασκευασθέντα οἶκον ὑπ[ὸ] Ἰουλίᾳ Σεουήρας. Γ. Τυρρώνιος Κλάδος ὁ διὰ βίου ἀρχι[συν]άγωγος καὶ Λούκιος Λουκ[ί]ος ——— | καὶ Ποπίλιος⁴ ——— κατεσ[κεύ]ασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων | κατὰ θεμε[λί]ων⁴ τοὺς κίονας καὶ τοὺς τοί[χους]⁵ καὶ

¹ As Waddington observed, the gentile name Ἰούλιος is omitted. Domaszewski reads Π for ΤΙ., l. c. p. 118.

² Mordtmann rightly takes this as an error in Tournefort's copy: he suggests Κορ. Ἀκυλλίαν or Κλ. Ἀκυλλίαν.

³ Σεβήρος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνωθεν Φρυγίας Arist. I p. 505 (Dind.).

⁴ A column supporting the roof of

the outer verandah of a house, stands on the inscription and conceals a considerable part of it. The engraving is rather coarse and careless: the stone has Ν for ΛΙ in θεμε[λί]ων and Ι for Ρ in π[ρ]ῶς: it is therefore highly probable that in line 5 Πόπλιος should be read for Ποπίλιος.

⁵ The restoration is rather long:

τὴν ὁροφὴν, καὶ ἐποίησαν τὴν τῶν θυρίδων ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὸν λυπὸν πάντα κόσμον· οὕστινας καὶ ἡ συναγωγὴ ἐτείμησεν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρῦσφ διὰ τε τὴν ἐνάρετον αὐτῶν [βί]ωσιν καὶ τὴν π[ρ]ὸς¹ τὴν συναγωγὴν εὐνοιάν τε καὶ σπουδὴν. βίωσις seems to be used only by Jewish and Chr. writers (e. g. Paul in *Acts* XXVI 4 with Blass and Wetstein's notes, *Steph. Thes.*): classical writers use βίος in this sense.

The date of this inscription is fixed about A.D. 60–80 by the reference to Julia Severa. She and her husband Capito were archons for the third time under Agrippina, i.e. not later than A.D. 59, and they were in office when coins of Poppaea Augusta² were struck, i.e. not earlier than 63.

It is obvious that Julia Severa was a Jewess, who ranked as leader in the Synagogue, like another Jewess Rufina in Smyrna³. The use of the title is probably purely honorary, as M. S. Reinach remarks, indicating not actual office, but merely dignity and influence.

It may be inferred that all the persons mentioned in this inscription are Jews; and this discovery enables us to identify many other Jews in the Phrygian cities. The strange name Tyrronius (of which I find few instances⁴ except in the two neighbouring towns Akmonia and Sebaste) may be in all cases taken as Jewish: and thus we find Jews filling high municipal positions in Akmonia (no. 530) and in Sebaste (no. 478). To follow out this clue is a matter of speculation and uncertainty, where each step is more slippery than the preceding one; but it seems worth while to put together some speculations in the hope of arousing criticism, and eliciting new evidence for or against.

The Akmonian and Ancyran families of Julius Severus and Servenius Cornutus were also Jewish; and of course Kar. Akyllia, wife of Julius Severus, was a Jewess. Incidentally we notice from the inscriptions relating to members of these families that they held priesthoods in the cultus of the Emperors; but it was, doubtless, compulsory on those who wished to engage in the imperial service that they should freely accept the forms of that cultus, for it would have been a mark of disloyalty disqualifying an officer to refuse to participate in the established forms. This marks a very significant difference from the old Jewish spirit, and shows that the circumstances amid which the Phrygian Jews lived had

perhaps [τοὺς λευκολίθους τοί]χους. An elaborate account of a building occurs at Aphrodisias, see Kubitschek and Reichel *Wien. Akad. Anz.* 16 Nov. 1893 p. 10 of reprint.

¹ See p. 649, n. 4.

² Coins of ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ·ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ struck ΕΠΙ·ΣΕΡΟΥΗΝΙΟΥ·ΚΑΠΙ-

ΤΩΝΟΕ·ΚΑΙ·ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕ·ΣΕΟΥ-ΗΡΑΕ are published by Waddington *Voyage Numism.* p. 6, and L. Meyer *Zft. f. Numism.* I p. 336.

³ S. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Juives* VII p. 161.

⁴ Once at Iconium, *Inscr. Olymp.* no. 237. A Latin name Turranius occurs.

affected them greatly: there can be no doubt that they had identified their interests with those of their new country, and had become as completely Romans or Asians as persons of Jewish descent in England now reckon themselves English, and in France French. Prof. E. Schürer has pointed out into what strange forms the Jewish customs had degenerated in Thyatira; and we need not wonder that the Akmonian Jews became magistrates, and agonothetai, and high-priests of the Imperial cultus.

Further, when we see that in no. 530, the allusion to Julia and Tyrronius is dragged in, the suspicion rises that Nicias Lucius was also a Jew: that, of course, does not necessarily follow, but he would be more naturally proud of being in office along with them if he also was a Jew: He acted as priest of Imperial Fertility, i. e. Poppaea; but if there were any Empress to whom the Jews were likely to pay extravagant honours, it was Poppaea; and probably the cultus of Poppaea would have been established in the city, and maintained for years after her death by none except Jews. It is characteristic of Jewish adaptability that Nicias Lucius had a Latin name to use among Romans (though not a Roman citizen) and a Greek name to use among Greeks¹. The jingle of Nicias-Lucius probably recommended these names: pp. 637 f, 640.

Servenius Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia Procilla Lucilla of Ancyra shows the great variety of Roman names which had come into use in her family²; and, as Mordtmann points out, a Cornelia Secunda appears as high-priestess at Thyatira CIG 3495; and Schürer has emphasized the strong Jewish element in Thyatira, see p. 672.

Probably Latinia Cleopatra³, whose father Latinus Alexander took prominent part in the rejoicings when Hadrian passed through Ancyra in 130, was also a Jewess. Alexander was a name favoured by Jews (no. 461); and her cousin bore the name Valerius (which appears also in the family of Servenius Cornutus), and had attained senatorial rank in Rome (also consular rank, if our restoration is correct).

560. Ahat-Keui. CIG 3860 f, Wadd. 764. Γ. Ἰούλι[ος Σ]ευήρος, Ἀρτε[μίδ]ωρον υἱός. As Waddington remarks, this person probably belongs to the same family as Julia Severa no. 559, 530.

561. (R. 1887). Kaili. ὑπὲρ εὐχῇ πάση τῇ πατρὶδι: over a seven-branched candlestick. The meaning of this interesting inscription is

¹ Among his own people he would doubtless bear a third alternative name.

² Text quoted on no. 559.

³ τὴν ἐκ βασιλέων Λατεινίαν Κλεοπάτραν, θυγατέρα Λατεινίου Ἀλεξάνδρου β' ἀρχιερέως, [ἀνεψι?] ἀν' Οὐαλερίου [—] τοῦ λαμ-

πρωτάτου [ὑπατικοῦ?, ἀλείψαντος δι'] δλου ἔτους εἰ[ν] . . . Ἀδριανοῦ [παρ]όδῳ: Mordtmann omits β' in his transcription *Marm. Ancyra* p. 16, our sole authority for the text.

uncertain; its extent is doubtful; and incorrect grammar or bad engraving has caused the omission of the final letter of εὐχῆς. Perhaps the intention was to connect πάση[s] with εὐχῆ[s].

It is peculiarly unfortunate that the inscription is mutilated, as it is certainly Jewish. Below the word πατρίδι is indicated in incised lines the seven-branched candlestick; and, as M. Le Blant no. 621 recognizes, this symbol is an infallible criterion¹ (cp. Th. Reinach *Rev. Ét. Ju.* 1893 on *inscr. J. de Const.*).

It is clear, even though the text is mutilated, that the Jewish author intended to designate Akmonia as his fatherland. Even in the earlier years of the first century Philo mentions that the Jews of the Diaspora regarded Jerusalem as their *metropolis*, and the city to which they belonged as their *patria*².

562 (R. 1881). Aghar-Hissar. ἔτους τμβ'. Αὐ[ρ]. 'Αλέξανδ[ρος] 'Ιουδαῖος ζ[ω]ν κατεσκεύ[ασε] τὸ μνη[μ]ιον.

This inscr. is included here as it brings out the existence of Jewish settlers in the valley of Akmonia and Diokleia, though strictly it belongs to the latter city.

563. (R. 1883). Yenije. [ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον σῶμα εἰσευέγκῃ, ἔσ]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψίστον, καὶ τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ὕκον αὐτοῦ [εἰσέλ-
θοιτο καὶ μηδέναν ἐνκαταλείψαιτο]: on the restoration see no. 466. Middle forms often occur in Phrygia, λίποιτο, τύχοιτο, ἐντύχοιτο, περιπέσοιτο, no. 94, 522, 527, *Philologus* N.F. I p. 755, *Zft. f. vgl. Sprachf.* N.F. VIII p. 389.

The formula θεὸς ὑψίστος has been alluded to on p. 33, and its Semitic origin has there been suggested. A Semitic formula is likely to develop in a Jewish direction, and a Jewish inscription of Athribis in Egypt contains a dedication θεῷ ὑψίστῳ on behalf of king Ptolemy and queen

¹ M. Le Blant mentions the vicissitudes of the original golden candlestick: it adorned the triumph, was deposited in the temple of Peace, and was afterwards saved when the temple was burnt. The candlestick was captured by Alaric (Procop. *de bell. Goth.* 1, 12), and was said to have been taken to Carcassonne. but it was captured by Genseric in Rome (Theophan. p. 109), and re-captured by Belisarius in Africa who took it to Constantinople; finally Justinian

fearing that it might bring ill-fortune sent it to Jerusalem (Procop. *de bell. Vand.* II 9 Theophan. pp. 199 f).

² μητρόπολιν μὲν τὴν Ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἱδρυταὶ ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος, ἃς δ' ἔλαχον ἐκ πατέρων καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἐτι ἄνω προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι, πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτρέφθησαν· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ κτισομένας εὐθὺς ἡλθον ἀποικίαν στείλαμενοι, τοῖς κτίσταις χαρίζόμενοι. Philo in *Flaccum* § 7 (Mang. II 524).

Cleopatra (S. Reinach BCH 1889 p. 179), where *θεὸς ὑψιστος* undoubtedly is Jehovah: see also no. 232 and 561 *note*.

In the present inscription there is every probability that we have a similar case. We have already seen that the formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* was not pagan, and that it was in many cases demonstrably Christian. In the present instance the form of the inscription does not suggest the Christian character. The curse is too marked and peculiar. I do not mean to imply that Christians could not or would not use a strong curse in such circumstances¹; but those formulae of curse, which we have as yet found reason to consider Christian, bear a different stamp from this, and our guide in this investigation must always be the presence in doubtful cases of the characteristics observed in cases where no doubt exists. Moreover we have not found the phrase *θεὸς ὑψιστος* in a Christian inscription; and though it is certainly an expression that might be Christian, it belongs rather to the class of things and terms which were Jewish first and Christian afterwards. The analogy of the Jewish inscription of Athribis and of no. 232 must therefore determine us to attribute the present inscription to the Jews of Akmonia (perhaps a Jewish Chr.).

If this be the case, it suggests that either the formula *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* was adopted by the Christians from the Jews, or that it arose among both simultaneously in the third century, which would suggest relations not wholly unfriendly between them.

564. Ushak. BCH 1893 p. 263. (A). *ἐγένετο ἔτους τκη'. Τ. Φλ. Ἀλέξανδρος ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Γαϊανῇ γυναικὶ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν μ. χ., βουλεύσας, ἄρξας, ζήσας καλῶς, μηδένα λοιπήσας. μετὰ δὲ τεθῆναι ἐμέ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν σύμβιον μου Γαϊανήν, εἴ τις ἀνύξη τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔσονται αὐτῷ κατάραι ὅσε ἀγγεγραμμένα ἐσὶν εἰς ὄρασι καὶ εἰς ὄλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τέκνα καὶ εἰς βίον: fine to tameion den. 500. (B). *εἰρηναρχία. σειτωνία. (C). βουλαρχία. ἀγορανομία. (D). στρατηγία. σειτωνία.**

The curses in this and the following inscr. connect them with the preceding, and distinguish them markedly from the usual Phrygian type. They may all arise through Jewish influence; see no. 563.

565. (R. 1881, 1883). Susuz-Keui. CIG 3861 differently. Ἀμμία Εὐτύχου Σαλιμάχῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἑαυτῇ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας προικὸς τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν· ἀρὰ δὲ ἔσται εἰς τέκνα τέκνων ἕτερον μὴ τεθῆναι ἢ τὸν ἰόν μου Εὐτύχην καὶ γυναικὶ (!) αὐτοῦ.

¹ See no. 435, 445. In Aphrodisias (whose name Ninöe, p. 188, points to eastern *katoikoi*) curses are strong.

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It is probable that, if the text is correct, we should read the names as given above (and not Εὐτυχοῦς 'Αλιμάχῳ). The husband's name seems to be either an engraver's error for (Κ)αλ(λ)ιμάχῳ or a degenerate form of that name.

566. (R. 1888). Γάιος [—] ζῶν κατ[εσκέυασεν — μετὰ δὲ τὸ] τοὺς δοίοι τεθῆναι δς ἂν ἀνοίξει ἢ καθελεῖ ἢ πολήσει (sic!) τὸ γουτάριον ἔσται αὐτῷ ἂρὰ ἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ τέκνα τέκνων. γούτος, Lat. *gultus*, is quoted by Stephanus from *Etym. Magn.* and *Etym. Gud.*; but γουτάριον does not seem to occur elsewhere. *Guttarium, canalis, stillicidium* (Ducange). γουττάρτον a cake sprinkled with drops of oil and honey.

567. (R. 1881, 1883). Susuz-Keui. CIG 3861 *b* differently. 'Αμμία Γαίῳ Οὐιβίῳ Κρίσπῳ καὶ Τύχῃ θρέψασι ζῶσι μ. χ.· μετὰ τὸ τοὺς δύο τεθῆναι δς ἂν ἀνορύξει σάρον σιδαροῦν τὸν [·]ικῶνα ξάναιτο καὶ τῷ συμβουλευσάντι.

568. (R. 1888). Ahat-Keui, on entablature of a heroön. [ἡ δεῖνα ἐαυτῇ? ζῶ]σα καὶ 'Αγαθόποδι τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ Σεκούνδῃ κτλ.

569. Akmonia. BCH 1893 p. 260. M. 'Αλασσηνὸς 'Ιούλιος to his wife [Φι?]λή[τη] Μελίτης.

Alassienos is evidently the *cognomen*, wrongly placed before the *nomen* by a Greek composer.

570. (R. 1888). Susuz-Keui. CIG 3860 differently. ['Απ]οδημὰς [Πρ]όκλῳ πατρὶ καὶ μ]ητρὶ Σεκούνδῃ ἐποίησεν μ. χ. καὶ Δαμᾷ ἀδελφῷ, ὅστις ἐξῆσεν ἔτη ν', καὶ τῷ υἱ[ῷ] αὐτοῦ Πλόκλῳ (sic!).

The name 'Αποδημιάς is unknown, but 'Αποδήμιος occurs CIG 1977 (Thessalonica), and Ammian. XIV 11.

571. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui. 'Αρτέμων 'Αρχετείμ[ῳ] πατρὶ? μ.] χ.

572. (R. 1881). Susuz-Keui. Aristainetos [to himself and to] Onesime his wife: fine to fiscus 500 den.

573. (R. 1888). Ahat-Keui. [ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ δεῖνα] υλωνος Αὐφιδία θυγατρὶ [προμοίρῳ? καὶ ἐαυτ]οῖς τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσ[κέυασεν].

574. (R. 1888). Susuz-Keui. Αὐφίδιος 'Ιρηναῖος(s) ἐαυτῷ ζῶν κατεσκέυασεν τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ [. . . .] πατρὶ γλυκυτάτῳ καὶ Κλαυδία Βάσση γλυκυτάτῃ γυναικί· μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι τὸν 'Ιρηναῖον εἴ τις ἕτερον θάψει νεκρὸν, τέκνων ἁώρων περιπέσοιτο συνφορᾷ.

On the concluding curse see no. 522.

574 *bis*. Akmonia. BCH 1893 p. 260. Αὐρ. Βασίλει[ος] 'Ολύνπου

βουλευτῆς Αὐρ. Ὀλύνπφ ἀδελφῶ καὶ Ἰουλιανῶ τεθερμμένφ μ. χ. The engraver has erred in τεθ[ρε]μμένφ.

575. (Sterrett 1883). Islam-Keui. Γάιος καὶ Εὐτυχία [τῷ νιῷ Ἐγλ?]έκτφ ἀώ[ρ]φ ταχυμύρφ [καὶ ἐ]αυ[τοῖς ζῶντες?] κατεσκεύασαν. ἔτους τδ'. Afterwards there was added a second inscription to another infant son, Εὐτυχία Σιλυῶνι ταχυμύρφ μ. χ. A.D. 219-220. See no. 528 *bis*.

The name Silyon occurs in *Anthol.* XI 32 (Σικυῶν Dübner). CΙΑΛΛΩΝ occurs on early coins of Akmonia. Eglektos and Eklektos both occur.

576. (Sterrett 1883). Susuz-Keui. [ἐξίσται] δὲ οὐδέ[να ξ]τερον θείναι ἢ ἐ[πιβο]υλεῦσαι· εἰ δ' οὖν εἰσσίσει εἰς τὸν φύσκον προστίμου [δην.] βφ'. τούτου ἀντελέγραφον ἐτέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

577. (R. 1887). Ahat-Keui. Βενοῦστα Λουκιανῆς ἑαυτῇ κατεσκεύασεν καὶ Ζήνωνι τῷ ἀνδρὶ μ. χ. The rendering of Latin V by β hardly began earlier than late second century, and was common in the third. The Emperor Severus is rendered Σεβήρος and Σευήρος, but more frequently Σεουήρος. Waddington in BCH 1882 p. 288 blames himself for having in his *Fastes* p. 180 no. 118 understood BET on a coin of Hyrkanoi in Lydia about A.D. 115 as standing for Vettius, and he recognizes that OYET would be the rendering at that period¹. In the third century we have ΒΩΤΑ on coins for *Vota*, ΒΙΒΙΟΣ, ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ see no. 517 and *Rev. Numism.* 1891 pp. 37, 244, Βενοῦστος Br. Mus. no. 635.

578. (R. 1888). Oghuz. Γλύκων Ἰθαγένους ἡγόρακεν complete.

579. (R. 1888). Susuz-Keui. [Γλύ]κων καὶ [Διο]νυσογένης [οἱ υἱ]οὶ Δήμαδο[ς κτλ.

580. Susuz-Keui. BCH 1893 p. 271. Δημήτριος Μάρκου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν καὶ Δαμῆ and wife Μαρκίᾳ.

581. (R. 1888). Ahat-Keui. Ἐρως Ἐρμου κατεσκεύασε ἐν τῷ προγονικοῖς ἑαυτῷ καὶ Λουκιανῇ συμβίῳ ζῶντες τὸ μνημεῖον. The spelling τῷ is curious: so is the grammar of the sentence.

582. Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858 k, Wadd. 763. Εὐπορος καὶ Ροῦφος Ἀλεξάνδρφ ἀδελφῶ μ. χ.

583. (R. 1887). Emiraz, E. of Ahat-Keui. CIG 3858 l, Wadd. 769.

¹ He corrects his reading to ΒΙΤ, i.e. 500 speak of Vettius as the proconsul Bittius: yet MM. Lechat and Radet in question. BCH 1888 pp 64 f, and Mr. Hicks no.

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Εὐτύχης πατρὶ καὶ μητρί. Waddington may be right in reading Πατρι-κίου]. The inscr. never was completed.

584. (R. 1887). Ahat-Keui. Ζωτικὸς Ζωτικοῦ Ζωτικῷ πατρὶ καὶ Χελειδόνι μητρί μ. χ.

585. (R. 1887). Ζωτικὴ μ. χ. Φίλιππε χαῖρε.

586. (R. 1881). Fountain between Emiraz and Ahat-Keui. Ζωτικῆς Εὐδόφ[ῃ] ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἑαυτῇ ζῶσα [—].

587. (R. 1888). Oghuz. Θύρσος Πελαγία γυνεὶ ἰδίᾳ μ. χ.

588. (R. 1887). Kaili. Καλβησία Τύχη Γαίῳ Μουσητίῳ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ [καὶ νύφῃ?] Εἰταλικῷ μ. χ.

589. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui. Ἔτους σξδ'. Γ. Κλ. Εὐσχήμων ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ Δόμνῃ κατεσκευάσεν. A.D. 179-180.

590. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui. This stone has since been taken to Ushak and built into a fountain, where MM. Legrand and Chamonard copied it in 1891, BCH 1893 p. 266 (where the copy differs in several respects).

A. Λούκιος γυν[α]ικὶ ἰδίᾳ σεμνοτάτῃ, γεννηθείσῃ ἔτους ρξα' (A.D. 77). ζήσασα γνησίως, ὑοὺς ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπολιποῦσ[α] τέσσαρας καὶ θυγατέρα, ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτους ρηγ' (A.D. 114).

B. Round the edge of the stone Τατία θυγ[ά]τηρ, καὶ — καὶ Ἀδεί-μαντος¹.

The syntax is bad. Probably the names of the five children were engraved round the main inscription; but only Tatia and (Adei)mantos remain.

591. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui. Λούκιος καὶ Τρύφων πατ[ρ]ὶ καὶ μη[τ]ρὶ μ. χ.

592. (Sterrett 1883). Susuz-Keui. Λούκιος Κα[ρ]ικοῦ Φίλου? μένῳ καὶ Ὀνησίμῳ μ. χ. εἴ τις βλάβῃ τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔξει τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς καὶ καταγαίους κεχολωμένους.

593. (R. 1887). Ahat-Keui. ἔτους τμδ'. Γράματι Μαρκιανῷ. A.D. 259-260.

Nothing more was ever engraved.

¹ BCH γυναικὶ Δίᾳ, ἐτελεύτησε, and edge of the stone (probably now de- omits also the list of children which is faced). engraved in small letters round the

594. (R. 1888). Gedikler. [ὁ δεῖνα ἑαυτῷ καὶ] Μαρκία γυναικὶ ζώσῃ] κατεσκεύασεν· μετὰ δὲ τὸ τεθῆναι αὐτοὺς εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσει ἕτερον θάψ[αι], θήσεται εἰς τὸ τ[α]μεῖον δην. ρφ'.

595. (R. 1881). Tunlu-Bunar¹: on a fragment of architrave broken right and left. [οἱ δεῖνες ὑπὲρ τῶν γονέων] Μαξίμου καὶ Ἀντωνίας Ὀλυμπιάδος [τὸ ἡρώων? ἐπ]οίησαν.

596. (R. 1888). Ahat-Keui: florid entablature of small heroön. Νωνίλλα Ῥούφου κατεσκεύασα τὸ μνημεῖον· ἐξὸν δὲ ἔστη τοῖς θρεπτοῖς μόνοις τεθῆναι. εἰ δὲ τις ἕτερον ἐπενβαλ[εῖ], θή[σ]εται εἰς τὸ [ταμεῖον δην.] ρφ'. The spelling ἔστη for ἔσται is strange.

597. (R. 1883). Susuz-Keui. CIG 3859 differently. ἔτει τζ'. Αὐρ. Ὀνήσιμος Ζωτικῇ [ζ]ῶν ἑαυτῷ [—]. A. D. 232-233. Ζωτικῇ seems to be genitive of Ζωτικῆς.

598. Akmonia. BCH 1893 p. 259. Οὐέλβιος Σμάραγδος to his wife Αὐρ. Σωτηρίδι ἔτει τέ' (A. D. 220-1). The name Smaragdus is restored CIG 3860 g.

599. (R. 1887). Ahat-Keui. [Πολύκλ?]ειτος Κόσμου Κλεοπάτρῃ ἀδελφῇ κατεσκεύασε μ. χ.

600. BCH 1893 p. 262. Ἀγ. Τ. Αὐρήλιος Τατιαν[ὸς] Μενεμάχου to his wife Κωνιτ[α]λλῃ. Brought from Ahat-Keui to Ushak.

601. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui: in large letters. ΤΕΡΤΥΛΛΑ.

602. (R. 1888). Oghuz. Τρόφιμος Ἀντιόχου ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ μ. χ.

603. (Sterrett 1883). Yenije. ἔτους τλα'. Αὐρήλιοι Τρόφιμος Εἰλανονάρου καὶ Εἰλαρινῆν γλυκυτάτους γόνις τὰ τέκνα Τρόφιμος καὶ Εἰλανονάριος καὶ Ζωτικῆς καὶ Ζωτικὸς ἐτίμιζαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοὺς μ. χ. A. D. 246-247.

This most ungrammatical epitaph probably means that the four children honoured their parents Aur. Trophimos and Aur. Eiarine.

¹ Tunlu-Bunar is far from Akmonia; the district people who wanted good building-stones went to Ahat-Keui for them. See no. 619.

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604. (Sterrett 1883). Emiraz. Αὐρ. Τελέσφορος β' Τελεσφόρῳ [πατρὶ καὶ —] μητρὶ καὶ Αὐρ. ἀδελφῶ [καὶ —] λη γλυκυτάτοις μ. χ.

605. (R. 1887: Sterrett 1883). Emiraz. Αὐρ.] Φιλόδ[η]μος Ἀντω[νεί]-
νιανὸς Δομν[ι]ανὸς Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτῆς Αὐρ. Φλάκκῳ πάππῳ πρὸς μητρὸς
καὶ Αὐρ. Μαξιμιανῶ ἀδελφῶ μ. χ.

The father of Philodemos, a citizen of Eumeneia, had married the daughter of Flaccus of Akmonia: cp. nō. 238.

606. Susuz-Keui. BCH 1893 p. 270. Φλάβιος Φιλώτας to his wife
Βασιλῶς¹ and daughter Φ[ω]τίς.

607. (R. 1881). Ahat-Keui. Τ. Φ(λάβιος) Τιβερίνος καὶ Φλαβία Ἄκτῃ
ἐαυτοῖς ζῶντες κατεσκεύασαν. The name Tibereinianos occurs in an inscr.
found at Ushak (probably of Temenothyrai, from the name Tullia) BCH
1893 p. 265.

608, 609. (R. 1881, 1883). On Hammam-Su, 5 miles N.E. of Islam-
Keui. Mile-stone XI (from Akmonia). CIL III 7170. Dedication to
[Fl. Val. Constantinus et Val. Licinnianus Licinnius in Latin and to the
Caesars Crispus and Licinius and Constantinus in Greek. A.D. 317-323.

It may be presumed that [ἀπὸ Ἀκμονίας] has been lost before the
number 1A.

610. (Sterrett 1883). Yenije.

σῆμα τόδ' ἐστὶν ἐρω[μένου] νιέος, ὅντε τοκῆς
τεῖσαν ἐπ' εὐτεκνή σῶ[μα] καλῶς θέμενοι,
ᾧφρα καὶ ἐν ζωοῖσι καὶ ἐν φ[θιμένοι]σι τίηται
Ζωγράφος ἡγαθέφ τύμβῳ ἀγαλλόμενος,
ὃν θέσαν Ἀμμιανή τε καὶ Ἀτ[ταλ]ος εἵνεκα μνήμης.

Zographos and the feminine Zographo are known personal names.
The parents Ammiane and Attalos erected this tomb to Zographos their
loved son. Most of the restorations are suggested by Mr. J. G. C.
Anderson.

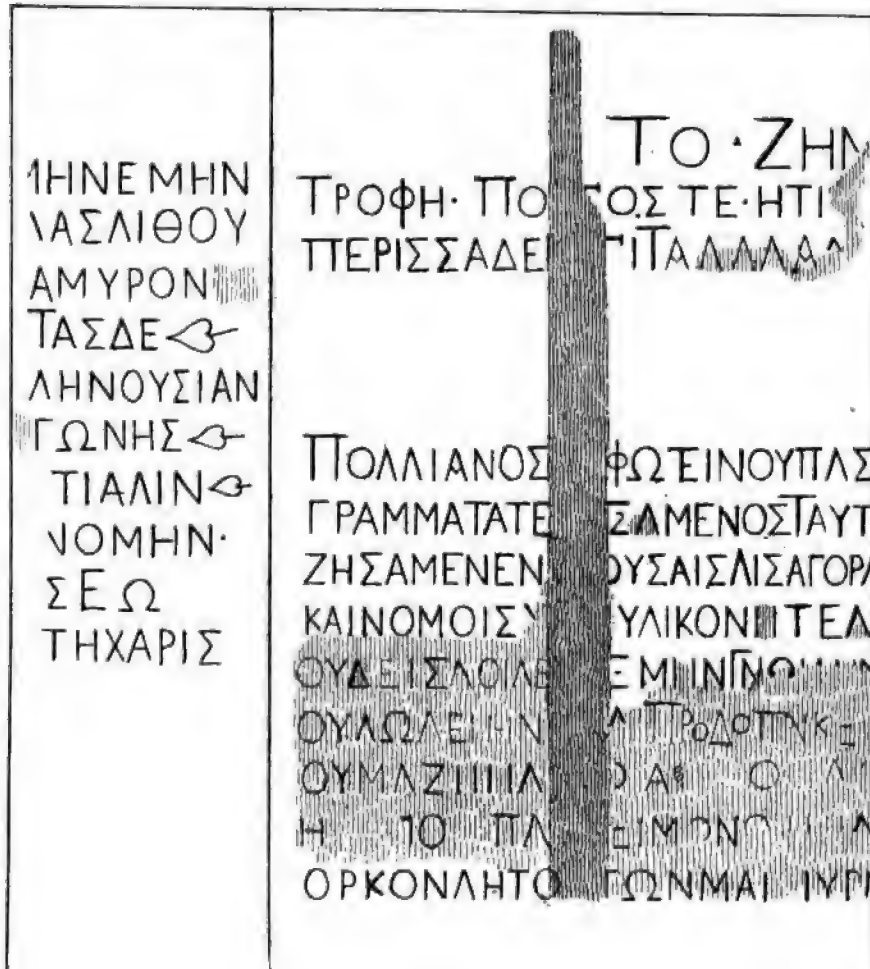
611. (R. 1883). Shabban: on two sides of a stone: bold letters much
defaced.

A. τὸ ζῆν τροφὴ πᾶ[ν]τος τε. ἥτι[μασμένα?]
περισσὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ ἄλλα [ἂ ἀνθρώποις μέλει?].

¹ MM. Legrand and Chamonard read Βασιλῶδῃ; but probably η stands for ι.
Cp. Basilo no. 138.

Then follows on the same side, but separated by a broad uncut space :

Πολλιανὸς [β']¹ Φωτεινοῦ π[ᾶ]σιν πολήταις]
 γράμματα τε[ν]ξάμενος ταῦτ[α] λαλεῖ παρόδοις]
 ζῆσα μὲν ἐν [μ]ούσαις λισ[σ]αγόρα[ις]
 καὶ νόμοι συ[μ]φ'υλικὸν [π]τελ[ε]
 οὐδεὶς [δ'] οἶδεν ἐμὴν γνώμη'ν.



B. Only the ends of lines, perhaps iambs, remain : [—]μην ἐμὴν :
 δμ(οι)ρον [Μαρ?]τίαλιν : etc.

The compound λισσάγορος, smooth-speaking, seems forced on us by the clear and certain text.

¹ β must be read as δίς ; but there is room only for one letter.

2. INSCRIPTIONS OF SIOKHARAX ?

612. Halaslar. BCH 1893 p. 273. [Διονύσῳ] καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραιανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ τὴν]ν καὶ τὴν στοὰν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν [—].

This inscr., though near Otourak, may be confidently assumed to have been brought from Akmonia, see no. 467. On the form restored see no. 547.

613. Text no. 466. It has certainly been carried from Akmonia.

614. Halaslar. BCH 1893 p. 273. [ὁ δεῖνα τέκνοις?—] κ[α]ὶ Διαδουμένῳ μ. χ. MM. Legrand and Chamonard read Κλιδία Δουμένῳ which seems impossible.

3. INSCRIPTIONS OF DIOKLEIA.

615. (R. 1887: Sterrett 1883). Beside Doghla. [Λεύ]κιον Σεπτίμιον Σευήρον Περτίνακα Σαρματικὸν Γερμανικὸν Βρετανικὸν Σεβαστόν, νέον Ἡλίων, ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου Διόκλεια. [ἀ]ναστησάντων παρ' ἑαυτῶν Κ. Πετρωνίου Καπίτωνος Ἐγνατιανοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Μάρκου καὶ Ρούφου Ρουφρίου Κρίσπου καὶ Φιλαδέλφου Δημητρίου. γραμματεῦντος τοῦ δήμου Μάρκου β' τοῦ Οὐαλερίου. ἔτους σπα' (A.D. 197)¹.

The titles of Commodus are here transferred to Severus: the latter never was Sarm. or Ger., and became Brit. in 210.

616. (R. 1881). Aghar-Hissar. Wadd. 770, CIG 3857 v. Αὐρ. Μουκιανὸν Μ. Ἐγνατιανὸν τὸν ἀξιολογώτατον καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ πρῶτον τῆς πόλεως· Μενεκλῆς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τὸν πατέρα. M may be engraver's error, as Wadd. thinks; but I read M. (Υ' (ἰόν)), cp. no. 329. An Egnatius in BCH 1895 p. 557 no. (3), which probably comes from Akmonia.

617. (R. 1881). Aghar-Hissar. Wadd. 771, CIG 3857 y. Δόμνη γονεῦσι [—] ἐποίησεν μ. χ.

Crown, tablets, and inkstand are represented on this 'door-stone.'

618. (R. 1881). Aghar-Hissar. Wadd. 772, CIG 3857 w. Ζώσιμος [—] τοῖς τέκνοις Ἐρμῇ καὶ Δόμνῃ γλυκυτάτοις μ. χ., καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἔτι ζῶν κατεσκεύασεν. ἔτους σση'. A.D. 193-194.

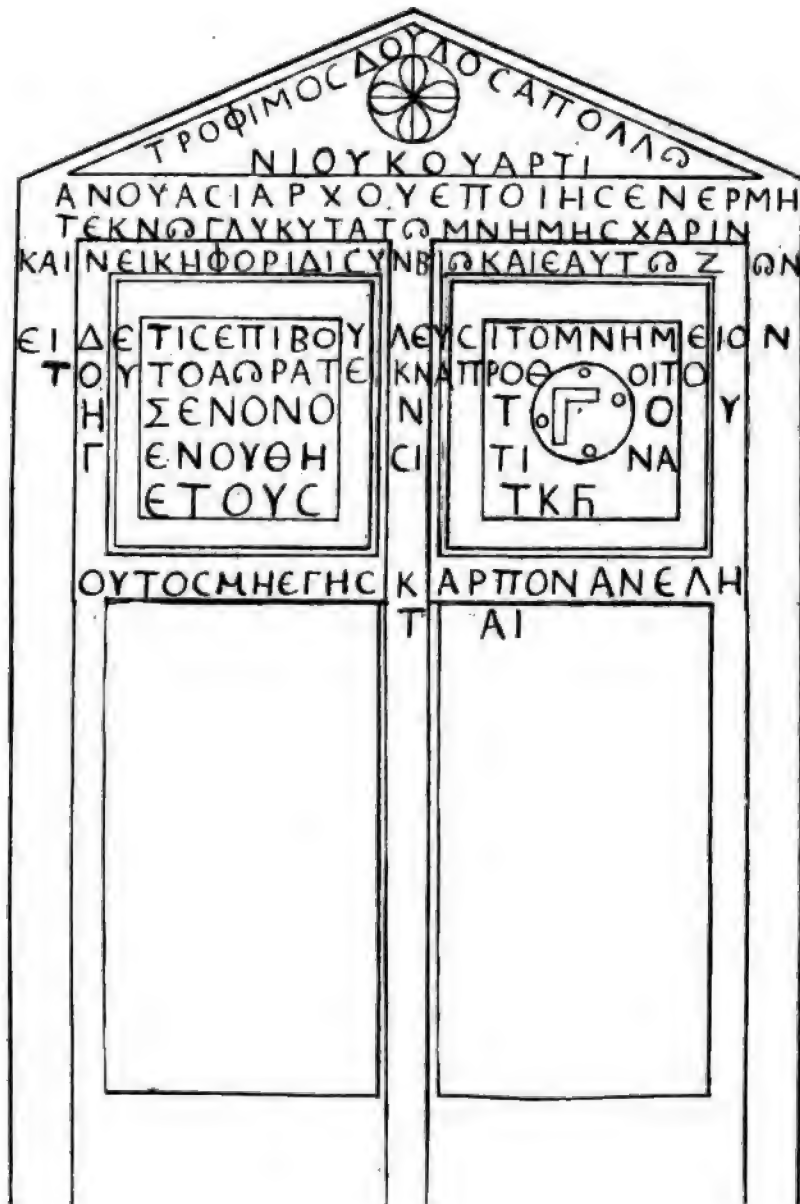
619. Aghar-Hissar: Wadd. 773, CIG 3857 x. Λούκιος Ρούφριος πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ μ. χ. Rufrius no. 615².

¹ My copy (made very carelessly) has Βρετανικὸν and γραμματεῦντων; but I follow Sterrett in both cases. From

γραμματ. onward, much larger letters are shown in my copy.

² A Jewish inscr. found here, no. 562.

620. (R. 1883). Tchajja-Keui. Τρόφιμος δούλος Ἀπολλωνίου Κουαρτιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου ἐποίησεν Ἑρμῇ τέκνῳ γλυκυτάτῳ μ.χ. καὶ Νεικηφορίδι συνβίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ζῶν. εἰ δέ τις ἐπιβουλεύσει τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦτο, ἅωρα τέκνα προθοίτο



ἡ ξένον ὄν τοῦ γένους θήσι τινά, οὗτος μὴ[ε] γῆς¹ καρπὸν ἀνέληται. ἔτους τκς'.² The engraver seems to have arranged his work badly: it is written irregularly over the carved surface of a 'door-stone:' probably the proper arrangement is εἰ δέ τις . . . τοῦτο, ἡ ξένον . . . τινά, οὗτος ἄωρα τέκνα προθοίτο, μὴ[τ]ε γῆς καρπὸν ἀνέληται. A. D. 241-242.

621. (R. 1883). Between Tchalja-Keui and Ulu-Keui. [ἔ]τει τιδ' μ(ηνὸς) γ'. Τρόφιμος πραγματευτῆς τῇ προσφιλεστάτῃ νύμφῃ Αὐρ. Ἀφφίω καὶ αὐτῇ ἔτι ζῶν εἰς μ. χ. κατεσκεύασα. A. D. 229.

4. INSCRIPTIONS OF ABISTION.

622. (R. 1881). Karadja-Euren. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 274. Αὐρ. Αἰνείας Παπτιανὸς³ Εὐφύμοις τοῖς υἱοῖς μ. χ.

623. (Sterrett 1883). Geune. BCH 1893 p. 274. Ζώσι[μος] ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀμμίᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ Ἀμμιανῇ τέκνῳ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασε[ν]. ἔ]τους [—]⁴.

624. Kinik (Keuneck). MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 274. Κλίτος καὶ Μνησίθεος καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτῶν Ἀφφία ἐτελείμησαν τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα Μνησίθεον καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀμμίαν μ. χ.

5. INSCRIPTIONS OF KIDYESSOS.

625. (R. 1883). [illegible dedication to Gratian ἡ] Κιδυησσέων πόλις.

626. (Sterrett 1883). Khirka in Sitchanli-Ova. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐ]τείμνησεν [τ]ὸν [ἀξ]ιολογώτατον Αὐρ. Μεννᾶν ἱππέα Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν φιλόπατριν.

627. (Sterrett 1883). Khirka. Αὐρ. Τρύφων ἱπποίατρος Αὐ[ξ]ανούση τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ γυναικὶ μ. χ. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.

¹ ΜΗΕΓΗC on the stone.

² The date is put irregularly in larger letters amid the curse on the ornamentation.

³ Παπτιανὸς in BCH may be right:

omission of a letter is a commoner copyist's error than insertion.

⁴ Sterrett omits first line ΖΩCΙ: BCH omits last line ΤΟΥC.

APPENDIX II.

BISHOPS OF THE AKMONIAN DISTRICT.

1. AKMONIA.

1. Optimus translated to Antioch Pisid. before 381.
2. Gennadius ἐπ. τῆς Ἀκμοναίων 451.
3. Theotimus 459.
4. Basilius ἐπ. Κολωνείας (read [᾿Α]κ[μ]ωνείας?) Πακατιανῆς 680.
Le Quien changes to Βαλεντίας, which is more violent; see p. 624.
5. Paulus ἐπ. πόλεως Ἀκμονείας 787.
6. Eustachius (Eustathius?) Aemoniae? 869, 879.

2. SIOKHARAX.

No names are known: doubtless it was united in the same bishopric with Diokleia: as both were cities of the single people Moxeanoi.

3. DIOKLEIA.

1. Constantinus ep. civ. Diocletianorum (Διοκλητιανῶν) 431 (the order shows this to be in Pacatiana).
2. Euandros ἐπ. πόλεως Διοκλείας 451.
3. Elias misericordia Dei ep. Diocletianopolis 553, may be Diokleia of Thrace, or some of the cities properly called Diokletianopolis.

4. ARISTION ¹.

1. Paulus ep. civ. Aristii (πόλεως Ἀρίστου) 451.
2. Mamas ep. Ariassorum civ. prov. Phrygiae (τῆς Ἀριστιανῶν πόλεως ἐπαρχίας Φρυγίας) 518.
3. Tarasius 879.

5. KIDYESSOS.

1. Heraclius πόλεως Κυδισσοῦ (civ. Cydissorum) 451.
2. Andreas Cidissosi (Cedisosi Κηδισωσοῦ) 787.
3. Thomas 879.

¹ It is liable to be confused with the bishopric Ariste in Bithynia.

APPENDIX III.

(1) PTOLEMY v 2, 27 AND (2) STRABO p. 576 (xii 8, 13).

1. This important passage should be read δῆμοι παρὰ μὲν τὴν Λυκίαν Φυλακήνσιοι καὶ Θεμισώνιοι, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μοκκαδηνοί¹ καὶ Κιδυησσεῖς² (ἢ Κυδδησεῖς), ὑφ' οὗς Πελτηνοὶ (ἢ Σπιλτηνοὶ) εἶτα Μοξιανοὶ εἶτα Λυκάονες, ὑφ' οὗς Ἱεραπολίται. I have transposed Φυλακήνσιοι and Λυκάονες. Without the transposition the description is hopelessly bad, while with it the description is good and instructive in every detail. The false reading was suggested by the similarity of Λυκίαν and Λυκάονες, which led to their being placed together.

This important passage is to be understood thus: 'In Phrygia along the Lycian frontier (going S. to N.) are the demoi Phylacenses (see p. 255) and the Themisonioi (p. 152); and along the Bithynian frontier (going W. to E.) the Mokkadenoi and the Kidyseis, south of whom (going W. to E.) are the Peltanoi and the Moxeanoi and the Lykaones, south of whom are the Hierapolitai (Hieropolitai). See p. 599.

I should have thought that no geographer would have defended the text of Ptolemy as it stands; but M. Radet accepts it, and founds on it an argument to place the Lykaones a few miles further south than I have placed them. Now, even if this were right, the position which he assigns leaves Ptolemy's description an absurdly bad one. The situation of the Lykaones is determined by the two facts, that they were in the *conventus* of Synnada and in the province of Salutaris. Hence, even though M. Radet fixes them in the extreme S.W. corner of Salutaris on the bounds of the Apamean *conventus*³, yet no one who looks at a map of respectable size or knows the hundred miles of mountains and of road between Lycia and the extreme corner of Salutaris can believe that Ptolemy retains the slightest claim to geographical authority, if he describes a people situated there as being 'beside the Themisonioi on the frontier of Lycia.' The error, once for all, is so gross, that a few miles more or less does not appreciably increase or diminish it.

Further, the position which Ptolemy assigns to the Phylakensioi N. of the Hierapolitai and E. of the Moxeanoi is equally absurd. The position of the Phylakensioi is assured beyond question in the extreme

¹ Μοκκαδηνοί BCH 1895 p. 557.² Other reasons, stated on pp. 694 f,³ Κυδισσεῖς MSS. The coins show the true form § 8. show that his position is impossible.

S.W. of Phrygia closer than any other *demos* to Lycia (for Cibyra is ranked among the *poleis*, not among the *demoi*).

Now, when we observe that the Phylakensioi and the Themisonioi lie side by side in the long valley, Kara-Eyük-Ova, which is the extreme part of Phrygia towards Lycia, we feel compelled to say that, if Ptolemy did not mention these two peoples side by side on the Lycian frontier of Phrygia, he shows a geographical incapacity far beyond anything else in the way of looseness that he has been guilty of in his account of Asia Minor. Further we see that the transposition of the Lykaones beside Lykia was rendered easy for an ignorant transcriber; and that, if we make this alteration in the text, we have good geography and good sense in place of absurdity and unparalleled blundering¹. There are, in our present state of knowledge, only two alternatives open: one, to leave the passage of Ptolemy on one side as either absurdly wrong or hopelessly corrupt: the other, to accept the transposition proposed as being probably correct, and use the text reconstituted as a subsidiary, but not a decisive, argument in questions of topography.

M. Radet seems to regard the Hierapolitai as the people of Hierapolis on the Lycos; but they must certainly be taken as the inhabitants of Sandykli-Ova².

2. Strabo p. 576 gives a list of the districts and cities of Phrygia Magna, using that term in the early sense, as distinguished from Phrygia Hellenopontiaca and Phrygia Epiktetos. He divides his list according to districts: (1) Paroreios Phrygia: (2) Phrygia πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ (including Pisidian Antioch, Limnai, and much of Ptolemy's Φρυγία Πισιδία Ch. IX App. II): (3) τὰ περὶ Ἀμόριον καὶ Ἰακμόναιαν καὶ Σύνναδα (i. e. central Phrygia in our conception, but in Strabo's conception northern Phrygia, for he divides what we reckon northern Phrygia between Mysia and Epiktetos): (4) Apameia-Kibotos and Laodiceia and the surrounding cities and towns Aphrodisias, Colossai, Themisonion, Sanaos, Metropolis, Apollonia, and at a greater distance Peltai, Tabai, Eukarpia, Lysias (i. e. the whole south-western part of Phrygia, taking it in the widest sense). This division is clear and well carried out, if we make the single correction Ἰακμόναιαν for Εὐμέναιαν: without the change the division loses its sharp precision, for Eumeneia and Peltai must go together in one group.

¹ Ptolemy is a little hazy about the Peltenoi, whom he thinks about as too far N.; but otherwise the passage is

a good geographical list.

² See CB LXXXV, where this is pointed out.

APPENDIX IV.

ROUTES IN THE SITCHANLI-OVA AND MOXEANOI¹.

(1) 1881 (with Sir C. Wilson) from Islam-Keui up Hammam-Su, Tchifik-Keui, Geune, Duz-Agatch, to Afion-Kara-Hissar.

(2) 1883 June (with Sterrett) from the Pentapolis, Saltik, Kilter, Yannik-Euren, Yavashlar (obliterated inscr.), Dolatann, Hodjalar, Doghla (Akche-Badarik, Kosluja, Tchüpnî, Gudubez²), Aghar-Hissar, Tchajli-Keui, Ulu-Keui, Yaghdi-Keui, Eldesann, Tchukurja, across Ahar-Dagh to Sitchanli-Ova, Avlann Pasha, Tazilar, Ginik, Dokutchlar, Sinan-Pasha, Duz-Agatch (Aivali, Bulja, Balmama), Geune, Avlann-Pasha, Tchifik-Keui, Tunlu-Bunar, Otourak. Separate routes by Sterrett (a) Hodjalar, Doghla, Emiraz, Doghla. (b) Taziler, Geune, Karadja-Euren, Duz-Agatch, Tchaj-Hissar, Khirka, Aivali, Geukche-Eyük, Pasha-Keui (Kilij-Arslan, Sinir-Keui), Sinan-Pasha, Duz-Agatch.

(3) 1883 October, from Afion-Kara-Hissar, Balmama, Bulja, Duz-Agatch, Karadja-Euren, Geune, Tchajishlar, Tchifik-Keui, down Hammam-Su.

(4) 1886 August (with Brown) from Afion-Kara-Hissar riding by night reach Tchifik-Keui next morning.

¹ See explanations p. 619.

² Compare Armenian Gadubes, 'like a cat.'

CHAPTER XV

THE JEWS IN PHRYGIA

§ 1. The Jews in Apameia p. 667. § 2. The Legend of the Flood in Apameia p. 669. § 3. The Jews in Akmonia p. 673. § 4. Fate of the Phrygian Jews p. 674.

§ 1. THE JEWS IN APAMEIA. Cicero¹ mentions that Flaccus, propraetor of Asia in 62 B.C., would not allow the contributions, which were regularly sent to Jerusalem by the Jews, to go out of Asia, and seized the money that was collected for the purpose. At Apameia nearly 100 pounds weight of gold was taken and weighed before the praetor, at Laodiceia 20 pounds weight, an unknown amount at Adramyttion, and a little at Pergamos. But it is an error to state, as has frequently been done, that the 100 pounds had been contributed by the Jews of Apameia. It is clear that the sums seized had been brought to these great centres for export, and represented the contributions of large districts². Hence Cicero's statement proves only that there was a large Jewish population in Phrygia; and this is known from some other sources. But we may safely conclude that Apameia was one of their chief centres, for it united all the conditions favourable to their commercial and financial genius. Further, comparing the amount at Apameia and at Laodiceia, we infer that the Jews were far more numerous in Apameia and the cities connected with it than they were in the Laodicean group; and the evidence of inscr. fully confirms this. Akmonia, Sebaste, Eumeneia, Apameia, Dokimion, Iconium³, are

¹ *Pro Flacco* 68: Th. Reinach *Textes Relatifs au Judaïsme* p. 237.

² M. Th. Reinach *Monn. Juives* pp. 72 f *note*, calculates that this weight of gold represents about 50,000 half-shekels, which he considers must either have been the sum of several years' tax, or an extraordinary contribution; but in his *Textes* p. 240 he calculates that it is over 75,000 *drachmae* (each Jew paid

2 *dr.* annually). M. Babelon *Mélanges Numism.* I p. 169 infers that *la population d'Apamée à l'époque Romaine, était Juive en grande partie*. It would be safer to say that Apameia was the centre of a district in which a very large Jewish population dwelt.

³ CIG 9270 at Iconium is clearly Jewish-Christian. Iconium was not in the Apamean district.

the cities where we can identify Jewish inscriptions, legends and names. We cannot doubt that this large Jewish population exercised a great influence on the development of the district and of the cities; and we therefore proceed to investigate the traces of it in the inscr.

In no. 399 *bis* (third century) the law of the Jews is mentioned; and we recognize there (with M. S. Reinach), not the law of Moses, but a regulation agreed upon between the city and the Jewish community for the protection of Jewish graves. Before A.D. 70 the Jews constituted, according to Roman law, a separate self-administering community, 'the Nation of the Jews' in Apameia¹; but after that date the separate existence of the Jews as a nation was terminated, and the law recognized no distinction between the Jews and other provincials (except in respect of religion). It is remarkable that a separate law of the Jews should have been recognized in Apameia near two centuries later.

Probably the Jewish community in Apameia is as old as the foundation of the city (280-261 B.C.). The Seleucid kings used the Jews as an element of the colonies which they founded to strengthen their hold on Phrygia and other countries². Seleucus Nicator granted the Jews the full rights of citizenship, equal to those of Macedonians and Greeks, in all the cities which he founded³; and this may doubtless be taken as an example of the general Seleucid policy, for the later kings⁴ guarded the privileges of these Jewish *Katoikoi*⁵ in spite of the jealousy of their fellow-citizens. For example, distribution of oil was made to all citizens at the public expense; but, as the Jews objected to use oil made by Gentiles, the gymnasiarchs were ordered to give them an equivalent in money⁶, a right confirmed by Mucianus in Antioch 67-69 A.D. This and various other privileges were guaranteed to the Jewish *Katoikoi*; and the whole probably constituted the 'law of the Jews' in Apameia, no. 399 *bis*. Experience showed that the Jews were a useful and loyal part of the Seleucid colonies; and when Antiochus the Great desired to strengthen his cause in Phrygia and Lydia about 200 B.C., he brought 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia and settled

¹ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων at Smyrna, S. Reinach *Rev. des Ét. Juives* VII p. 161: the Alexandrian Jews had an Ethnarch at their head.

² See pp. 10, 34, 196, 257, 421.

³ Josephus *Ant.* XII 3, 1 (§ 119) quoted p. 34 *note*.

⁴ Antiochus Theos 261-248 B.C. granted

them citizenship in the Ionian cities, Josephus *Ant.* XII § 125 (which means that he planted colonies of Jews in these cities). See also p. 669, *note* 1.

⁵ See pp. 199 f, 583, 703.

⁶ Josephus *Ant.* XII § 120. On the Gymnasiarchs see p. 443.

them in the strongholds, granting them lands and guaranteeing them his favour in every way¹.

The fact that the Jewish *Katoikoi* were encouraged and favoured by the Seleucid kings proves that they maintained the interests of the dominant party against the native population². Thus they were an aristocratic faction in the Phrygian cities; and, though the Pergamene policy differed, yet the Jews are not likely to have lost the position which they had gained. In the Roman period their success in so many suits before Roman officials, when their privileges were attacked, is a proof of their wealth and power; for under the Republic they who could bribe highest were always successful. Especially the favour of Dolabella³ was a mere matter of purchase.

In A. D. 70, they lost their separate and peculiar position before Roman law. Advantage was taken of this by the cities of Antioch and Alexandria, which sought to deprive them also of citizenship; but Vespasian and Titus confirmed their rights as citizens. The action of these two cities formed a test case; and, if it had gone against the Jews, they would obviously have lost their citizenship in all similar cities. But it would appear from no. 399 *bis*, that they not merely retained their equality in citizenship at Apameia, but also some (probably almost all) of the peculiar privileges which they enjoyed beyond other citizens. These privileges were inseparable from their religion; and, as their religion was made legitimate (on the payment of a poll-tax), the privileges connected with it were recognized. Only the tax which they formerly sent to Jerusalem (safe transmission of which was guaranteed by many enactments) was now turned into a Roman tax.

It is very probable that the Jews would have a separate cemetery at Apameia; but the dearth of Jewish epitaphs is remarkable. Only one is known, no. 399 *bis*. But the Phrygian Jews seem to have abandoned entirely the use of the Hebrew language and names⁴; and it is impossible to identify them from their names alone. The language and tone of no. 315, 385, 394, suggests that they are Jewish or Jewish-Christian.

§ 2. THE LEGEND OF THE FLOOD IN APAMEIA. On Apamean coins struck under Severus, Macrinus, and Philip, there appears (with slight variations in details) the same type of 'a chest or ark (*κιβωτός*)

¹ See the whole letter of Antiochus, Josephus *Ant.* XII § 148 ff, which was doubtless preserved as a charter by the Jews. He mentions the strong liking of his predecessors for the Jewish settlers.

² On the Seleucid policy see pp. 260, 420.

³ Josephus *Ant.* XIV 10, 9 ff (§ 217 ff).

⁴ Unless they retained Hebrew names in esoteric private use.

inscribed ΝΩΕ, floating on water: within it are two figures, and standing beside it a male and a female figure: on the top of the chest, a raven, and above a dove carrying an olive-branch¹. M. Charles Lenormant has published a relief found in the Catacombs at Rome, 'which represents a scene identical in all points with the Apamean coin-type².' This type brings together two scenes of the tale of Noah: in one he with his wife is floating in the ark: in the other they are giving thanks on dry land after their preservation.

Reasons have been stated above for the belief that the coin-engravers used as their model a picture exhibited in a public place in the city³, probably one of a series of illustrations of Apamean legends which adorned some public building, such as a stoa. Some time during the second century, probably, an artist represented the tale of Noah as an Apamean scene. In adapting the Hebrew tale to pictorial representation, the artist took as his model the form which Greek art had already given to the myth of Danae and Perseus or of Auge and Telephos. The ark was represented as a box like that in which Danae or Auge had floated across the sea; and Noah and his wife were shown twice, once in the box (like Auge on a coin of Elaea⁴), and once standing beside it (like Danae on Pompeian wall-paintings⁵), raising their right hands towards heaven.

That the legend of Noah was localized at Apameia is known from other sources. A passage of the Sibylline books⁶, composed probably in the imperial period, mentions that the ark (κιβωτός) rested on the hill whence the Marsyas rises; and Cedrenus mentions the same tale. There is an obvious connexion between the by-name of the city,

¹ Head *Hist. Num.* p. 558. See Plate I 1 and 2.

² Babelon *Mélanges Numism.* I p. 172: I have not seen M. Ch. Lenormant's publication 'dans les *Mélanges d'Archéol.* des PP. Cahier et Martin pp. 199-202.'

³ See p. 432. Either a wall-painting or a scene in low relief, which is governed by similar principles of composition, would satisfy the conditions.

⁴ Auge and Telephos on a coin of Elaea Imhoof MG p. 274 (a type certainly influenced by Artemon's picture of the finding of Danae Pliny XXXV 139). The explanation of the type is given by Marx in *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 pp. 23 f. a paper which has escaped M. Babelon's attention p. 173. It also seems unknown

to the writers of the arts. *Auge* and *Danae* in Roscher's *Lexicon*; but has not remained unobserved by Mr. Wroth *B. M. Catalogue of Aeolis &c.* p. 130, who defends the reading ΝΕΟΥ against Marx's suggestion ΝΕΟΚ (όπου).

⁵ Three Pompeian pictures are described by Overbeck *Kunstmyth. d. Zeus* p. 414 after Helbig *Wandgemälde der r. V. versch. Städte Campaniens* no. 119-121. None of them seems to be published.

⁶ I 261 ff, quoted on p. 454: Cedrenus I p. 20, Syncellus I p. 38, Stephanus s. v. 'Ικόμιον, Suidas s. v. Νάπυακος, and Nonnus *Dionys.* XIII 522 ff also describe a Phrygian flood in terms similar to the Biblical flood.

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Kibotos, and the tale of the ark of Noah; but there is no evidence whether the by-name (which occurs first in Strabo about A.D. 19) was derived from the tale, or the tale was localized here because of the name. It seems possible that there was a native Phrygian name, to which the grecized form Kibotos was given. In fact, we know that this transformation actually occurred elsewhere, for the name Kibotos occurs in Bithynia¹. But, on the other hand, we find reason to think that the Jewish element was quite strong enough in Apameia to give the city a by-name derived from the biblical legend as early as the time of Christ². Evidence may yet be found; but though probability inclines toward Jewish origin of the name, one cannot feel any confidence at present.

M. Babelon, who has discussed this subject with great care³, considers that most of the Jewish colonies of the Dispersion identified the loftiest mountain of their neighbourhood as that where the ark rested; and that in this way the Jews of Apameia selected the mountain behind Apameia. But this explanation seems unsatisfactory. Even supposing that Jewish colonies as a rule did as M. Babelon supposes them to have done (though I cannot find that his references prove the statement), the Apamean colony would never have thought of the little hill of Kelainai⁴ which is dominated by the whole ridge of Djebel-Sultan, and especially by its southern peak Ai-Doghmush (5580 ft.), a beautiful and striking mountain about six miles away. Further, two other mountains in full view from any prominent point in the city rise to a far greater height than even Ai-Doghmush, viz. Yan-Dagh (6619 ft.) and Ak-Dagh (8013 ft.), whose superior elevation was attested to the eyes of the Apamean Jews by the snow lying late on them. If M. Babelon's theory were correct, one of these lofty mountains would surely have been selected as the point where the ark rested.

We must therefore conclude, with MM. Ch. Lenormant and Th. Reinach, that the hill of Kelainai was considered by the Apamean Jews to be the spot where the ark had rested, because an Apamean

¹ *Hist. Geogr.* p. 186. It lay opposite Dakibyza; and we have seen the probability that the name Dakibyza was used in S. Phrygia (like Askania): above, p. 31 note.

² This view is stated by Gutschmid *Rhein. Mus.* 1864 XIX p. 400, and maintained by M. Babelon and adopted by Schürer *Prophetin Isabel* p. 54. Schürer rightly rejects Prof. G. Hirschfeld's

idea that the name Kibotos was given to Apameia on account of its commercial importance.

³ *Mélanges de Numism.* I pp. 165 ff (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions* 1891 XXIII pp. 174 ff).

⁴ My aneroid showed 815 feet above the railway station, i. e. 3660: the proposed railway tunnel through Djebel-Sultan is at a level of 3600.

legend of a deluge was already connected with the hill. M. Babelon objects that there is no trace of a native legend; but, in the first place, we know too little about Apamean beliefs to found anything on this failure, and secondly the legend of Anchouros mentioned above, p. 415, seems to point to a belief that the city rested on underground waters which were prevented from engulfing it by the protection of the Kelainian god seated on the Acropolis. This approximates to the idea of a deluge, and we do not know all the forms in which it was probably current; but, taken as it is, it seems quite enough to suggest to the Jews (who came believing that the ark had rested somewhere in this northern land) the idea that Noah had stepped from the ark on the sacred hill dominating the city. If there was a native name Kibotos, applied to some part of the city, the Biblical legend would be sure to be localized there; but this, as we have seen, is not certain.

This type was favoured in Apameia beyond any of the other legendary types; and it is quite probable that the magistrates who chose this type for their coins may have been Jews, Artemas¹ and Alexander. The name Alexander was in use among the Phrygian Jews²; and its frequent appearance among the Phrygian Christians, no. 355, is probably due to that fact.

If Alexander, who chose the Noah-type in the time of Philip, was a Jew, it would prove that the Phrygian Jews had degenerated greatly from the Jewish standard of religion; for he was a high-priest of the city (i.e. in the Imperial cultus). It seems, however, not impossible that this may have been the case. Dr. Schürer has shown to what superstitions the Jews of Thyatira had given way³. In Cyprus and in Ephesos, also, some Jews had abandoned themselves to the practice of magical arts, which were stringently forbidden by the Mosaic law⁴. An Apamean Jew might therefore join in maintaining the loyal cultus, for the Roman Jews were always staunch Imperialists; and at Akmonia we find Jews acting as high-priests in the Imperial cultus.

¹ M. Babelon p. 172 calls Artemas *agonothète pour la troisième fois*; but this is incorrect (as is proved by another legend of the same person ΕΠΙ·ΑΡΤΕΜΑ·Γ·ΑΠΑΜΕΙC·ΚΟΙΝΟΝ·ΦΡΥΓΙΑC), see p. 442 note 3.

² No. 562. The name was naturally common among a people loyal to the Seleucids; moreover Alexander the

Great had protected and favoured the Jews, Josephus *Bell. Jud.* II 18, 7. It was in use among the Greek-speaking Jews everywhere: the brother of Philo was Alexander.

³ *Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira* (*Abhandl. Weizsäcker gewidmet* pp. 39 ff).

⁴ Acts XIII 6, XIX 13 ff.

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§ 3. THE JEWS IN AKMONIA. Jewish inscr., certain or probable, are more numerous near Akmonia than in all the rest of Phrygia put together; and they reveal to us Jews of rank and influence. Among the Asian Jews, women take an unusually prominent place¹; and foremost among them was an Akmonian lady, Julia Severa, whose dignity and rank are attested by many coins and inscriptions. Few persons in the whole province are mentioned in so many documents as Julia Severa; and hardly any Phrygian inscr. is more important than no. 559, from which we learn that she was a Jewess, for her origin seems to imply the Jewish origin of a number of other persons. The name Tyrronius, found at Iconium², Akmonia and Sebaste, must be recognized as Jewish (no. 530, 559, 478 f); and two families, bearing the names Julius Severus and Servenius Cornutus, connected both with Akmonia and with Ancyra in Galatia, boasting of royal descent and intermarrying with one another, are probably also Jewish. The evidence is not sufficient to demonstrate the latter inference; it merely suggests it as probable, and we can only register it, at present, as such and wait the discovery of further evidence; but the connexion of these families with one another and with both Akmonia and Ancyra is a fact both certain and noteworthy³. A slight confirmation may be mentioned. Severus, consul about 140, proconsul of Asia in A.D. 153-4, is believed by Waddington to have been named Julius Severus; he was of royal descent; he was connected with Ancyra, where two inscriptions in his honour are found⁴; but he also belonged to a family of Upper Phrygia, as Aristides tells us⁵. Akmonia was in Upper Phrygia; and, if our hypothesis as to the Akmonian family be correct, the discrepancy between our authorities as to his origin is fully explained. Aristides' description of him as a very well known man, stately, determined, unbending, suits his royal descent⁶.

The extreme interest of this hypothesis warrants us in allowing it a place in this chapter, even though it cannot be ranked as proved. The full discussion of the subject is connected with Ancyra, rather than with Akmonia. To the former place belong all the documents

¹ See comm. on no. 559.

² A Jewish colony in Iconium *Acts* xiv. 1, CIG 9270 (quoted p. 734).

³ See comm. on no. 530, 551-559.

⁴ CIG 4033, 4034: one in *AEMit.* IX 118: see Wadd. *Fastes* § 143. Severus was not governor of Galatia; the inscr. are erected by personal friends.

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⁵ ἦν δὲ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Ἀσίας τότε ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλα τῶν γνωρίμων Σεβήρος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνωθεν Φρυγίας Arist. *ἱερ. λογ.* (I p. 505 Dind.).

⁶ ἀνὴρ ὑψηλὸς τοὺς τρόπους, καὶ ὅτι γνώϊη καὶ προέλοιτο οὐκ ἂν ὑφείτο οὐδενί p. 523: cp. pp. 525, 527-9. Compare the description of Polemon of Laodiceia, p. 43.

which allude to royal descent¹. The descent is explained by Franz and Waddington as being from one of the Galatian tetrarchial families; but, if the families are Jews, we should have to admit, either that the Jews intermarried extensively with Galatian families, or that the families claimed to be sprung from Jewish kings.

At Akmonia, and in Phrygia generally, Christians and Jews seem to have been in close relations, and it is often difficult to determine whether an inscr. is Jewish or Jewish-Chr. (no. 411 f, 466, 563 f, 635). The relations were not always friendly (no. 232); but the same names and formulae were used by both. In a Chr. inscr. 466, a form which has little of the Chr. character seems to spring from Judaism. But in this subject, we depend rather on the general impression derived from the situation and from the inscr. as a whole, than on definite single facts.

In Akmonia a series of epitaphs are found containing a curse quite different in character from the ordinary Phrygian forms of imprecation against the violator of the tomb; this curse has a thoroughly Semitic intensity, and Oriental parallels to it are easily found. One of the epitaphs, no. 563, contains a reference to 'the most high God,' in a form which is almost certainly Jewish²; and the whole series may be set down as either Jewish, or due to the influence of Jewish manners and beliefs on the Akmonian people (no. 564-567).

§ 4. FATE OF THE PHRYGIAN JEWS. The Phrygian Jews, many of whom had been brought from Babylonia about 200 B. C., are considered in the Talmud as the Ten Tribes; and it is said that the baths and wines of Phrygia had separated the Ten Tribes from their brethren³. They lost connexion with their own land and people; they forgot their language; they did not participate in the philosophy and education of the Alexandrian Jews; and they were much more readily converted to Christianity, which is what the Talmud calls their separation from their brethren⁴. We may then take the marriage of the Jewess Eunice at Lystra to a Greek, and the exemption of her son Timotheus from the Mosaic law⁵ as typical of a relaxation of the exclusive Jewish standard in Lycaonia and Phrygia and an approximation to the pagan population around them. This is con-

¹ βασιλέων καὶ τετραρχῶν ἀπόγονον, CIG 4033 f, 4030, Mordtmann *Marm. Ancyr.* p. 16, Domaszewski *AEMit.* IX p. 129 (τὴν ἐκ βασιλέων Σερουηνίαν Κορνοῦταν Κορνηλίαν κτλ., see p. 648).

² It is probably Jewish-Christian, like

no. 466.

³ Neubauer *Géogr. du Talmud* p. 315.

⁴ Neubauer l. c. In my *St. Paul the Trav.* pp. 142 ff, reasons are stated for following his weighty authority.

⁵ *Acts* XVI 2.

firmed by several indications in our inscr. Julia Severa was a high-priestess in the Imperial cultus, in association successively with her two husbands, no. 530, 550: so also was Servenia Cornuta, no. 551. The worship of Poppaea as Sebaste Eubosia seems to have been maintained by Jews (no. 530). Alexander, the high-priest at Apameia, was probably a Jew.

The Akmonian Jews, then, seem to have regarded Akmonia as their fatherland, not merely in name (no. 561), but in reality. They took the Roman Empire as their country, and in every way showed themselves loyal, even to the extent of engaging in the loyal worship of the Emperors.

The approximation between the Jews and the native population was not likely to be wholly on one side. The fascination which the lofty morality and proud separation of the Jewish religion exercised on the Roman world is well known; and Phrygia was probably even more likely than other countries to come under that influence. In no. 232, according to our interpretation, there is an example of this Judaizing tendency; and though no other example can be given, we must remember that inscr. can rarely throw light on such movements of thought. But the tendency of Paul's Phrygian converts at Colossae, Iconium and Pisidian Antioch to lapse into Judaistic practices, and the multitudes that flocked to the synagogue in Antioch, show how strongly the Jews had affected the district. Moreover the position of the Jews in Apameia and Akmonia, and the facts related in § 2, could hardly have come about, unless the native population had come to some degree under Jewish influence.

These considerations lead up to the question as to the ultimate fate of the Phrygian Jews. Why do we never hear of them in later history? The answer must, I think, be that they gradually became merged in the surrounding people. It may seem improbable that a large Jewish population should lose its separate character, and be swallowed up in a race which probably possessed lower intellectual power and vigour. But the separatism of the Jews is dependent on their religion; and the evidence of the Talmud is clear, that the Phrygian Jews failed to maintain their own peculiar religion, and thus were divided from their brethren. On the one hand they approximated to the Graeco-Roman civilization, were ardent supporters of the Imperial policy, and engaged in the Imperial cultus (at least in outward form, and that cultus was never more than an outward form); on the other hand they were probably to a large extent Christianized at an early period; and even those who had taken the Imperial side, and conformed to the State worship, were

likely in the fourth century to continue the same conformity when Christianity had become the State religion. Thus the Phrygian Jews melted into the general Chr. population.

NOTE.—It is not possible to give a sure list of Jewish inscr. in Phrygia, but the following have some bearing on the subject: no. 231, 232, 315, 385, 394, 399 *bis*, 411, 412, 466, 530, 550–567.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PENTAPOLIS OF PHRYGIA

§ 1. Geography of the Glaukos Valley p. 677. § 2. The Pentapolis of Phrygia p. 678. § 3. Hieropolis or Hierapolis p. 679. § 4. Brouzos p. 683. § 5. Otrous p. 686. § 6. Stektorion p. 689. § 7. Eukarpia p. 690. § 8. Lykaones p. 693. § 9. The Turkish Conquest p. 695.

Appendices : I. Inscriptions p. 698. II. Bishops p. 706. III. Routes p. 707.

§ 1. GEOGRAPHY OF THE GLAUKOS VALLEY. The chief sources of the Glaukos¹ river are in a lofty chain of bare rocky volcanic mountains running due N. as far as Afion-Kara-Hissar. The main mass of the chain is some distance S. of that city, between Brouzos and Synnada. Towards N. it ends in a line of isolated conical hills protruding like columns out of the flat soil of the Kara-Hissar plain (like the grander line of cones stretching NE. from Kara-Dagh across the plain of Lycaonia). Towards S. it passes into Gumalar-Dagh, a chain of quite different character, grass-covered lofty hills and high-lying valleys, green and often marshy. Further to S., Gumalar-Dagh sinks into more bald and rounded hills, which separate Tehul-Ovasi (Metropolis) from Dombai-Ovasi (Aurokra). As we crossed the Gumalar-Dagh in 1891 from the Pentapolis to Metropolis², the aneroid indicated a summit level of 6,600 ft., with hills rising further above our path, and at 6,000 ft. we were crossing a beautiful open glen, entirely surrounded by hills, a mere marsh in the middle, dotted over with the black tents of the nomad mountaineers. But crossing more to S. from Metropolis towards Duz-Bel in 1883 the summit was barely 4,500, and on the Eastern Highway between Aurokra and Metropolis³ in 1881 only 3,900.

¹ The name Glaukos is used with reserve, as it is possible that Kloudros was the name of the river. See Ch. X § 1.

² On a line direct from Hieropolis to Metropolis (ascending from Karghyn, descending on Yiprak).

³ Besides these three crossings, I have

also gone over the passes that lead from the Synnada valley to Sandykli (1881), from Saoran on the extremest N. branch of the Glaukos by an easy crossing to Synnada (1883), and from Saoran direct across the mountains to Afion-Kara-Hissar (1887): but I had not an aneroid.

On the western side of that chain is a long depression stretching S. to N., traversed by an easy road leading ultimately to Dorylaion and Constantinople. The depression is divided into several parts: furthest to S. is Dombai-Ovasi (Aurokra Ch. XI § 25): crossing from Dombai (3,400 ft.) the bare flat ridge of Bel-Kavak (ab. 3,900 ft.) we reach the territory of Stektorion, a long valley of varying width, unproductive in its southern and higher parts, but fertile lower down, where the city lies (3,480 ft.) behind the lofty Ak-Dagh and Khoma-Dagh: the valley of Stektorion widens N. into Sandykli-Ova proper, where on the higher E. side is the mediaeval castle of Sandykli (3,600 ft.)¹, and on the fertile W. side are the four cities Hieropolis, Otrous, Eukarpia and Brouzos: Sandykli-Ova, which is bounded on W. by the hilly country of the Moxeanoi, rises on N. towards a steep ridge (3,880), which is broken at the middle by the gorge where one of the Glaukos branches forces its way S. into the Pentapolis-valley beside the village Bash-Agatch: beyond this ridge lies a small valley, Cutohuk-Sitchanli-Ova, containing several small and poor villages, the chief of which is Saoran (3,950). Saoran lies in the corner between two ridges of watershed, one stretching away W. to Ahar-Dagh², the other S. dividing the Pentapolis from Synnada.

The streams flowing S. from Saoran and N. from the Bel-Kavak ridge, meet near Eukarpia³, after being joined on the way by many small affluents chiefly from the mountains E.; the united stream then flows away W. through a broken hilly region (the N. skirts of Ak-Dagh and S. part of the Moxeanoi), receiving there the Aram-Tchai (which flows down from Ahar-Dagh), and turning round the spurs of Ak-Dagh towards S., penned in between them and Burgas-Dagh, it issues at last on the open stretch of the Maeander valley, 2 miles E. of Eumeneia.

§ 2. THE PENTAPOLIS OF PHRYGIA. The name Pentapolis is mentioned only twice: (1) in the signature of bishop Paul at the Council held in Constantinople in A.D. 553, who styles himself '*misericordia Dei episcopus sanctae ecclesiae Stectorii civitatis Pentapoliticae regionis Phrygiae Salutaris provinciae*'; (2) in Nicetas Chon. p. 162 quoted in § 9. The list of Hierocles shows at a glance what the five cities are: he begins his enumeration of Salutaris with the five names, and in the first sentence which I ever published about Phrygia, before

¹ M. Radet gives Sandykli as 3,527 ft. He probably reckoned at the house where he lived: the castle is on a hill.

² See Ch. XIV § 1: crossed by Hassan-Bel 4,300 ft.

³ Compare the Kara-Eyük plain and streams, Ch. VIII § 1.

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discovering the signature of bishop Paul, these five names were selected as being a separate group¹: Eukarpia, Hierapolis, Otrous, Stektorion, Brouzos. Thereafter Hierocles crosses the mountains E. to Synnada².

A late Byzantine name *Σαράπατα Μύλωνος* is mentioned by Nicetas in the Pentapolis. This is interpreted in § 9 as a grecized form of the name Hissar-Abad, Place-of-the-Castle, showing that already in 1158 the Castle of Sandykli was the chief place in the valley. The name *Μύλων* is obscure, perhaps it was the original Greek name of the locality where the Castle was built.

Sandykli seems to be a purely modern (i.e. mediaeval) foundation. Hamilton observed that it 'has no appearance of being the site of an ancient city.' It probably arose in the later Byzantine period; and, if the latest *Notitiae Episcopatum* were descriptions of the real state of the country instead of being little better than antiquarian survivals from preceding centuries, we should probably find that several of the bishoprics of the Pentapolis had disappeared, and that one of them had the additional form *ἡτοι Σαραπάτων*, implying that Hissar-Abad had become the actual residence of the bishop who bore the title of one of the old cities.

In the Sandykli valley it is noteworthy that the ancient cities occupy situations in the hollow, low-lying, but most fertile parts, whereas the modern city is planted on the higher land, towards the opposite (E.) side of the valley. The modern situation is the most healthy, the most defensible, and closest to the source of the water supply. The ancient sites are closest to the sources of wealth, viz. the lines of road and the fertile lands; and superior engineering skill brought to them a good supply of water from the springs on the hills to E. In the Ishekli district, likewise, the three ancient cities were clustered together at one side of the valley.

§ 3. HIEROPOLIS OR HIERAPOLIS is fixed at Kotch-Hissar by its proximity to the hot-springs (Therma, Ilidja), which are about 2 miles

¹ BCH 1882 p. 503.

² M. Radet identifies the Pentademi-tai of Ptolemy V 2, 15, with the inhabitants of the Pentapolis; but it is obvious that Ptolemy is there describing the *demoi* of the western lands of the province Asia, and only in V 2, 27, does he enumerate the *demoi* of Phrygia Magna. The Olympenoi who are mentioned in V 2, 15, cannot of course be placed in Bithynia. They bordered on

the territory of Aeolic Aigai (see inscr. in S.Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* p. 711). Groups of cities were often called by such names: e.g. the Hexapolis of Bithynia in the signature of Callinicus bishop of Apameia at Chalcedon (*Actio* III), the Hexapolis of Phrygia *Hist. Geogr.* p. 142, the Pentapolis of Ravenna Theophanes p. 357, with many more familiar cases.

S. from it, and are closely connected with it in the local legend that grew round the name of the historical bishop, Avircius Marcellus of Hieropolis. As Kiepert long ago observed¹, we may always look for some striking manifestation of divine influence, e.g. hot springs or mephitic exhalations, in the neighbourhood of any place called Hieropolis. Close to Kotch-Hissar on N. are considerable remains of a large peripteral temple, apparently of rather coarse work, which may be identified as the old religious centre of the valley, occupying in it the same position as Attanassos in the Eumenian district, or Mên Karou in the country on the S. bank of the Lycos.

This identification suits well with the milestone erected by the 'most brilliant city of the Hieropolitans,' no. 630.

Hieropolis or Hierapolis, then, was the old religious and ruling centre of the valley; and it is clear from Ptolemy² that the population was originally called the Hierapolitai or Hieropolitai. But, as in almost every other Phrygian valley, new foundations were made in the development of its history. The Anatolian village system at first ruled probably over almost the whole valley. A commercial city after the style of Kelainai is very likely to have existed early; and, if so, probably Eukarpia was that city. Further, at one point after another there grew up cities of the Greek type, colonies and garrisons of the Greek kings.

The question as to the correct form of the name is a complicated one. I believe that I was the first to show that the name used locally was Hieropolis, though Hierapolis is the literary form³. It would be wrong to alter a literary passage, and to thrust into it the name Hieropolis in defiance of the MSS. Yet this is what all editors insist on doing in no. 657, which has a good claim to rank as a piece of literature and not as a mere epitaph. Some years ago⁴, it was pointed out that Hierapolis was the form demanded there alike by metre and by MSS.; but this unanswerable defence of the tradition is ignored by the foreign scholars who treat that remarkable document. They repeat a fragment of the principle laid down in my earlier essays with regard to the name, adopting the fragmentary rule from predecessors without investigating the evidence for it. If they looked into the facts, they would recognize that there are many exceptions and restrictions, and that it is quite unjustifiable to lay

¹ See Franz *Fünf Inschr. u. fünf St.* p. 36.

² See V 2, 27 and the commentary in *App.* III to Ch. XIV.

³ The name was introduced in my article in BCH 1882 pp. 503 ff.

⁴ *Expositor* 1889 IX p. 271.

down any absolute rule about the name. Inasmuch as every foreign scholar who touches on the subject repeats the name Hieropolis, as if that were final, it is necessary here to restate the case, and to show especially what was the usage of Chr. writers, such as Avircius Marcellus, the author of no. 657.

The form Hieropolis, in place of the strict Greek *Hiera Polis*, was used in several cities of Asia Minor and Syria, where the true Greek feeling had not yet established itself. When the Greek spirit had affected the region strongly, the name became Hierapolis. In the Lycos valley Hierapolis replaced Hieropolis in official usage under Augustus¹; and the change marks a stage in the hellenization of Phrygia. The difference of name implies a difference in religious and social feeling as well as in literary and grammatical correctness. Hieropolis was in origin probably merely a false form²; but it could be taken to imply 'the City of the *Hieron*.' The *hieron* was the central fact, and the city was an appendage to it: that was the Asian idea, and the form Hieropolis suited the idea, and was used at Komana of Cappadocia³, at the Syrian Hieropolis-Mabog, at the Cilician Hieropolis-Kastabala⁴, and in Upper Phrygia. To the Greek view the city was the central fact, and, as hallowed by the presence of the god in his temple, it was the holy city, *Hiera Polis*. Individuals educated to share in the Greek spirit preferred the correct Greek form, even when the official name continued to have the Asian form Hieropolis. Thus we find the Syrian city called Hierapolis by Lucian, Strabo, Aelian, Pliny, Plutarch, Julian, Ammianus; but coins and Stephanus have the form Hieropolis. The change of form at Hierapolis in the Lycos valley is therefore important as proving the complete supremacy of Greek feeling there even in official usage as early as Augustus: the Lycos valley was thoroughly hellenized then. We may be sure however that many more educated natives had discarded the form Hieropolis long before that time.

In the third century the valley of the Pentapolis was still not thoroughly hellenized; inscriptions still mention Hieropolis after A.D. 280 (no. 630). Hence the rule that Phrygian coins later than A.D. 180 reading ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ are to be attributed to the city of the Pentapolis, has been accepted by all numismatists⁵ that have

¹ See p. 107.

² Like Megalopolis for Megale Polis.

³ In three inscr. BCH 1883 pp. 129-131. The name Komana alone occurs in literature.

⁴ In inscr. discovered by Mr. Bent JHS 1890 pp. 243-246. The name Kastabala alone occurs in literature.

⁵ It was first stated in JHS 1883 p. 432. No coins of the city earlier

discussed the subject. Official usage in the third century is clear: two inscriptions and coins of half a dozen different types agree in the form. But that does not prove that the name must be altered in the literary tradition: it does not prove that educated men called the city Hieropolis. On the contrary it is apparent that Christian feeling objected to the form Hieropolis both in Syria and in Phrygia. Hierapolis is the form of naming either city in all the published *Notitiae Episc.* and in all the MSS. which I have examined, in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in Georgius Cyprius, in all the *Concilia* except A.D. 347¹, in Malalas, Procopius, Zonaras. In Hierocles alone the form Hieropolis, found in most MSS., is preferred rightly in the recent text of Burckhardt, though rejected by previous editors.

It would be uncritical to suggest that such unanimity in several score cases is due to mere error in transmission. There must have been a distinct feeling among the Chr. against the form Hieropolis. Partly this might be attributed to better knowledge of Greek, for the Greek literary feeling hated and rejected the form Hieropolis². But it was originally due in a much greater degree to the feeling in the district that Hieropolis was the pagan name, the name that implied bondage to the *hieron* and the false gods. The name Hieropolis implied the power of the *hieron*, which with its great priestly college was ever before the Chr. as a present evil; and it is pointed out elsewhere that in Phrygia Christianity necessarily told in favour of the Graeco-Roman civilization, which was opposed to the *hiera* everywhere³. Thus there was a certain tendency in Christian feeling to reject the name Hieropolis; and this tendency gradually moulded Chr. nomenclature. In the language of the fourth and later centuries the name Hieropolis passed out of use; and we have seen⁴ that the tendencies which became supreme in those centuries began among the leading spirits of the earlier centuries.

With regard to the form of the name in a Chr. document about A.D. 200, it must therefore be a question of evidence in each individual

than Severus and Caracalla are known. The reasons are stated JHS 1887 pp. 477 f and need not be repeated here.

¹ Hierapolis of Phr. Sal. 431, perhaps 325 (but Hieropolis A.D. 347, see *App.* II): Hierapolis of Syria 325, 381, 431, 451, 553: in some of these cases the name occurs several times.

² But in Ch. XII § 1 it is pointed out that bad sense for Greek language was

one of the crimes charged against the Christians.

³ See my *St. Paul the Trav.* Ch. VI § 1. At a later time the Imperial policy allied itself with the popular superstition against Christianity (*Church in R. E.* p. 335); but that was when the Emperors ceased to represent the progressive tendencies of the Roman world.

⁴ Ch. XII § 1.

instance. We might expect, and we actually find, no 656, that the common form was used by the common man; but that does not prove that a leader like Avircius Marcellus must necessarily do the same. In his epitaph metre and the MSS. agree that he used the form Hierapolis; and it is mere *a priori* assumption of the most uncritical kind to alter the form conjecturally.

A place in the agora of Hieropolis was named Phrougis¹, a word which is perhaps connected with the personal name Phrougios, no. 446, though the alternative form Phragellion does not suit the connexion. The name, which occurs only in the legendary *Acta* of St. Abercius, Ch. XVII § 2, may be accepted as real.

§ 4. BROUZOS is fixed at Kara-Sandykli, beside which there are manifest traces of an ancient city, by inscr. 634, on a marble pedestal standing in an open space outside the mosque. The remains of the city still *in situ* were too much dilapidated, when we visited the place in 1881, to give any indication of the character of the city². The most conspicuous monument of Brouzos is the doorway of a Greek temple, which has been utilized for the outer gateway of the mosque: it may perhaps be referred to the period of Augustus. It appeared to us to be actually in its original position, in which case the mosque would have replaced the old temple, and might be expected to contain some of its stones; but it is certain that the walls of the temple have been entirely destroyed down to the level of the soil. The accompanying illustrations are by Mr. A. C. Blunt, who travelled with us in 1881; but this fine doorway, in almost perfect preservation, would have been worthy of being drawn in a more complete form.

An interesting piece of Chr. ornamental work is given under no. 662, and an example of the 'door' form of tombstone, drawn by Mr. A. C. Blunt, under no. 635.

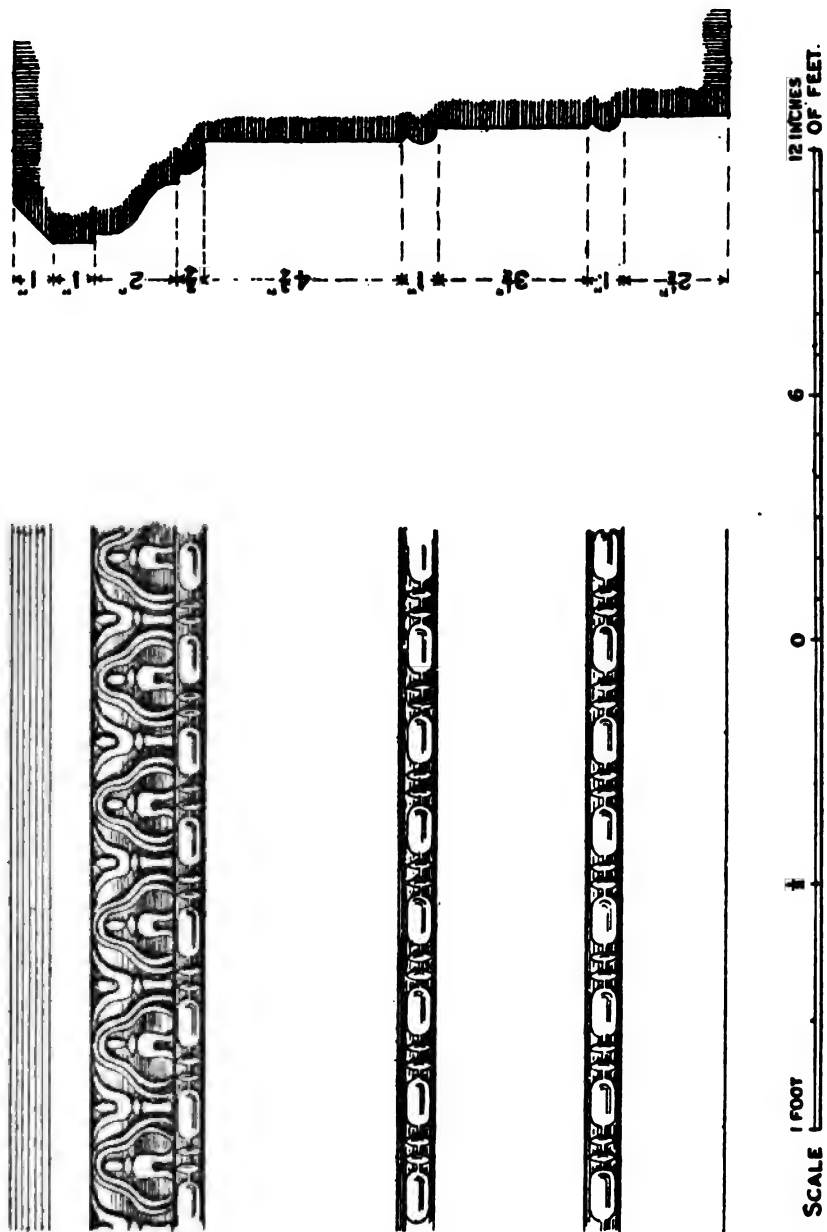
Cavedoni pointed out that the name appears on coins sometimes as ΒΡΟΥΣΗΝΩΝ³, and inferred that colonists from Brousis, a district of Macedonia, had been settled there by the Greek kings. The single coin mentioned by Cavedoni seems not yet to be acknowledged by the numismatists⁴; and this weakens the force of the argument, which

¹ JHS 1882 p. 349.

² *Des fragments de construction encore en place s'élèvent du sol: les lignes de murs peuvent être suivies par endroits, et une colline basse voisine de ces vestiges est couverte des traces que la vie antique laisse après elle* BCH 1882 p. 504.

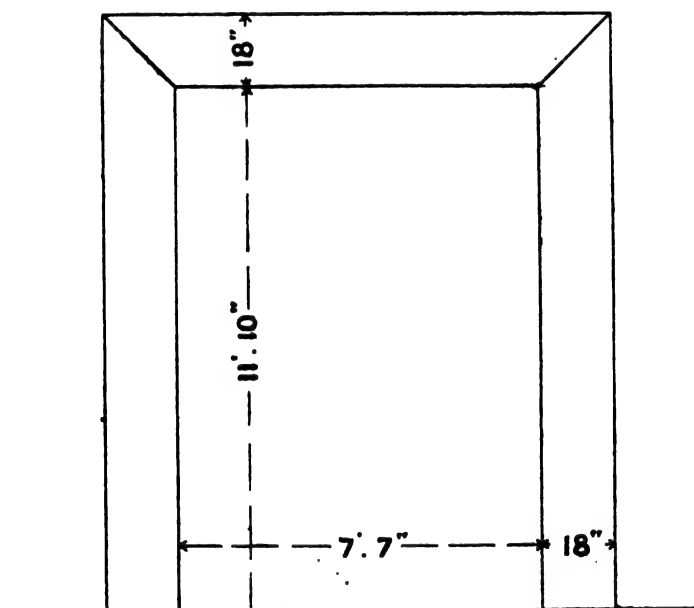
³ *Annali* 1861 p. 149. Variation between Σ and Ζ in spelling is found elsewhere: Zmyrna and Smyrna.

⁴ Both Mr. Head and M. Imhoof-Blumer doubt it: the coins often have Σ, and this, blurred, is readily mistaken for Σ.



has convinced MM. Legrand and Chamonard¹; but, in spite of this doubt, I now feel inclined to agree with them in regarding Brouzos as a Macedonian colony². Such a colony is exceedingly likely to have been founded in this valley on this important route; and Brouzos seems most likely to have been the colony. The point remains uncertain; but the following argument points to a military colonization at Brouzos.

A coin-type in several varieties is characteristic of the Pentapolis.



It occurs at Stektorion and Otrous, as well as at Brouzos, varying in details, but of the same general character: a male figure armed steps with his right foot on the prow of a vessel, looking backwards with his head turned over his left shoulder as he does so. This type seems to indicate an emigration by sea. At Brouzos, Mr. Head considers the figure to be Poseidon, for he is nude and hurling a trident³. At Stektorion a hero with helmet and cuirass is represented, brandishing a weapon in his right hand and protecting himself with a shield⁴.

¹ BCH⁵ 1893 p. 278.

² A Macedonian colony at Thyateira is attested only by one inscr.; and the title ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ never occurs on coins. This analogy breaks the force

of the objection which formerly seemed to me conclusive against the view of Cavedoni BCH 1882 p. 510.

³ This type seems not to be published.

⁴ Imhoof MG p. 412.

At Otrous also the retreating figure is a warrior; his raised right hand holds no weapon, but in his lowered left he grasps a spear. The difference points to peaceful emigration from a foreign land to Otrous and expulsion from across sea of a people who settled at Stektorion. At Brouzos the god seems to be represented as the guardian and leader of immigrant warriors from across the sea; and this would suit excellently the theory that the city was settled by a military colony of Macedonians.

The coinage of Brouzos formed a model for that of Hieropolis, which begins later: one type at Hieropolis is, as M. Waddington told me, identical with one of Brouzos in his collection¹. Another Hieropolitan type, the nude Zeus Aetophoros² hurling a thunderbolt, is modelled on the type of Poseidon hurling a trident at Brouzos. But for the study of such relations we must await the publication of M. Imhoof-Blumer's *Corpus* of Greek coins.

A remarkable type is common to Brouzos and to Akmonia. It represents Zeus sitting aloft with sceptre in his left hand, and patera in his right; while serpent-legged giants writhe beneath him apparently supporting his throne. The giants grasp with one hand at Akmonia their own serpent-tails, as if completely subdued, at Brouzos missile stones, as if still resisting³. These types belong to the period 222-238; and they probably originate in two works of art, which were dedicated in those cities about that time. At Akmonia the monument was perhaps a relief on marble, of which a fragment has been preserved by Hamilton, and is represented on p. 626 after his drawing.

On coins of Brouzos Π · ΑΙΚ · ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟC (wrongly read in Mionnet no. 306) c. A. D. 200 is often mentioned on coins, generally by *cognomen* only.

§ 5. OTRous. On the wide Sandykli-Ova I looked confidently for an ancient site on the higher E. side. Numerous villages are dotted along the skirts of the hills; and the names Ekin-Hissar and Karadja-Euren, especially, seemed to point to an old city. But I have examined personally almost every village on that side of the valley⁴; and could neither see nor learn anything to justify the belief that an ancient city

¹ JHS 1887 p. 478.

² This type may serve as a proof that the Zeus Bronton of N. Phrygia was worshipped also in the Pentapolis.

³ Reproduced on Pl. II 3, 4. See Imhoof in *Beitr. z. griech. Münzk.* in *Zft. f. Num.* XIII and Waddington *Voy. Num.* pp. 7 f (*Rev. Numism.* 1851

pp. 155 f).

⁴ The upper valley where Karghyn, Bektash, and other villages lie, was examined by Sterrett in 1883; and again in 1891 I went over all the villages except Dut-Agatch; but we found no ancient work that might not safely be reckoned as carried.

was situated on the E. side. All the old sites are clustered in the lower and more fertile parts. But that is not an *a priori* theory on my part; it is a conclusion reached only after long exploration, after much questioning of the natives, and several excursions to see reported 'old stones' in the fields. Exploration can rarely be reckoned complete, and certainly our exploration of Sandykli-Ova is far from complete; but, on the evidence as it stands, I cannot accept M. Radet's suggestion, thrown out without any personal exploration¹ and without any corroboration from remains discovered there, that Otrous was situated at Kusura.

Before we had explored the country, I suggested that Otrous might be situated north from Kelendres, and MM. Legrand and Chamonard return to that opinion². But I have tried in vain to find any site in that direction. The only traces of ancient life which we could find were some insignificant Byzantine fragments at Tchukurja; and MM. Legrand and Chamonard, who have been there, conclude (as I did) that a Greek city could not reasonably be placed there. The two French scholars cling to the opinion that Otrous may be somewhere else in that neighbourhood, because (as they say) they were prevented from examining it. I, who have examined it, have abandoned the opinion—not definitively, but on the existing evidence, though I shall gladly accept the results of any new exploration.

Tchor-Hissar is an ancient site; and on it lies a stone with an inscr. which suits Otrous well, though it does not contain the name of the city, no. 638. The site is surprisingly close to Hieropolis, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant; but there is no reason to think that either Otrous or Hieropolis was a large city. Moreover the theory suggested by the facts stated on no. 638 implies that Otrous must have been very near the *hieron*. As a final argument, Tchor (which is not a common Turkish name) may possibly be a corruption of the ancient name³.

Brouzos was, as we have seen, probably a Macedonian, i. e. Seleucid military colony. Otrous was also a foreign settlement; and the theory that naturally springs from its situation is that it was a *katoikia* of mercenary soldiers, formed to strengthen Pergamenian influence in the

¹ He was driven in a wagon rapidly across the valley, prostrate from fever, a situation deserving sympathy, but not conducive to effective exploration.

² BCH 1893 p. 278.

³ The resemblance is too slight to constitute a reason of any independent value; but it may lend some feeble

corroboration to the theory arrived at on other grounds. Tchor means 'brackish water'; and this name has no local suitability. Probably the old name was corrupted into a form that had a meaning in Turkish, cp. Sivasli p. 581, Dumanli &c. p. 575.

valley in opposition to Brouzos. For this reason it was placed near the *hieron*, and probably on a part of the land that belonged to the god and his priests¹. That was probably the case with the other Pergamenian settlements at Dionysopolis and Eumeneia; and in each case there is reason to think that the new foundation was made with the consent of the priests and in pursuance of a policy with which they were in sympathy², viz. the construction of a Graeco-Asiatic society and civilization. Thus Otrous is presented to us as the Pergamenian counterpoise to the Seleucid Brouzos; we have once more a case of the same class that meets us so frequently in Phrygia, Tripolis opposing Laodiceia in the Lycos valley, Phylakaion against Themisonion in the Kazanes valley, Eumeneia balancing Peltai in the Maeander valley, and Tralla-Aetos opposite to the Mysomakedones on the great pass of the Pergamenian and Seleucid struggle. At Eumeneia and Otrous we notice that the Pergamenian settlement is planted still closer to the *hieron* than the Seleucid, which had been placed near it.

The name Otrous probably connects the *katoikia* with Otruai or Otroia on lake Askania in Bithynia³. A coin type representing Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading his little son Askanios by the hand may be interpreted as symbolizing an emigration from the Askanian shore. The type previously described implies an emigration beyond the sea; and we thus arrive at the conclusion that the mercenaries settled in Otrous came partly from Europe and partly from the Bithynian lake Askania. From one of the European mercenary families sprang Alexander the Macedonian, mentioned no. 638 and perhaps 639, who may be identified by a highly probable conjecture with a person commemorated on coins, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ · ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ · ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ · ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ—evidently a man of property and influence, who had held the Asiarchate. Probably it was he who enabled Otrous to take its share in the burden imposed on Asian cities of finding persons at intervals to fill such expensive but honourable positions in the provincial cultus⁴. Doubtless some guarantee was required that Otrous would be able to fulfil its obligations, and Alexander aided it to give the guarantee⁵. The Curators who were imposed for a time on

¹ *ἐπὶ γῇ* or *χωρᾷ*.

² See Ch. X § 1 and 2, and p. 126.

³ See *Hist. Geogr.* p. 189, where G. Curtius's identification of Atreus and Otreus (compare Tataion-Tottaion &c. p. 153, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 240) is quoted:

from this heroic name comes *Ἀτροφία* or *Ὀτροφία*, and *Ὀτροφος* (cp. *Κάδοφος* usually plur. *Κάδοφοι*).

⁴ See pp. 436 f.

⁵ Hence he was *oikistes*, no. 638.

Apameia, until the generosity of Mithridatius enabled it to form a fund and get rid of them (no. 497), are an example of the securities and devices used by the Emperors to keep the cities up to their duties.

Coins ΕΠ · ΝΙΓΡΕΙΝΟΥ · ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ · ΑΡΧ · were struck under Geta, probably the same time with those of Alexander. The earliest known coin is of Commodus, ΕΠΙ · ΕΡΜΗΔΟΦΙΛΟΥ · ΑΡΧ · (Waddington).

§ 6. STEKTORION is fixed by inscr. 640, found in the Turbe of Mentesh-Baba in the village which is named after him. The exact site is marked by a large mound in the plain nearly two miles NE. from Mentesh, and one mile WSW. from Ille-Mesjid. The mound is fortified by ruined walls of the Greek period. There is cut in it a small theatre or odeon, which is now partly filled up by soil. Without excavation nothing further can be determined about it; but a small expenditure on this deserted mound might give good results.

The territory of Stektorion must have included the country between Hieropolis on N. and Aurokra on S. We found not a trace of ancient life in the few intervening villages of these almost deserted uplands, long undulating grassy hills and slopes, between the mountains of the Djebel-Sultan ridge springing up rather sharply W. and the bald hills of Gumalar-Dagh rising gently E. This reason, apart from any other, would make it impossible for me to accept the opinion of M. Radet that the town of the Lykaones was situated at Kizil-Euren, overhung by a steep hill W., about 6 miles SSE. from Mentesh on the road to Aurokra and Dineir (see § 8).

In the territory of Stektorion an interesting monument was shown. This was the 'conspicuous' tomb of Mygdon¹, whose name was often applied to the whole Phrygian people by the poets, and whose son Koroibos had fought on the side of Priam at the siege of Troy and was painted by Polygnotos on the Lesche at Delphi. This monument should be discoverable, for the words 'a conspicuous sign' seem to describe a large sepulchral tumulus. Now in the valley there is just one group of 'conspicuous signs,' three in number: they stand on a low ridge of hills north of Emir-Hissar², which project from W. into the valley; and they are so conspicuous as one stands on the ancient site, that, looking from the acropolis, I pointed to the largest, and said 'there is the tomb of Mygdon, and this must therefore be Stektorion.' The discovery of inscr. 640 in 1891 shattered the second part of this statement; and after finding that inscr. we proceeded to

¹ τούτου τε δέκνυται σῆμα ἐπιφανὲς ἐν ὄρεσι Φρυγῶν Στεκτορηγῶν Pausanias X 27, 1.

² See § 7.

search for a 'conspicuous sign' in the neighbourhood of Mentesh, but discovered nothing. There seem only three alternatives: (1) the tomb of Mygdon has crumbled and ceased to be conspicuous: (2) it is the largest of the tumuli N. of Emir-Hissar, and Pausanias has loosely described the situation (perhaps because he saw it from some point in the territory of Stektorion): (3) Emir-Hissar is, after all, Stektorion. Of these alternatives, the second seems, as evidence now stands, the most probable; but we may look to some future traveller for better luck or greater skill in search.

The worship of Artemis at Stektorion appears on coins, especially one showing Leto running, carrying her twin children¹.

A high-priesthood existed at Stektorion in the third century: on coins of Philip occurs the legend ΕΠΙ · ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ · ΑCΙΑΡ · Κ · ΤΗC · ΠΑΤ ·, implying Δημητρίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς πατρίδος. A small theatre or *odeion* can be traced on the site.

Coins of a magistrate ΦΛ · ΑΙΚΙΝΝΙΑΝΟΥ were struck under Verus 161-169 A. D.

§ 7. ΕΥΚΑΡΡΙΑ. Beside the village Emir-Hissar, whose very name, 'the Castle of the Emir,' implies an old-standing glory, there is an ancient site of great importance. A few hundred yards N. from the city, a hill marks the acropolis of the old city. Everything about it was in a state of extreme dilapidation in 1883, when we visited it; and in the plain below we saw only scanty traces of the ruins, which were still so imposing, when Hamilton saw them in 1837². He 'reached the site of an ancient town near the centre of the plain. Many lines of walls, formed of square blocks of stone, with doors and gateways, all marking the direction of streets *in situ*, covered the ground for some distance. They were not high, but the foundations were perfect, and a plan might easily be made of the whole place. To the north of the road a hill rises above the plain, which has served as the Acropolis: it is a detached table-land of lacustrine formation, of which there are several in different parts of the plain, and remains of walls may still be traced round a great part of the summit. On the west side I found a Greek inscr.³ carved upon the smooth face of the rock, which had been cut to represent a sarcophagus. The village of Emir-Hissar has been raised entirely upon the ancient ruins, and near it are the solid foundations of several

¹ This type with slight variations is widely spread in Phrygia and Lydia: see above p. 90, and Schreiber *Apollo Pythoktonos*.

² *Researches in As. Min.* II p. 169: he calls the village Emir Hassan Keui.

³ See no. 648. My note says the inscr. is on a sarcophagus.

square and oblong buildings, some of which are of considerable size.' On this site, which is only three miles W. from Tchör-Hissar, we provisionally place the fifth city of the Pentapolis; for five cities existed in the plain, and five sites alone have been found. But see § 6.

The most important, almost the only, piece of evidence about the situation of Eukarpia is in the Peutinger Table. It is given there on a road from Dorylaion to Eumeneia, intermediate between the roads Dorylaion-Akmonia and Dorylaion-Synnada. One of the primary objects of our work in 1883 was to determine the line of this intermediate road and the situation of Eukarpia. After examining every possible path, and trying every opening, we found that the only intermediate road leads through Sitchanli-Ova and Sandykli-Ova. Now Eukarpia, being the next station on the Table to Eumeneia, distant XXX M. P., must have been in the Sandykli-Ova, unless the Table has omitted a station between Eumeneia and Eukarpia; and all doubt on this point seems to be removed by the fact that Eukarpia was in the Pentapolis.

As to the exact site of Eukarpia, direct evidence is wanting, and we must calculate probabilities. Is the distance stated correctly in Table? Kara-Sandykli and Ille-Mesjid are both about XXX M. P. from Eumeneia¹; but the accessible evidence places Brouzos and Stektorion on those sites; and there seems no alternative except that Eukarpia was situated at Emir-Hissar². This makes it necessary to change the number in the Table from XXX to XXV³.

To judge from Hamilton's description and from the general character of the localities, Emir-Hissar was the site of the chief city of the district⁴; and coinage indicates Eukarpia as the wealthiest city in the Pentapolis. The coins begin as early as Augustus, when they bear the curious legend ΕΥΚΑΡΠΙΤΙΚΟΥ, and mention ΑΥΚΙΔΑΣ and ΑΠΦΙΑ · ΙΕΡΗΑ. In the time of the Antonines the name of a woman occurs, ΕΠΙ · ΠΕΔΙΑΣ · ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΗΣ⁵.

There remains a certain doubt about the site of Eukarpia, which would probably be dispelled by a little excavation on the acropolis at

¹ Reckoning Eumeneia to Ille-Mesjid over Duz-Bel. I clung to the belief that Eukarpia was on the latter site until the discovery of no. 640 in 1891.

² As MM. Legrand and Chamonard have inferred BCH 1893 p. 275.

³ The next stage on the road (after passing Brouzos at V M. P.) would be Kidyessos, which is near XXIV M. P.

from Emir-Hissar. But Kidyessos is omitted on the Table, which goes on to Conni XXXII M. P.

⁴ The site of Stektorion contains a theatre, however; whereas I saw none at Emir-Hissar. Theatres are not common in Phrygia.

⁵ Probably in the time of Faustina Junior, Imhoof MG p. 399.

Emir-Hissar; for proof or disproof of this assignation would readily be found. But, so far as we may judge, Eukarpia was the commercial centre, lying on the great road to the coast and at the most convenient *dépôt* for the whole valley; and that is the character of Emir-Hissar.

At Eukarpia a sculptural group was dedicated under M. Aurelius. It represented the huntress Artemis, after the Greek fashion, resting



1.



2.

her left arm (which holds the bow) on a small archaic idol, while her right hand is raised to take an arrow from the quiver: on her right side a deer looks up towards her. The small idol here represents the old goddess in her primitive form with a high ornament like a *polos* on her head, her right hand laid on her breast, and her left hanging by her side. It is highly probable that this group, showing the

goddess in her hellenized character leaning on her ancient *xoanon*¹, stood in her temple at Eukarpia². This temple seems to have been rebuilt under M. Aurelius. Leave from the central government was needed to undertake a work involving such expenditure, and was obtained through the good offices of P. Claudius Max. Marcellianus³, while C. Claudius Flaccus superintended the execution. Their services are commemorated on coins (legends quoted p. 594).

A similar type occurs under Caracalla at Tiberiopolis, with some variation in the dress and action of Artemis (who holds a torch in her right hand, and leans her left arm on a small idol)⁴. It is probable that the Tiberiopolitan type is to be explained, not as an imitation of coins of the distant Eukarpia, but as due to the existence of another sculptural work of this common type in Tiberiopolis. It approximates more to the Venus type seen in a Pompeian statue⁵.

§ 8. LYKAONES were a people of Central Phrygia in the *conventus* of Synnada⁶, separated from the country of the Lycaonians proper by the intervening cities belonging to the *conventus* of Philomelion⁷. In the *Notitiae* the Lykaones come after Brouzos and Otrous and before Stektorion⁸. We should therefore look for them near the Pentapolis. They are mentioned in the Tekmorian lists as the Inner Lycaonians⁹. We may understand that they were a fragment of the same people that inhabited Lycaonia proper. This people was probably an older race in Asia Minor than the Phrygians (who came into the country from Europe, probably about 900 B.C.): the earlier population was pushed before the immigrant Phrygians, who came from N.W., partly into the remote plains of Lycaonia on S. E., partly into the shelter of mountain fastnesses. Now any one who travels over

¹ See J. Friedländer in *Arch. Ztg.* 1880 p. 184 (who wrongly dates the coins under Hadrian). Many examples of a deity of Hellenic type leaning on an archaic *xoanon* are known. Friedländer gives two other examples of Artemis represented in this way: so that the Eukarpian type was evidently well known in the Roman period. One of his examples, a Cyprian statuette, fig. 1, is here imitated from *Arch. Ztg.* l. c.

² Fig. 2 enlarged from coin of Eukarpia by Friedländer l. c.

³ Many examples showing that leave from the proconsul (or direct from the Emperor), justified by proof that they could afford it, was required before the

provincial cities could undertake any serious work, are to be found in Pliny's correspondence with Trajan.

⁴ Imhoof MG p. 414 ('*peut-être imité d'après le type des jolies monnaies d'Eukarpia*').

⁵ The statue is published *Arch. Ztg.* 1881 taf. VII.

⁶ Pliny V 105.

⁷ Pliny V 95.

⁸ The order of Hierocles, unfortunately, is not serviceable, for he appends four *demoi* at the end of his list, not arranging them in their proper places among the cities.

⁹ Λυκαονεῖς πρὸς ἑρδον *Hist. Geogr.* p. 413, Sterrett *W. E.* p. 272.

Central Phrygia will acknowledge that no part of it is so well adapted for the refuge of the dispossessed Lykaones as the mountains that lie S. from Afion-Kara-Hissar and Kidyessos; and these mountains are occupied in the Western part by the Moxeanoi, in the Eastern part by the Lykaones, probably two ancient pre-Phrygian tribes¹.

Ptolemy mentions the Lykaones in a difficult passage: so far as the amended text can be quoted as evidence, it places them W. of the Moxianoi, and N. of the Pentapolis². That suits well the situation just described; and here we may conjecturally place the Lykaones, acknowledging that the evidence is not yet sufficient to prove our hypothesis.

In this situation the Lykaones would extend down on N. to Erikmen, W. from Afion-Kara-Hissar, and on S. W. to the Cutchuk-Sitchanli-Ova about Saoran, where there are some scanty traces of ancient life; but their chief centre would be in the mountains, where there exist several large villages, especially Kalejik, and a monastery of considerable fame (which I have heard of, but have not visited). Such a people might be expected to be backward in civilization, and to have no Greek city life: hence the Lykaones struck no coins, and are defined by Hierocles as a *demos*, which implies a lower stage of social organization. It is possible that a monastery of the Lykaones is mentioned in some of the following entries at the Council held in Constantinople in A. D. 536. (1) Zosimos, presbyter and hegoumenos of a monastery defined as *μονῆς Λυκαόνων πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου*, or *μονῆς Εὐτυχίου τῶν Λυκαόνων πλησίον τῶν Ματρώνης*, is often mentioned. (2) Modestos presbyter and hegoumenos *μονῆς τῶν Λυκαόνων* signed by means of Flavianus presbyter and secondary; and Flavianus presbyter and secondary styles himself *τῆς Μοδέστου τῶν Λυκαόνων* or *τῆς μονῆς ἐπὶ κλην τῶν Λυκαόνων*³. (3) Paul presbyter and archimandrite *τῶν Λυκαόνων* occurs only once⁴.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with ecclesiastical geography to decide whether any of these monasteries of the Lykaones may have been in Constantinople or in the region of Jerusalem. One might look for a monastery of the Lykaones either in their own district or

¹ The clustering in difficult mountainous parts of fragments of earlier races after conquest by immigrant races is a phenomenon that will reward hereafter proper systematic investigation in Asia Minor: see pp. 124 f and Von Luschan in Petersen *Lykia* II pp. 198 ff.

² See Ch. XIV App. III, where it is

shown that the passage as it stands is hopelessly incongruous, while with a transposition of two names, it becomes lucid and good.

³ See Labbe V pp. 33, 53, 76, 112, 133, 176.

⁴ Labbe V p. 176, perhaps an error of text.

in one of the great centres to which they were attracted¹. No bishop of the Lykaones appears at any Council, which is strange; but a work attributed to Jerome alludes to Lykaonia as a city of Phrygia Salutaris².

M. Radet assigns to the Lykaones a position S. of Stektion, where I could find not a trace of ancient life, and which is on a great and easy route, not in a strong situation likely to be a refuge: moreover it lies S. of the Pentapolis; see § 2 and Ch. XIV *App.* III (1).

§ 9. THE TURKISH CONQUEST. In the time of Alexius Comnenus 1081-1117, the Pentapolis was probably still a part of the Byzantine dominion. Akroenos (Afion-Kara-Hissar) was a frontier fortress: Khoma-Siblia was under a Byzantine governor after 1092: the Themes of Cappadocia and Khoma, which together constituted the frontier defences against the Seljuks, were under the same general Burtzes³; and therefore they were necessarily conterminous. Now, if the same general administered the defences of Khoma, Akroenos, and the Amorion plain⁴, we can hardly doubt that the Pentapolis was included in the line of frontier defence, for communication between Khoma and the northern parts of the frontier could hardly be maintained, except through the Pentapolis⁵. Moreover, it is clear that at this period communication between Constantinople and Khoma was maintained by a direct route (passing most probably through the Pentapolis) whereas in the time of Manuel it evidently had to be maintained by a circuitous path⁶. We conclude therefore that, according to the peace arranged between the empire and the Seljuks about 1072, the Pentapolis was left to the empire, while Apameia and the Lycos-valley were abandoned to the Turks.

The most serious danger in the situation of Asia Minor in the twelfth century lay, not in the armies of the Turks, but in the nomadization of the country⁷. The nomad tribes with their tents, families, and flocks, were constantly pressing on the settled Chr.

¹ A monastery of the Galatai at Iconium is explicable only through the fact that Iconium was for a long time a city of the Galatai: see St. Gregory the Great *Dialog.* IV 38 (*Studia Biblica* IV p. 32).

² *Lycaonia provincia Asiae est; et eiusdem nominis civitas est in Phrygia Minore* (i. e. *Salutari* p. 82), Hieronymus *Lib. Nom. locc. ex Actis* III 1302 (Migne).

³ Anna I p. 119 (171).

⁴ At this period the Amorion plain

was in the Theme Cappadocia (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 231).

⁵ The country further East was certainly Turkish since 1072.

⁶ Alexius did not attempt to maintain his hold on Laodiceia, even when Ducas marched through it in 1092, Ch. 1 § 8. He therefore relied on maintaining his communications with Khoma-Siblia by a direct road. On Manuel's marches see below.

⁷ See pp. 16 ff.

country, following and even outstripping the advance of Seljuk armies. Their progress was most rapid in time of peace. When war was openly maintained, the Byzantine armies took the field, and, as a rule, were stronger in battle than the Turks. But during peace, the dying Empire relaxed its efforts; the Chr. population was apathetic, uneducated, helpless, and often disaffected to the Orthodox Empire¹; and there was no force to oppose the subtle penetrative power of the Nomads. Hence, although in 1097 it is clear that the Pentapolis was in Byzantine hands, and though the reign of John Comnenus presents in the pages of Byzantine history a superficial appearance of frequent victory over the Turks, yet we find that in 1158 the valley has passed entirely into the hands of the Turkish Nomads². Cinnamus p. 196 describes in strong terms the astonishment of the Turks when a small Byzantine army ventured to invade the district in that year. The central place of the district is called by Cinnamus Sarapata Mylonos, which seems to be a mixture of a Turkish and a Greek name, Hissar-Abad and Mylon. Now a Byzantine fortress must have been needed in the Pentapolis, when it was on the frontier lines between Khoma and Akroenos; for the old sites on the W. side in the level ground were ill suited for defence. Accordingly a new castle seems to have been founded on the higher E. side on the castle-hill of Sandykli, called Mylon by the Greeks, and 'the place of the castle' by the Turks³.

In 1175 Manuel Comnenus, preparing for his great blow against the Turkish power, marched by Melangeia to Dorylaion, which was now completely deserted and abandoned to the nomads⁴. After rebuilding and fortifying Dorylaion on a new site⁵, he proceeded to Sibia, and restored its fortifications; but, in place of taking the direct route by Nakoleia, Meros, Konne, and the Glaukos-valley (the Pentapolis), he went round by the Rhyndacos-country⁶. This

¹ See p. 16.

² On the adoption of Turkish names by the Byzantines (a proof of complete Turcization) see p. 21 note 2 and *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 285, 290. So Arab names were adopted about Melitene, J. G. C. Anderson in *Class. Review* April 1896.

³ Similarly we find that Banaz, Tcaul, and Baklan were nomadized by 1176 (see p. 21 and Ch. XIII § 15), the district of Khonas by 1190 (pp. 23 and 219). Anna Comnena II p. 248 calls the Nomads τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων

Τουρκομένων, rightly distinguishing them from the Τοῦρκοι.

⁴ Cinnamus p. 295, Nicetas p. 226.

⁵ *Hist. Geogr.* p. 212.

⁶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τῷ Ῥυνδάκῳ χωρίοις Cinn. p. 297. Nicetas p. 229 gives less information on the subject. We have inferred above, p. 20 note 2 that Manuel marched by way of Aizanoi and Eumeneia, and this inference seems practically certain; the only alternative open is that of a march by Philadelpheia and Laodiceia.

circuitous route seems to prove that he thought it unsafe to take the direct route, as being too much exposed to the Turks ; and Cinnamus is probably making an apology for this cautious conduct, when he lays stress on the small numbers of Manuel's army, owing to desertion and other causes.

It is therefore apparent that the Pentapolis was never entered by a Byzantine force after 1158, while the Banaz-Ova was entered for the last time in 1176.

APPENDIX I.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PENTAPOLIS.

It is impossible to assign with certainty the place of origin of the inscr. found in the different villages in Sandykli-Ova. Communication is so easy, and stones for building mosques and fountains are carried so regularly¹, that identification of origin is difficult, and the classification here adopted is only tentative. Our rules are (1) each stone is classed to the site from which transport is shortest and easiest, unless there is distinct evidence either in the inscr. or from the statements of natives that it has been brought from a more distant site. (2) Stones used in a turbe, or mosque, or fountain are most likely to be carried: for the skilled workmen required for such construction are hired (often from a considerable distance) by the villagers, and they commonly bring with them in their carts some stones: on the other hand, stones standing free² are much less likely to be carried from a distance. (3) Stones standing free on an ancient site must be assigned to it: this criterion determines the origin of no. 634, 638. (4) The more modern the building, the more likely is a stone in it to have been carried from a distance. (5) Uncut stones used as gravestones have usually been transplanted, but only from a neighbouring situation within a radius of 2 or 3 miles: cut gravestones have come from a mason's yard in a city, and their original provenance is quite uncertain.

These rules are not of any binding force; and future discoveries may show that the classification founded on them in the following pages requires modification.

1. HIEROPOLIS.

630. (R. 1883). Cemetery near Kuyujak. (1) Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. τῷ αἰωνίῳ [ἡ] μὲν ἀποκράτορι Μ. Αὔρ. [Πρόβφ (name erased and (2) Διοκλη-

¹ See pp. 365, 583.

² Unless there is reason to think that

they were formerly part of a building
which has now crumbled into ruin.

τια[νῶ] squeezed into its place in smaller characters) Σ[ε]βας[τῶ] ἡ λαμπρο-
τάτη Ἱεροπολειτῶν πόλις Μ. At the left side there was subsequently
added in small rude letters (3) *dl. NN. Imp. diocletiani et Maximiani*
in vict. Aug[us]t. Below this (4) τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καίσαρας Φλα. Οὐαλ.
Ἰκωνστάντι erased¹ οὐ καὶ Γαλ. Οὐαλ. Μαξιμιανὸν ἡ Ἱεροπολειτῶν πόλις.
Dates (1) A. D. 276–282, (2) 284, (3) 285, (4) 292.

The inscription to Probus was engraved in fine well-cut letters (shapes
Α, Τ, Ω, Υ, Ε, C): the distance was probably one mile, as no
number was added. The stone, in that case, is not very far from its
original position, though it has been moved undoubtedly. The name of
Probus was very rarely erased; but another instance of erasure occurs at
Komana Capp. BCH 1883 p. 131, *Journal of Philol.* 1882 p. 149¹.
Here the name is assured by the horizontal bar of Π, which is not com-
pletely destroyed.

631. Kotch-Hissar. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893
p. 277, '*il paraît impossible de proposer une restitution vraisemblable*'; but
except the first two and a half lines, the sense is probable: [τὸ [Ἱ]ε[ροπ]-
[λιτῶν? κοινὸν?] ἐξ? [ἐπι]γ[ρ]α[φ]ῆς [—] ἐτέμνησεν Ἀρίωνα Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρου
πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνε[κα] · ἐγ[ράφη] τὸ [δόγμα] ἐτου[ς] ἐν[δ]ος καὶ ὀγδοη[κοστ]οῦ
μηνὸς δευτέρου [ἐν]ψ[ῆ]φ[ισ]αντος Φιλίππου ΤΕΤΟΥΝΙ[·] Α τοῦ γραμματέως
καὶ Σέου² ἥρου² δογματογρα[φ]ησάντων Δη]μοκλέος τε Μηνα[δ]ώρου καὶ
Ἀλεξάνδρου Μεν[ε]κλέους καὶ Φιλίππου Ἀσκλη[η]πιδόου]. B. C. 34.

The exordium would be the most interesting part of this document:
a new copy is much to be desired. The date is one of the earliest known
among the inscr. of Central Phrygia; and it is especially tantalizing
that the opening lines are partly hidden. The Roman custom that
witnesses should be present when the decree was transcribed and entered
in the archives (see no. 544) was imitated in the Asian cities. Generally
the witnesses were selected by lot from among those who had been present
when the decree was passed (*λαχόντων δογματογράφων* at Assos, Sterrett
in *Papers Amer. Sch. Athens* I p. 55): they were often three in number as
here (at Assos l. c., Ephesos see Hicks no. 481 lines 315 ff., and probably
Hermes IV p. 198, Mitylene Collitz *Sammlung* no. 238, Iasos Th. Reinach
Rev. Ét. Gr. 1893 p. 166): sometimes two along with the Secretary of
the City (at Ephesos Hicks no. 481 lines 297 ff., at Akmonia no. 544 where
probably the first person in the concluding formula is the *γραμματεὺς*,

¹ In the latter place I distrusted my own copy and assigned the inscr. wrongly to Caracalla. another epithet or office of Philip is wanted (unless we should read [Σέου?]-
ἥρου δογματογρα[φ]ησάντος).

² In place of a personal name here,

while the last is the *amanuensis*, a public slave). See Swoboda *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse* pp. 213 ff. The Roman forms are more closely followed in an inscr. of Orkistos to be published in a later chapter.

632. (R. 1883). Koteh-Hissar. BCH 1893 p. 276. Τάτιον Φιλουμένω τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ μ. χ. καὶ ἐαυτῇ. The last two words are omitted in BCH: cp. no. 659.

633. Daoul. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 276. [οἱ δεῖνες] σὺν τοῖς [θιασώταις?] Ἰουβεντία[νῶ— Φιλ]ίππῳ Σεβηριανῶ [—]—] πανφ καὶ [—] Σεβηριανῇ [τὸ —]οιον κατὰ [ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ? ἀνέ]θεςαν [τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατ]ρίδι.

2. BROUZOS.

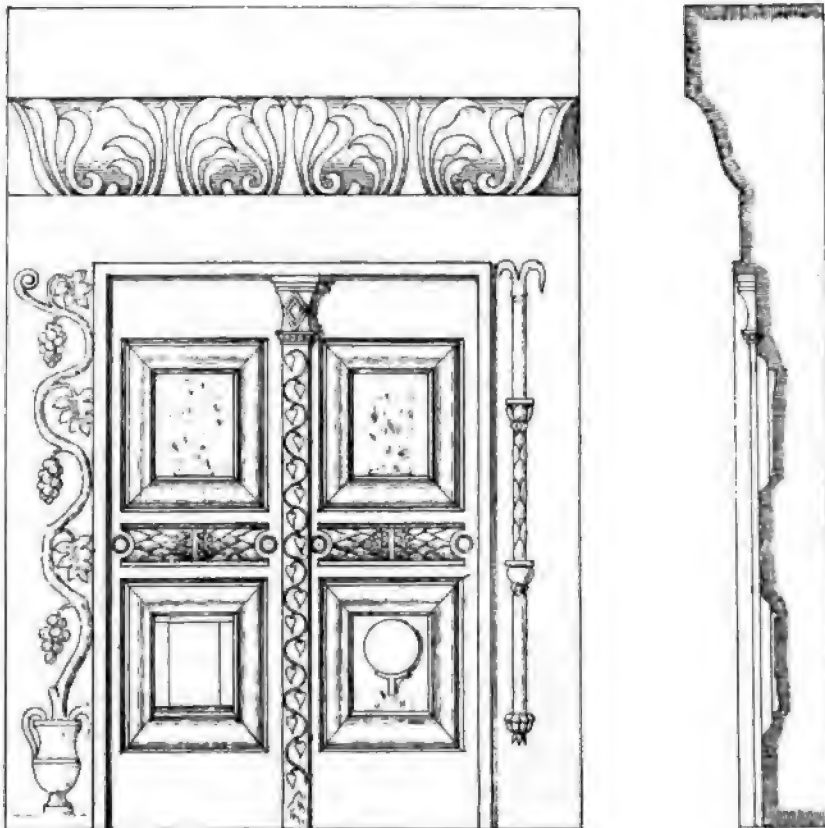
634. (R. 1881). Kara-Sandykli. Λ. Σεπτίμιον Σ[εου]ήρον Εὐσεβῆ Π[ερ]τ[ρ]ίνακα Σεβ. Ἀραβ. Ἀ[διαβηνι]κὸν Παρθικὸν [μέγισ]τον ἢ Βρουζῆ[νῶν] ὃ πόλιν ὃ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένων τῶν περὶ Ἀπέλλ[η]ν β. τοῦ Λουκίου ἀρχόντων καὶ Σε[α]πίωνος β' καὶ Παλίωνος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Πάπου. A.D. 199–210 (Severus took the title Parth. Max. in 199, Brit. in 210).

The inscr. originally ended with ἀρχόντων; but the other members of the supreme board desired to have their names immortalized, and they were added by a different hand in letters not so ornate as those of the first inscription. The supreme board evidently contained four members at Brouzos.

635. (R. 1881). Kara-Sandykli. Door-stone. Ἀσκληπιάδης Τίτου καὶ ἡ γλυκυτάτη αὐτοῦ γυνὴ | Πονπεῖα ἡ φίλανδρος τὸ μνημῖον κατεσκεύασαν | ἐαυτοῖς καὶ τέκνοις μ. χ. ἐνορκιζόμεθα δὲ | τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας μηδένα ἀδικῆσαι τὸ μνημῖον, μηδὲ | ἄλλον τινὰ τεθῆναι χωρὶς Γαίου καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου τέκνων | οὐκ ἤμη|ν ἐγενό|μην οὐκ | ἔσομαι| οὐ μέλι| μοι| ὁ βίος| ταῦτα. χαίρετε παροδεῖται. The moral maxim is engraved in small characters on the lower left hand panel of the door.

This inscr. perhaps belongs to the pagan philosophical revival, it is influenced either by Chr. feeling (against which it protests in the moral maxim), or by Jewish thought; for the expression τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ seems due to one or other, and is not native Phrygian. The adjuration of the καταχθονίους δαίμονας in place of θεοῦς, also, perhaps betrays the influence of Chr. feeling. The early Chr. did not disbelieve in the existence of Di Manes or θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι, though they considered them to be δαίμονες rather than θεοί. It is quite probable that some remains of the old superstitions connected with death and burial clung to the less educated Christians, and may have contributed to cause the strange fact

that the distinctly pagan formulae *Dis Manibus* and *Θεοῖς Καταθούσις* occur in full on some Christian epitaphs; and *D. M.* or *D. M. S.* on others. M. Le Blant I p. 490 and others have attributed this to the mere heedless following of established custom; but I should rather



see in it the hold of old superstition on the Chr. In some places e.g. Florence, Milan, Bononia, the symbols B. M. (*Bonae Memoriae*) were substituted for DM at the top of Christian epitaphs¹. Perhaps in later times, at least, some Christian engravers had forgotten the meaning of the traditional heading². De Rossi considers that all Christian inscriptions bearing D. M. are earlier than the fourth century; but Le Blant places one Gaulish inscription (no. 361, I p. 491) with DM as late as the fifth century.

¹ M. Le Blant also quotes D. P. (*De-Positio*) at the top of a Christian epitaph I p. 491.

² In proof of this M. Le Blant I p. 491 quotes M. S. D. from one Christian inscription.

It seems to me, therefore, probable that this inscr. was composed either by a philosophic pagan in the later third century, when Christianity had produced a strong effect on pagan sentiment (see no. 466), or by a Chr. not fully emancipated from his old religious ideas: a similar form of adjuration occurs in no. 661, which is probably Chr.

636. Urkuk, near Kelendres. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 279 *ἐτους τθί', μηνὸς γ. Ζωτικὸς* [. . . δῶ]ρου Δόμνη γυναικὶ καὶ Δόμνη (θυγατρὶ?) [μ.] χ. καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἐτι ζῶντι. ὃς ἂν κακουργέσι τοῦτο, τοιούταις (!) περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς. A. D. 234.

There seems to be no room for *θυγατρὶ* (though no information as to the size and shape of the stone is given in BCH); but the editors' restoration is assured by the curse, 'may the violator be involved in similar misfortunes (i.e. untimely loss of children and wife).' Usually this curse is in a fuller form, as in no. 522.

637. (R. 1881). Kara-Sandykli. Lower left-hand corner of a stone, with the beginnings of the last four lines NO, CEΩ, ΓΑΙΟ and ΘΤΟ: perhaps [. . . τῆς ἀναθέ]σεω[ς τῶν περὶ] Γάϊον — τὸ [β' ἀρχόντων]. Gaius — was First Archon for the second time.

3. OTRous.

638. (R. 1883). Tchör-Hissar. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 277. Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδόνα | οἰκιστὴν τῆς πόλεως.

The remains at Tchör-Hissar seemed to me to be on an ancient site. After visiting every other village in the valley to discover the site of the fifth city of the Pentapolis, I could find no signs of a city: I then went to Tchör-Hissar and found there clear traces of an old city. The only inscr. on the site was the above; and it contains a distinct, though not a conclusive piece of evidence, that Otrous was situated here.

First as to the provenance of the stone. When an inscr. is found standing free on an ancient site, it seems fair to conclude that it belongs to that site. Hence I cannot accept the suggestion made in BCH 1893 p. 278 that this stone may have been brought from Brouzos: that is possible, but probability is against it.

Second, as to the meaning of the inscr. It cannot be interpreted of Alexander the Great, for if the city had claimed him as *oikistes*, it would have expressed the claim more clearly and proudly. The inscr. clearly belongs, from the lettering, to the Imperial period: therefore either it commemorates some old *oikistes*, the leader of an ancient colonization, whether historical (i.e. under the Diadochoi) or mythical, or on the other hand it commemorates the elevation of Otrous to the rank of a *polis* in

the Roman period. The latter supposition seems to me far the more probable. Otrous was originally a *katoikia*, like Phylakaion pp. 257 ff, a village in which a small colony of mercenaries had been planted by one of the Greek kings¹; and at some time under the Empire, it had been raised in rank and granted the right of coinage and the other privileges of a city. New privileges to a city were generally granted at the intercession of some prominent individual, who had rendered some services to the state; and the person who obtained any new privilege was styled a *ktistes*. But that title had become commonplace, and *ktistai* were too numerous. Otrous gave a more emphatic title to the person through whose instrumentality the *katoikoi* of a village had been settled as a city, and called him *oikistes*. The brevity of the inscr. lends emphasis to it, by placing him among the heroic figures above the rank of ordinary magistrates. See § 4.

638 *lis.* (R. 1887). Kuyujak. Ἀλέξα[νδρος —]λατος [——] ἱερω-
τάτης [——] ἡ πόλις.

It is unfortunate that this inscr. proved undecipherable, as Alexander here may be the same as in the preceding text: we should expect his name to be in the accusative. There are three separate villages near each other called Kuyujak: they are nearly equidistant from Kotch-Hissar, Tchor-Hissar, and Kara-Sandykli.

639. (R. 1881). Kelendres. [Αὐτοκράτορα | [Καίσαρα] Λ. [Σ]ε[π]τίμιον]
Σεουή[ρον Περ]τίνακα | [Σε]βαστ[ὸν ἡ] βου[λῆ καὶ δὲ] ἡμος Ὁ[τροηνῶν] ἐπι-
με[λ]ηθέντων τῆς ἀ[ναθέσεως] Ἑρμογε[νιανῶν] καὶ Εὐτυ[χου καὶ Μ]ούτου²
καὶ | [. . .] ντανου | ἀρχόντων. Date probably about 193.

This inscr. is much mutilated; but restoration is facilitated by the regularity of the engraving: each line seems to have contained 11 or 12 letters (of which 6 or 7 are lost at the beginning). Hence ἀ[ναστάσεως] must be discarded and ἀ[ναθέσεως] read in l. 9; and δ[Βρουζηνῶν] is impossible in l. 7³, though the proximity of that city and the existence of a board of four archons here and in no. 634 recommend that reading.

¹ I am indebted to M. Radet for teaching me the importance of these colonies; though he has not in the present case caught the true meaning of the facts presented to us.

² This line does not exceed the proper number: οὐ in gen. termination occupies only the space of one letter; and the fact that ΟΥ before Τ is written as two separate letters shows that my former

reading BCH 1882 p. 517 is incorrect.

³ Great part of the final Ν was in the mutilated part of the line: a gap of 8½ letters cannot be allowed. The genitive endings are written with Υ inside Ο; but the important part of the city name cannot be supposed to be curtailed. But no question of even the slightest moment hangs on the restoration: it is a mere epigraphic detail

[Κορυ]ούτου seems too long in l. 11; perhaps [Βρ]ούτου, or Μούτου (cp. Μύτας no. 294, 78). The names are here restored differently (and I think much better) than in my first publication BCH 1882 p. 517.

4. STEKTORION.

640. (R. 1891). Mentesh, in the Turbe of Mentesh-Baba. IMP · NERVA · CAES · AVG · PONT · MAX · TRIB · POT · P · P · ΠΙ COS · CIVITAS · STECTOREN · A. D. 97 (before 13 Sept.).

The people of Stektorion were not well acquainted with Latin: they should have written *Nervae* and *Trib. Pot. Cos. III P. P.* The Turbe is an old building: the lower part of it consists entirely of ancient cut and dressed stones (not in their original place): and there is therefore more chance that the inscribed stone has come from the site near Mentesh (pp. 689, 698).

. 641. (R. 1883). Ille-Mesjid¹. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτείμησεν Μ. Αὐρ. Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθέρων Κρήσκεντα, ἐπίτροπον Λυγδούνου Γαλλίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον Φρυγίας καὶ ἐπίτροπον Καστρήσιω, ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εὐεργετήσαντα τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένου [Μ ?] Αὐρ.² Σεβαστῶν ἀπελευθέρων Ζωσίμου. A. D. 161–169 or 176–180.

Published in CIG no. 3888 as belonging to Eumeneia, owing to inexact information from Laborde, who copied it. Franz was wrong in tampering with the spelling of Λυγδούνου, strange as it is.

The *procurator rationis* (or *fisci*) *castrensis* has provoked much discussion. Prof. O. Hirschfeld³ considers that he was an official of the Imperial household, managing the expenditure required for the upkeep of the *domus* (conceived as *castra*, cp. Juv. IV 134). But Mommsen⁴ points out that the Emperor was not in *castra* while he was residing in his *domus* in Rome; as soon as he left Rome, his residence (even in Albanum Juv. l. c.) was *castra* or *praetorium*; hence Mommsen thinks that the *proc. castr.* managed the Imperial *vestis castrensis* (I 417 note 4) and entire travelling equipment. This office was regularly held by an Imperial freedman, and was one of the highest positions open to him. Freedmen rarely became procurators of provinces; but Crescens after becoming *procurator castrensis* was promoted to the procuratorship first of

¹ Called Ala-Mesjid, Speckled-red Mosque, BCH 1893 p. 275 (where this inscr. is mentioned). My informant declared that the strange form Ille M. (Fifty Mosques) was correct.

² My copy has a blank space before Σεβ.; Laborde reads Αὐρ. without Μ. Zosimos certainly had a *praenomen*,

probably Μ.

³ *Röm. Verwaltungsgesch.* pp. 196 f (altering his earlier view, *Philol. Jahrb.* 1868 pp. 690 ff).

⁴ *Staatsrecht* II p. 807 (782). Marquardt II p. 314 wrongly gives *militär-intendent* as the equivalent of *proc. castr.* See also Liebenam *Beitr.* p. 83.

prov. *Fryg.* (CIL III 348), and then of *Gallia Lugdunensis et Aquitania*, which was the highest provincial procuratorship. O. Hirschfeld and Friedländer¹ therefore argue that the importance of the *castr.* is not satisfied by such duties as Mommsen would assign to him, and that the Emperor's *domus*, though in the Augustan theory not military, became so in the later conception.

On the procuratorship of Phrygia see Ch. XIX.

642. (R. 1891). Mentesh. BCH 1893 p. 275 differently². Letters very faint and rude. *Αὐρ. Ἀντίοχος Σεκοῦνδῳ καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ τέκνοις γλυκυτάτοις μνήμης χάριν. ἐς δὲ τὸ μνῆμα Γαίου [Πρό]κλου κτλ.*²

Is there here an *ἀνανέωσις* (see no. 415), understanding *ἐστι τὸ μνῆμα Γαίου*?

643. (R. 1891). In a fountain on the upper (eastern) track from Sandykli to Tchali-Keui. On a fragment of the entablature of a *heroön*: written from right to left in two lines. *Ἔτους τμβ', μηνι ζ'. Αὐρ. Βάσσοις β'. τοῖς ἰδίοις? | τέκνοις? Ζωτικῶ καὶ Δου[λ]φ] καὶ Βάσσῳ [—]. A. D. 258.*

644. (R. 1891). *Ibidem*: two fragments much defaced, which may belong to one stone. I could not decipher the inscr., in which perhaps [—] *ἐν ἀρχιερα[σ]άμ[ενον]* occurs.

645. (R. 1883). Near Kusura on the road to Ballyk in a fountain. *Μάρκος Οὐλπίος Νεκτάρειος καὶ Μάρκος Οὐλπίος Σαβεῖνος ἐτείμησαν τὸν ἐαυτῶν πατέρα. εσ'. A. D. 120-121.* The date by letters alone also occurs in no. 350.



¹ *Sittenges.* I p. 194 (ed. VI).

² BCH ends *ΕΙΔΕΤΟΛ* omitting the

remaining lines. I have *CEKO-*, BCH has *CEKON*.

The two sons were evidently born in the reign of M. Ulpus Trajanus; the *cognomen* of the younger belongs to the Flavian dynasty. We have here probably a Phrygian family that had been raised to the *civitas*. The ornamentation underneath formerly seemed to me to contain a Chr. symbol; but, on better knowledge of Phrygian monuments, the style seems to me rather to be native Phrygian, and to bear no resemblance to any known Chr. symbolism. Moreover it is very doubtful whether the cross had been adopted as a Chr. symbol so early as A.D. 120.

646, 647. (R. 1883). *Ibidem*. [—] τῆδος γυναικός.

5. EUKARPIA.

648. (R. 1883). On the acropolis near Emir-Hissar. CIG 3968 differently. Ἀπουλαίειο|ν καὶ Λουκίας. αἰαντ|οῖς ἀποίησαν ζῶ|ντες.

I thought the inscr. was complete; but the more grammatical restoration of Franz Ἀπουλαίειος . . . ο|ν καὶ Λουκίᾱς αἰαντ|οῖς is perhaps to be preferred, as there is a gap unengraved at the end of the first line.

649. (R. 1883). Emir-Hissar. [—] τοῖς ἀσυνκρίτοις γονεῦσι μ. χ.
Door-stone.

650. Sorkun. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 275: two fragments [ἡ δεῖνα Αὐρ. Δού?]λη καὶ Αὐρ. Φιλίππῳ καὶ Αὐρ. Λουκίῳ καὶ Αὐρ. Εὐθαλ[ι]ῳ καὶ Αὐρ. [Θεο]δώρῳ τοῖς ἐαυτῆς τέκνοις ἐποίησεν μ. χ.

APPENDIX II.

BISHOPS OF THE PENTAPOLIS.

AVIRCIVS MARCELLVS c. 180–200 in Hieropolis or Hierapolis: it is not proved that he was actually more than presbyter.

Zotikos of Otrous, bishop or presbyter, contemporary.

Aberkios, according to the legend, succeeded Avircius Marcellus: this authority is absolutely devoid of value.

Flaccus Hierapolitanus 325 might belong to either city Hierapolis Phr.; but Flaccus ab Ieropoli 347 is probably the same as the preceding, and of Salutaris.

Eugenius Eucarpensis 325.

- Auxamanos¹ Eucarpensis 381.
 Aberkios Ἱεραπόλεως 451.
 Kyriakos Εὐκαρπίας 451.
 Basilios πόλεως Ὀτρου 451 (absent). So always, not Ὀτροῦ.
 Photeinos Otri c 460.
 Helladios πόλεως Τεκτορίου 451 (absent).
 Auxanon πόλεως Βρύζου 451 (absent).
 Dionysios τῆς Εὐκαρπείων πόλεως 536.
 Paulos πόλεως Στεκτορίου 536, 553.
 Macedonios Βρουσηνῶν ? 536 (see Ch. XIII App. II § 2).
 Michael Ἱεραπόλεως 787.
 Constantine or Constans², Κώνστας πόλεως Εὐκαρπίας 787.
 Stephanos presbyter τοποτηρητῆς Ὀστρου or Ὀτρον 787.
 Ioannes presb. ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θρόνου Ἐκτορείου (i. e. Στεκτορίου) was present at *Actio* II and IV, but absent later 787.
 Germanus Stectorii 869.
 Constantine Eucarpiae 879.
 Michael Otri 879.
 Georgius Stectorii 879 (given by Le Quien ; not in my transcribed list).
 Germanus τοῦ Ἐκτορίου 879: these were probably rival Ignatian and Photian bishops.

APPENDIX III.

ROUTES IN THE GLAUKOS VALLEY.

(1) 1881 Nov. (with Mrs. Ramsay and A. C. Blunt) from Synnada by Mahmud-Keui, Bash-Euren-Keui, Sandykli (Kusura, Ballyk), Kara-Sandykli, Kelendres, Akkarim, over Hassan-Bel to Sitchanli-Ova.

(2) 1883 June, with Sterrett, from Sibia by Duz-Bel, Mentesh (Stektorion, Ille Mesjid), Kizil-Euren, Avshahr, Kazan-Bunar, hence excursion to explore Dombai-Ova, returning to Ballyk, Minjile, Kusura, Sandykli, Hammam (Maghajil), Kotch-Hissar, Kuyujak, Emir-Hissar (Ala-Geuz, Oda-Keui, Kara-Sandykli, Kelendres, Kuyujak), Sorkun, Saltyk, into Moxeanoi. Sterrett made separate excursion to Dut-Agatch, Bektash, Karghyn, Ak-Inn, Seljök, and Tchai-Keui.

¹ Auxomenos or Auxanomenos is probably the correct name; cp. no. 350 and p. 493.

² A good example of the equivalence of full name and abbreviated name.

(3) 1883 October (alone) from Metropolis by Haidarli, Ballyk, Kusura, Sandykli, Ekin-Hissar, Iressik, Kelendres, Irkut, Kuyujak, Tchör-Hissar, Kotch-Hissar, Karadja-Euren, Kizzik, Hadjan, Mahmurra, hence over hills by Tchakir-Uzu (3 hrs. 43 min.) to Synnada (4 hrs. 9 min.).

(4) 1887 June (with Hogarth and Brown) from Eumeneia by Sheikh-Yakshi, Yimruja, Sorkun, Kizilja-Keui, Kotch-Hissar, thence by Saoran, and over mountains by Kalejik to Afion-Kara Hissar. Hogarth and Brown made excursion to Sandykli.

(5) 1888 June (with Mrs. Ramsay) from Eumeneia, by Sorkun, Murtat, Hammam (Sandykli), over Duz-Bel to Apameia.

(6) 1891 May (with Mrs. Ramsay) from Apameia over Duz-Bel, Mentesh (excursion into hills W.), Sandykli, Tchäi-Keui, Bektash, Karghyn, over Gumalar-Dagh (in search of sources of river and place called Gonyklisia in Acta Abercii) to Yiprak.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF CENTRAL PHRYGIA.

§ 1. The Pentapolis and Avircius Marcellus p. 709. § 2. The Legend of St. Abercius p. 713. § 3. Diffusion of Christianity in Central Phrygia p. 715.

Appendix: Inscriptions. (1) The country of the Moxeanoi p. 717. (2) The Phrygian Pentapolis p. 719. (3) The Synnada District p. 735. (4) Aristion and Prymnessos p. 736. (5) Dokimion p. 742.

§ 1. THE PENTAPOLIS AND AVIRCIUS MARCELLUS. The Glaukos¹ valley was Christianized early. Nothing is known as to the facts; but the tradition that St. Bartholomew was the Apostle of the Lykaones makes it probable that Central Phrygia was the country in which his mission lay. It is impossible to take Bartholomew as the Apostle of Lycaonia, for that position belonged confessedly to Paul. That the Lykaones were in Central Phrygia is certain, as they were in the *conventus* of Synnada; and, if we have rightly assigned their position, the Apostle of the Lykaones could hardly avoid preaching also in the Pentapolis². Bartholomew, though the Apostle of the Lykaones, is not called the Apostle of the Pentapolis or of any of its cities. This seems distinctly to imply that the origin of Christianity there was traced back even earlier than the mission of Bartholomew, and that can only be to Paul or one of his coadjutors, such as Timothy, Mark³, &c.

All that is known of the history of the Pentapolis centres round the name of Avircius⁴ Marcellus. He is presented to us⁵ as the most prominent Church leader in a district already permeated with Chr. influence, and the chief figure in the resistance to Montanism in the latter part of the second century. His part does not lie in conversion

¹ The name Glaukos is uncertain, to the Pentapolis.
p. 354.

² M. Radet actually places the Lykaones in the territory which we assign

³ See note 3 p. 511, and below § 3.

⁴ On the name, see no. 672.

⁵ Euseb. *H. E.*

from paganism: that is a thing of the past: controversies within a Church already powerful are the only reason why his name has been preserved. To him, as either bishop or presbyter, a treatise against the Montanists was dedicated: the unknown author speaks of Zotikos of Otrous as 'our co-presbyter¹,' so that all three were evidently influential persons in the Church of the Pentapolis. The date of the treatise is determined by its reference to the 13 years of profound peace for the Church which have just elapsed. These are most naturally explained as the years of Commodus 180-192². Avircius was at that time a man of high standing, and therefore of mature age. The remarkable inscr. 657 was composed by him about that period.

The purpose which this inscr. was intended to fulfil is of the first consequence in studying the text. It was composed in the heat of the controversy against the Montanists by one of the anti-Montanist leaders. He took the marked and bold course of inscribing on his tomb, outside the south gate of the city, a declaration of his unalterable sentiments, and of the experience which showed him that, alike in Rome and the extreme E., his sentiments were those of the Universal Church³. The key to his intention is given by the word *φανερός* in l. 2. He intended this declaration, inscribed in a conspicuous position before the public eye, to be an imperishable record of his testimony and of the message which he had to deliver to mankind in favour of the one and indivisible Church catholic, and against Montanism. He took care before his death that his testament, inscribed on his grave, should continue for ever to protest against the Montanists. Publicity, permanence, and unalterability were the objects which the ancients aimed at in inscribing their laws and other important documents on marble or bronze, and placing them in a public place where all could see and read; and Avircius Marcellus desired that his testament should be 'before the eyes of men.' In comparison with this powerful and strikingly appropriate sentiment, the reading of MSS. (*καίρω*) is singularly commonplace and weak⁴. It is impossible to believe that the imitator, who put on his own grave (no. 656) some lines of Avircius's testament, improved so much on his model; and the fact that he read *φανερ[ός]* must be taken as

¹ *συμπρεσβύτερος ἡμῶν*: the term was quite applicable, if one or all three were bishops.

² M. Duchesne dates the treatise c. A. D. 211: Lightfoot, Zahn, De Rossi, Bonwetsch and many others agree in

the date 192-193.

³ See no. 657.

⁴ 'Citizen of a Select City, I have made this in my lifetime in order that I may have in due time a place for my body.'

a proof that it was in the original epitaph of Avircius. Yet many recent scholars¹ prefer the feeble and vapid reading *καίρῳ* against the testimony of the ancient inscr.

In composing his testament for permanent publicity, Avircius had to adapt it to the circumstances of the time. As we have seen², it was not possible to put forth in such a public way a statement that was overtly Chr. The testament was necessarily composed in such terms as should be capable of passing as an ordinary metrical epitaph; but l. 19, 'let him who comprehends these words, viz. every one who is in sympathy with the author, pray for him,' contains an obvious reference to the esoteric sense that underlies the words. The success with which the aim was achieved has been unintentionally set in strong relief by Dr. Ficker, who has essayed the proof³ that there is not a word or phrase in it which might not have been used by a priest of Cybele. His paper is a remarkable example of ingenuity in details and failure to conceive the document as a whole; and it is hard to say whether the scholar who can understand this epitaph as the public testament of a priest of Cybele shows more misapprehension of the character of second century paganism or want of appreciation of the spirit of second century Christianity. The testament of Avircius, then, was intended to bear both an exoteric sense, satisfactory to the ordinary reader, and an esoteric sense for 'him who comprehends.'

Avircius lays great stress on his travels, his visit to Rome and to the East; and he obviously intended that the sense should spring into the mind of the ordinary reader, 'in Rome I saw the Emperor and the Empress.' His real purpose, however, was to bring out that he had visited the Church in Rome and the E., and could bear witness to the unanimity and intercommunion of the members of all the parts of the Church⁴. In the same way Hegesippus laid stress on the fact that everywhere 'he found himself in harmony with the authorities of the Church⁵.' It is probable that already at that time great stress was

¹ So Duchesne, Lightfoot, Marucchi, Harnack, De Rossi (who says *dubitanter recepi*). Zahn is here very good: so Schulze.

² See pp. 500 f.

³ *Berl. Akad. Sitz.* 1894 pp. 87 ff.

⁴ See *Church in R. E.* pp. 288, 318 f. Basil Caes. *Epist.* 191 speaks of τῷ ἀρχιεπίει τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς παρ' ἐκατέρου μέρους βαδίζοντας τῶν ἀδελ-

φῶν ὡς ἴδια μέλη προσείμενοι κτλ.

⁵ Eusebius IV 22 ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος: cp. Westcott *N. T. Canon* p. 187, Ritschl *Entstehung d. K.* p. 268. He says that at Corinth *συνανειώμεν τῷ ὁρθῷ λόγῳ* (cp. *Rom.* XV 32), where Hort (from whom I quote) would insert ἐν, *Jud. Christ.* p. 167.

laid by the Chr. on visiting Rome and Syria: Polycarp visited Rome in 154, and he speaks to the Philippians of his intention to visit Syria: Melito visited Syria¹. Pionius says at a later date, in terms strikingly like those used by Avircius, *ego namque transgressus omnem Judaeorum terram cuncta perdidici, et Jordane transmisso vidi terram, &c.*

The wish of Avircius to continue to speak thus after death to the Church is natural. M. Le Blant, II p. 161 has observed the tendency to put on the grave some profession of faith which is directed against any heresy prevalent in the same region. In the neighbourhood of Lyon, and nowhere else, he finds a large number of epitaphs in which the hope for resurrection is formally stated². He explains this from the fact that Gnosticism, which denied the resurrection of the body and declared that the resurrection was purely spiritual, had been introduced into Gaul in the second century. Irenaeus wrote against this dogma; and the letter of the Churches of Lyon and Vienne insists on the belief in the resurrection of the body. The fact that the heresy spread in the Lyonnaise district produced a corresponding insistence on the orthodox dogma in the same district³. Another heretical tenet was that Christ had not a material body, and had not personally suffered death; and this idea (closely connected with the other) was also denounced by Irenaeus and on some inscriptions of the Lyonnaise⁴.

At the age of 72, Avircius prepared a grave for himself, according to the common fashion of the country, and composed an epitaph which was engraved on it under his own direction, no. 657. This document has become famous; it formed the centre of a legend, and was preserved thereby. The tombstone stood by the roadside near the southern gate of the city Hieropolis for centuries, and was naturally greatly respected by the Chr. of the district. Its language affected other Chr. writers⁵; and it was imitated in the Pentapolis. One of these imitations, no. 656, was composed by Alexander, son of Antonius, in A.D. 216. The epitaph of Avircius was therefore composed earlier than that year and already respected in the city. Further

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* IV 26.

² *surrectura cum dominus advenierit, surrecturus in XPO, in spe resurrectionis misericordiae*, and many others.

³ Le Blant explains the representations of Daniel and of the deceased standing in the attitude of prayer as a symbolic insistence on the same

dogma; and quotes from Augustine *Ep. LV* § 15 *stantes oramus quod est signum resurrectionis*.

⁴ Le Blant II p. 198 *Cristi morte redemptus*.

⁵ The Chr. author of *Lib. Sibyll. V* (see comm. on no. 657), *Acta Pionii* (see p. 714).

when we compare the two inscr., the change in the lettering is so great that a considerable interval must be placed between them: we can hardly date Avircius's epitaph much later than 192, and it might well be earlier. But the boldness with which it was placed in a public position suggests that it was composed after peace for the Church had lasted some time¹: hence 192 seems a probable date, implying that Avircius was born in 121 A.D.

§ 2. THE LEGEND OF ST. ABERCIUS. About two centuries after the epitaph of Avircius was composed, another glimpse of the state of the Pentapolis is opened up by the *Acta S. Abercii*, in which the name is used only in its later form, no. 672. The *Acta* exist in several MSS., and in some variations. The best and earliest form is still unpublished; but some extracts which Rev. H. Thurston has sent me show how much more valuable it is than the published forms². The date of composition is shown by the fact that it calls the province *Φρυγία Μικρά*: now it has been shown above that this name was in use during the fourth century (the examples range from 325 onwards), and began to be supplanted towards the end of the century by the name *Salutaris*, which soon became universal³. The *Acta* therefore can hardly be dated much later than 400, while they are professedly later than 364⁴.

In the *Acta* the historical Avircius Marcellus is transformed into the legendary St. Abercius. He is the hero of the evangelization of Phrygia, and a worker of miracles; he goes to Rome on the summons of Marcus Aurelius to cast a devil out of his daughter Lucilla; he orders the devil to carry an altar from the Circus in Rome to Hieropolis; and he uses this altar as his tombstone. He has become a centre round which has collected a religious myth, embodying both the popular conception of the early history of Christianity in Phrygia, and several local legends connected with natural features of the district. The production of the hot springs S. of Hieropolis and of the spring at the Place of the Knee-bending on the mountain that overlooks Lysias, which were doubtless formerly attributed to some pagan deity, were by the Chr. attributed to St. Abercius; and the story how he sat on the stone by the village Aulon, and the villagers

¹ See p. 501.

² Quotations from it pp. 342, 710.

³ See p. 82. My first short statement to this effect (JHS 1882 p. 344) was disputed by M. Duchesne *Rer. Quest. Hist.* 1883 p. 21; and the reply to his

criticism is called *siegreich* by Zahn p. 62 n. (see above p. 344). Duchesne prefers a date under Justinian.

⁴ The reference to Julian suits better a date within the century following him.

ridiculed him, is evidently modelled on the tale of Demeter sitting on the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα (which makes it probable that a tale similar to the Eleusinian was current in the Pentapolis). Along with these, more vulgar pieces of rustic wit were connected with the Saint: his detection of the dishonesty of his travelling companion, and his affliction of the villagers of Aulon with insatiable appetite, are examples.

The legend grew in the valley, and, except in some details, was not the free invention of any writer. It was caught from the popular mouth by the author, who copied the epitaph from the stone and incorporated it in his work, about A.D. 400. The plan of composition is similar to that of the *Vita Polycarpi* composed by Pseudo-Pionius, which in an almost valueless biography incorporated genuine ancient documents¹. The author was certainly well acquainted with the Pentapolis and the neighbouring country. The local features are caught with accuracy. The journey of the Imperial couriers (*magistriani*) from Rome to Byzantium is described badly, but from Byzantium to Hieropolis well. The change from the Imperial post-road at Synnada to the difficult track across the mountains leading to Hieropolis is marked: as far as Synnada the road was unmistakable, but after Synnada the couriers required to employ guides, and arrived in Hieropolis the same day at the ninth hour. The Saint himself knew the easiest and best way of travelling to Rome. Leaving the *magistriani* to return by their toilsome land journey, he took the road S. to Attaleia (which he could easily reach in five days), and there took one of the many ships coasting along from Syria or Egypt² towards Rome.

The local legend may have contained some historical facts. The benefaction to the poor of Hieropolis, which was abrogated by Julian, may probably be real, though it cannot have been instituted so early as the time of Avircius: nothing of the kind could have survived Diocletian, even if it had been possible before. The 'Place of Knee-bending' was probably a secluded place in the mountains, where secret conventicles had been held in the times of persecution³. Any communication with M. Aurelius seems wholly improbable⁴; and the incident of the Princess Lucilla is a threadbare tale that has done duty time after time, and was worked up by the author. This part of the *Acta* is probably to a considerable extent a free invention of the

¹ See Lightfoot *Ignat. and Polyc.* II p. 1007.

² See my *St. Paul the Trav.* p. 319.

³ *Church in R. E.* p. 436 n: see also below pp. 754 ff.

⁴ See comm. on no. 657 l. 7.

author¹, who has taken some trouble to fit his invention into the historical facts, though not always successfully. There was a strong inclination, shown in some other tales, to make the good Emperor Aurelius into a semi-Chr.

§ 3. DIFFUSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CENTRAL PHRYGIA. That the Pentapolis was Christianized very early is plain from the facts above stated. The evidence of inscr. is to the same effect. We have here seven Chr. inscr. before Constantine², and only two later. In the country of the Moxeanoi, which lies between the Pentapolis and the district discussed in Ch. XII, we have two Chr. inscr. before Constantine and one later. It is therefore clear, both from formulae and from the relative numbers, that these districts must be classed along with the country of Eumeneia and Apameia in the early history of Christianity. At the same time, along with the similarities, there is a distinct difference of style in some respects between the Pentapolitan and the Eumenian epitaphs. The Pentapolis had an independent development, parallel to that of the Eumenian valley; and doubtless it too experienced the destroying effect of Diocletian's action.

The origin of Christianity in this district goes back to the Pauline circle³. Avircius Marcellus, probably, bears witness to the Pauline authorization of their Church, when he speaks of Paul and Paul alone as his companion on his journeys, no. 657. Now Paul would pass through the skirts of the Pentapolis on his journey from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesos through the higher lying country⁴; and on no other occasion could he have touched the Pentapolis or Eumeneia. In the obscurity that envelopes the history of the time, we can make no assertion; but the little evidence which exists points to Paul's journey across the higher lying parts of Phrygia as the first beginning of the movement in it⁵. It is true that he seems not to have produced any effect in the districts of Metropolis or Motella⁶, which he also crossed; but it is characteristic of all his journeys, that he was influential only at certain central points, and apparently made no impression on many others.

¹ JHS 1882 p. 348, 'it is not probable that there is any historical element underlying the tale' of Lucilla. This has been demonstrated by Mr. Conybeare in *Academy* 1896 I pp. 468 f.

² Also inscr. 635, which shows a mixture of Chr. and pagan expression, and therefore attests the influence of Christianity in the district.

³ See above § 1.

⁴ *Acts* XIX 1. See *Church in R. E.* p. 94 (ed. II or later); and below *App.* II.

⁵ διελθὼν *Acts* XIX 1 implies evangelization, as has been shown in *Expositor* 1894.

⁶ See above p. 510.

But the range of this impulse evidently did not cross the mountains E. or N. of the Pentapolis. In the Synnada district we find no Chr. inscr. before Constantine, and 8 after: in the valley of Aristion and Kidyessos none before, and 2 after; in Prymnessos none before, and 8 after; in Dokimion none before, and 13 after. Many of these 31 inscr. belong certainly to the fourth century; and it is clear that the revulsion from the persecution of Diocletian, and the impression produced by the endurance of the martyrs, resulted in a rapid diffusion of religion in Central Phrygia generally¹. That does not, of course, imply that the diffusion only began in the fourth century; but that the new religion had previously not been strong in those regions until then. At the same time intolerance on the one side produced intolerance on the other, and the development of the whole country was permanently injured by the sweeping massacre: Ch. XII § 9.

We notice, in passing, how irreconcilable are the facts of Chr. development in Phrygia with the theory that St. Paul founded a series of important churches in North Galatia, about Pessinus, and that he travelled from them across Phrygia to Ephesos, preaching by the way. The nearer we approach the Galatian frontier, the later are the traces of Christianity. Only near his routes in Lycaonia, Galatic Phrygia, and along the higher lying road from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesos, do we find proof of Chr. influence at an early date.

Few martyrs are known from this part of Phrygia. Ariadne of Prymnessos, May 27, is a mere name, unknown to the oldest Martyrologies. The *Acta* of Trophimos, Sabbatios, and Dorymedon, martyred at Synnada, is an interesting document. It is however a later composition, probably springing from the same literary movement which produced the *Acta S. Abercii*. In both documents Phrygia is conceived as divided into two provinces; but the governor of Little Phrygia (*Salutaris*) is not of the higher rank (*consularis*), which he attained at some time between A.D. 412 (*Not. Dign. Or.*) and 530 (Hierocles).

¹ In the districts where the 'Eumenian formula' was used in the third century, there are known at least 57 Chr. inscr. older than A.D. 300 and only 15 later. On the contrary the num-

bers in the country immediately W. and N.W. of those districts are 1 and 9, in the country immediately E. and N.E. 0 and 31.

APPENDIX I.

INSCRIPTIONS.

1. THE COUNTRY OF THE MOXEANOI.

651. (R. 1883). Hodjalar. Ramsay in JHS 1883 p. 428, Cumont 157. Αὐρήλιοι | Γάιος καὶ Μηνόφιλος ἀπὸ στρατειῶν, | παῖδες Αὐρ. Ἀσκληᾶ Φαύστου καὶ Αὐρ. | Δόμνης Εἰρηνα[ί]ου, τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν | κατ' αὐτοῦ σορὸν σὺν τῷ περιβόλῳ κοινῶς κατεσκευάσαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ | ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν Μεσσαλείῃ | Παπᾶ καὶ Βασιλῷ Εὐξένου· ὥς μηδεὺν | ἐτέρῳ ἐξεῖναι¹ ἐπισε- νεγκεῖν ἢ θεῖναι | ξένον νεκρὸν ἢ σορόν, μόνοις γησίοις | ἡμῶν τέκνοις· εἰ δέ τις ὑπεναντίον ποιή[σ]ει·····ον[·]φ², ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, | [καὶ δώσει] τῷ ταμείῳ [δην. —. τούτ]ου ἀν[τίγρ]α[φον] ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα].

The age of this epitaph is uncertain; but, judging from its whole character, we may place it towards the middle of the third century. The name Menophilos recalls no. 371 at Eumeneia. Gaius Chr. no. 354, 654 (perhaps 231).

The use of Aurelius (generally Aur. simply) as a *praenomen* is treated on no. 235. [Such a case as Aurelia Pontiana CIG 3509 does not come under the principle there stated, for Aurelia is in this case the *nomen* (which was regularly used for Roman women's names): hence there is no objection as regards name to the date c. 115, assigned by Waddington, Mommsen, &c., to the inscr., but disputed by Maass *de Sibyll. Indicibus* p. 41 on account of the name (as I learn from Schürer *Prophetin Isabel* p. 49). Aurelia Pontiana must be understood to be a Roman woman, if her date is c. 115 A. D.]

The question of military service among the early Christians is touched on by M. Le Blant I p. 85. He points out the much smaller proportion of soldiers mentioned in Christian epitaphs as compared with pagan³. He compares this with the small number of Christians designated on

¹ The engraver wrote ἐξίναι and then inserted a small ε.

² Apparently ΝΡΩ or ΝΦΩ.

³ His figures are 5.42 p.c. pagan soldiers, and .57 p.c. Christian. See no. 209.

their epitaphs as slaves¹; and concludes that the Church, while accepting both military service² and slavery as part of the established social order, inculcated on its adherents that their position as soldiers and slaves of Christ absorbed and replaced any other kind of service in which they had been engaged. Hence many authorities, such as Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, absolutely forbade that Christians should be soldiers or bear arms; but the Church as a whole never sanctioned this prohibition, or called on its converts to abandon the ranks or on its adherents to refuse to enter them.

652. (R. 1883). Kilter, three miles N. E. from Yannik Euren, whence the stones in it are said to be brought. JHS 1883 p. 405, Cumont 156. *ἐτους τμέ', μη(νός) γ'. | Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιοδ[ώρα] κατεσκευ[ασεν] τὸ ἡρῶν | [ἐ]αυτῇ καὶ τῷ γλυ[κυτάτῳ] μου ἀ[νδρὶ] Αὐρ. Γαίῳ | Εὐτ[ύ]χου καὶ τῷ | γλυκυτάτῳ | μου τέκνῳ | Αὐρ. Κουάρτῳ | μ. χ. | εἰ δ' ἕτερόν τις ἐπ[ισενέ]νκει εἰς τ[ὸ] μνημεῖον, ἔστε τῷ | πρὸς [τὸν θεόν].* A. D. 260.

τῷ for αὐτῷ, as in no. 367.

653. (R. 1883). Kilter. JHS 1883 p. 405. *[ὕπερ] εὐχῆς? Ἀναστασ[ί]ου καὶ τῆς συνβήου αὐτοῦ καὶ [τ]ῶν [τ]έκνων αὐτοῦ + ἐκμύθι ὡ δοῦλος τοῦ [θεοῦ] κτλ.*

The formulae mark this inser. as of fourth (or fifth) century.

It would be important to determine the exact age of this inser., as the formulae in it are so frequent. The opening formula (if correctly restored³) occurs in no. 458 f., 668 f., and many others. The simple cross begins to be used in epitaphs at Rome about 450 and in Gaul about 500: but there can be hardly any doubt that it is decidedly earlier in Asia Minor. CIG 3857 *t* (quoted Ch. XII § 2) is not later than the fourth century, and may belong to the third; and at Seleuceia Isaur. the simple cross perhaps occurs probably soon after 350 (see no. 673 note). But the spelling and lettering are here late; and a date after 400 is probable. *δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ*, *famulus dei*, dates in Gaul about A. D. 449–552, but is earlier in the East (no. 428): *ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δ.* is a developed and therefore later formula.

¹ The number of cases where Christians indicate themselves as of servile rank is very much smaller than the military epitaphs. There were of course a considerable number of cases in which the Christian felt proud of honourable military service, but hardly any in which he felt proud of being the slave of an earthly master. Thus S. Julius says, *sub arma militavi et ordine meo*

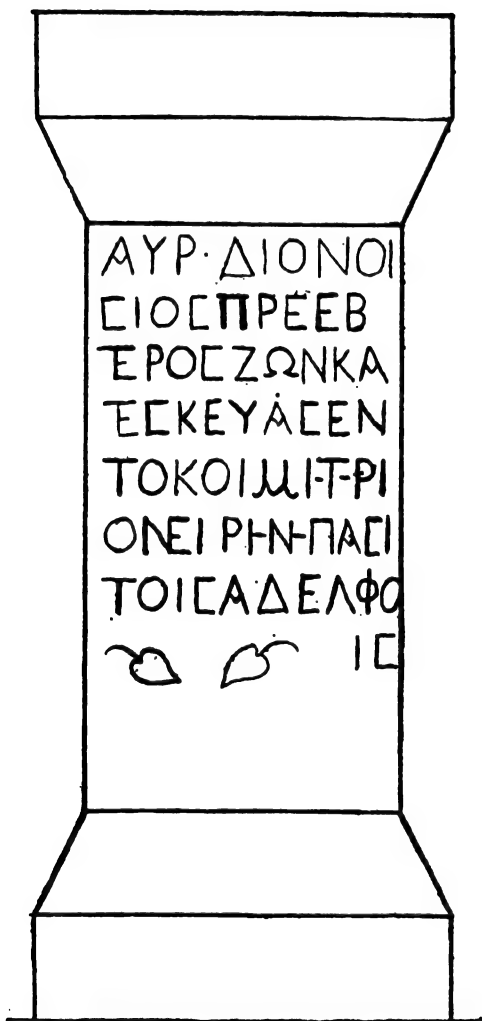
egressus sum veteranus semper; tamen Deum virum qui fecit caelum et terram colui; and S. Gordianus, num militaris ordo desperatam salutem habet? (Ruinart quoted by Le Blant I p. 86.)

² One or two soldiers at Seleuceia Isaur., no. 673 footnote.

³ *[μνήμα διαφέρον Ἀναστασί]ου* is quite possible.

2. THE PHRYGIAN PENTAPOLIS.

- 654. (R. 1883). Maghajil. JHS 1884 p. 429, Cumont 181. *Αὐρ. Διονόσιος πρεσβ[ύ]τερος ζῶν κατεσκεύασεν τὸ κοιμητήριον. εἰρήνη πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.*



The Chr. term *κοιμητήριον* was in use as early as A.D. 251, no. 445. The lettering of this inscr. might be of the later third or the fourth century. The term *πρεσβύτερος* was not overtly Chr. The interesting salutation 'to all the Brethren' is a mark of early date; and De Rossi would class an inscr. containing it as pre-Constantinian. I formerly

attributed this to the fourth century; but am now disposed to assign it to the later third century. No. 654 and 655 probably belong to Stektorion. On the symbols see p. 490.

655. (R. 1883.) Maghajil. JHS 1884 p. 429, Cumont 182. *Αὐρή-
λιος | Ἀσκληπιάδης | ἐποίησεν το[ῦ]το τὸ κοιμη[τή]ριον. εἰρήν[η] | πάση
τῇ ἀδελ[φότητι]. καὶ ὁ[ς] ἀν | ἀνορύξῃ, δώσει? κτλ. or perhaps ἔσται
αὐτῷ κτλ.]*

The stone is strikingly similar to no. 654, and must be attributed to the same period. The penalty favours a third century date. It is noteworthy that the collective *ἀδελφότης* had already been formed. The salutation which was given to every one in earlier inscr. (656, 658) is now confined to the Brotherhood.

656. (R. 1881, 1883). Kelendres. Ramsay BCH 1882 p. 518, with wrong restoration of first two lines, but correct epigraphic text: frequently republished, especially by De Rossi *Inscr. Christ. Rom.* II p. xviii, Cumont 178. A good photograph from a paper impression is published by M. Duchesne in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1895 Plate I.

*Ἐκ]λεκτῆς πό[λε]ως ὁ πολε[ί]της τ]οῦτ' ἐπο[ί]ησα
ζῶν, [ν] ἔχω φανε[ρῶς] σώματος ἐνθα θέσιν.
ὄνομα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντωνίου, μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ.
οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἕτερόν τινα θήσει·
εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμεῖψ θήσει δισχείλια χρυσᾶ
καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει χεῖλια χρυσᾶ.
ἐγράφῃ ἔτει τ' Ξμηνί σ', ζόντος.
εἰρήνῃ παράγουσιν καὶ μνησκομένοις περὶ ἡμῶν.*

The date of this remarkable inscription, early in A. D. 216, is of the highest importance. At this period we see that the Chr. character in inscr. was carefully concealed; and nothing except the phrases *μαθητῆς π. ᾧ* and *εἰρήνῃ π.* (both of which are only *φωνᾶντα ξυμετοῖσιν*) here reveals the religion. The religion is made still clearer by comparison of no. 657, which is here imitated. The imitation of metrical models in unskilful fashion was widespread in Phrygia. As yet we have seen few or no examples of it, for it was commonest in the society where Greek was beginning to spread: the Maeander valley was early hellenized, and that class of epitaphs is not exemplified there¹. In N. Phrygia, where Greek spread later, this class of metrical epitaphs, sometimes barely metrical, is exceedingly common; also in Central and E. Phrygia. The

¹ Except the Tchal district (Dionysopolis &c.); and there a good example of the kind occurs, which I have not published, as it is incomplete.

influence of lost models is often apparent, unsuitable names being substituted unmetrically for the original names. In the present case the model is preserved, and we see that 'Αλέξανδρος 'Αντωνίου has been



substituted for 'Αυρίκιος. M. Le Blant II pp. 179 f. gives many examples of similar errors, and also of *verbatim* reproduction of a formula in a rather unsuitable way. See comm. on no. 657.

In the Chr. inscr. given in Ch. XII and XVII the amount of the fines mentioned is never extremely large, varying from 500 to 2000. Much

larger numbers are named in inscr. about A. D. 300 or later: 3000000 and 1000000 *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 259 (Mordtmann), 500000 and 250000 *ibid.* p. 260, 200000 Rénan *Mission en Phénicie* 255. Such numbers of *denarii* denote, as Mordtmann remarks¹, not the silver denarius of earlier time, but the small copper of late imperial time (6000 in the *solidus*). Even numbers like 10000 CIG 2832, 2834, Wood *Ephesus, inscr. fr. tombs* 18, LW 1639, 20000 Kaibel 1904, hardly occur in early inscr. The numbers became larger as the date became later; and this consideration agrees with the view we have taken as to the date of the class of Chr. inscr. concerned.

Fines were commonly made payable in gold in the fifth century inscriptions found at Concordia (Kaibel 2324 ff); but such a provision is exceedingly rare in the second or third century. Prof. G. Hirschfeld in his useful study, *Grabschriften welche Geldstrafen anordnen* (*Königsberger Studien* I p. 144) finds only four examples besides this one, at Adramyttion (fine 25 χρυσούς, *Smyrn. Mous.* no. ξα'), at Smyrna (fine 22 χρυσούς BCH 1879 p. 328, *Smyrn. Mous.* no. 166), and at Philippi and in Thrace². The amount here named, 3000 gold coins, is apparently enormous, especially in comparison with the 22 and 25 of the parallel cases. Prof. G. Hirschfeld³ quotes from Hultsch *Metrologie* p. 324 n. 4 (ed. II) the rule in force from the time of Elagabalus that payment to public bureaux must be made in gold, and regards this as decisive of the date of CIG 2040, where payment in gold is required. But here and in no. 657 gold payment is required in A. D. 216 and (probably) 192.

657. (R. 1883, confirmed 1888). In the bath-house at the hot springs three miles S. of Hieropolis (now in the Lateran Museum). Ramsay in JHS 1883 p. 424, Cumont 177. Many other copies taken from the stone have been published since the stone was brought to Rome: all agree with R.'s published copy, except in places where the stone has suffered in transit.

In the following text those letters or words, which occur neither on the actual stones (656, 657) nor in any published MS. of *Acta Abercii*, are enclosed in square brackets.

ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολεῖτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
 ζῶν, ἵν' ἔχω φανερώ[s] σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν,
 οὕνομ' Ἀουίρκιος [ῶν, ὁ] μαθητῆς Ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ,
 4 ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσι[ν] πεδίοις τε,
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους [καὶ πάνθ'] ὀρόωντας·

¹ *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 259: cp. S. Reimach *Épigr. Gr.* p. 430.

² He omits the inscr. of Concordia.

³ *Grabschriften* p. 89 n. 3.

- οὗτος γὰρ μ' ἐδίδαξε [.] γράμματα πιστά,
 εἰς Ῥώμην δὲ ἐπεμψεν ἐμὲν βασιλῆαν ἀθρῆσαι
 8 καὶ βασίλισσαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόστολον χρυσοπέδιλον·
 λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγεῖδαν ἔχοντα·
 καὶ Συρίης πέδον εἶδα καὶ ἄσπεα πάντα, Νίσιβιν,
 Εὐφράτην διαβάς· πάντῃ δ' ἔσχον συνομή[θεις].
 12 Παῦλον ἔχων ἐπόμην], Πίστις πάντῃ δὲ προήγε
 καὶ παρέθηκε τροφήν πάντῃ, Ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ πηγῆς,
 πανμεγέθη, καθαρὸν, δὲ ἐδράξατο Παρθένος ἀγνή,
 καὶ τοῦτον ἐπέδωκε φίλοις ἔσθειν διὰ παντός,
 16 οἷον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα, κέρασμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου.
 ταῦτα παρεστὼς εἶπον Ἀουίρκιος ὧδε γραφήναι·
 ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον ἦγον ἀληθῶς.
 ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὖξαιθ' ὑπὲρ [αὐτοῦ] πᾶς ὁ συνοψδός.
 20 οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἑτερόν τινα θήσει·
 εἰ δ' οὖν, Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχείλια χρυσᾶ,
 καὶ χρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεράπολ[ι] χεῖλια χρυσᾶ.

Many errors have crept into the MSS. text, partly perhaps from false copying of faint letters, but much more from corruption in the transmission of the MSS.: thus we have 1 τόδ', 2 καιρῷ, ἐνθάδε, 3 ὁ ὦν, 4 οὔρεσι, 5 πάντα καθορώοντας, and so on in most of the lines. Too much stress therefore must not be laid on the reading of the MSS. in settling the text. Excellent photographs of the text are published by Marucchi in *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 1895 Pl. III-VII; but as the edges of the stone have suffered much in transmission and a number of letters have thus been lost, I add the copy taken by Prof. Sterrett and myself in 1883.

The discussions of this inscr. by Zahn (*Forschungen zur Gesch. d. N. T. Kanons* V pp. 57 ff), Lightfoot *Ign. and Polyc.* I pp. 476 ff, Duchesne (*Rev. Quest. Hist.* 1883 I ff, and *Mél. d'Archéol.* 1895 pp. 155 ff), De Rossi (*Inscr. Chr. Urb. Rom.* II pp. XII ff), Harnack (*Texte und Unters.* XII 4 b), Ficker (*Berl. Akad. Sitz.* 1894 pp. 87 ff), Marucchi (*N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1895 pp. 17 ff) and many others, will be consulted by the student. I may also mention my own in *JHS* 1882 pp. 339 ff, 1883 pp. 424 ff, *Expositor* 1889 IX pp. 253 ff.

ΕΙΣΡΩΜΗ
 ΕΜΕΝΒΑΣ ΛΗ
 ΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ
 ΤΟΛΟΝΧΡ
 ΛΑΟΝΔΕΙΔΟΝ-
 ΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΔΑΝΕ
 ΚΑΙΣΥΡΙΗΣΠΕ
 ΚΑΙΑΣΤΕΑΠΑ
 ΕΦΡΑΤΗΝΛΙΑ
 ΤΗΔΕΣΧΟΝΣΥΝC
 Π ΦΛΟΓΥΩΝΕΠΟ
 ΙΙΙΙΙΙΙ
 ΚΑΙΠΑΡΕΘΗΚΕ
 ΠΑΝΤΗΙΧΘΥΝΑΓ
 ΠΑΜΕΓΕΘΗΚΑΘ
 ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟΠΑΡΘ
 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΝΕΙΦ
 ΛΟΙΓΕΩ

The circumstances in which this epitaph was composed bear intimately on its meaning, see above § 1. Some notes on the text are added.

L. 1. The ἐκλεκτὴ πόλις is exoterically Hieropolis χρηστή; but esoterically it is the heavenly city. Ignatius calls the Church in Tralleis ἐκλεκτή; but Prof. Harnack is certainly right against M. Duchesne in urging that Avircius could not have intended to call Hieropolis ἐκλεκτή. The thought in the mind of the writer of this epitaph is obviously the same as that in the mind of Hermas, when he wrote¹ ἡ γὰρ πόλις ὑμῶν μακράν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης. As Philo (see p. 652 note 2) called Jerusalem the Jews' metropolis, and their native city their πατρίς, so Avircius distinguishes the 'Select City' from his πατρίς 'Ιεράπολις l. 22.

2. φανερ is certain in no. 656 (the fifth letter can only be P or Γ). The MSS. read καιρῶ. The person who copied the epitaph when composing the biography found the letters worn and difficult to distinguish: ὁ χρόνος ὑφείλε κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ ἡμαρτημένως ἔχειν τὴν γραφὴν παρεσκεύασεν. The last words seem to imply that the writing had faults due to time, which the copyist was obliged to correct. One of these was, I think, in this line: the ΦΑ had become faint, and he did not observe it, and ΝΕΡΩ he read as ΚΕΡΩ, i.e. κ(αι)ρῶ. But the stone of Alexander, combined with the sense (see above, § 1), proves that φανερῶς is the true text.

3. MSS. ὁ ὦν μαθητής, which is condemned by the metre. The text ὦν, ὁ μαθητής involves a bad use of the article; but it may be defended by a similar case, ὁ πολέτης, l. 1. It is safer to keep near the MSS. than to read εἰμί (but cp. no. 241).

4. MSS. οὔρεσι. The metre demands some change. Other editors are agreed in ὄρεσιν, and I have therefore printed it. But I retain my previous view that a probable cause of corruption was transposition: the stone began οὔρεσιν ὄς (order as in line 5, 7), and this order was altered to bring οὔρεσι πεδίοις τε side by side, though the poetic form was retained unmetrically. Mr. Bywater pointed out to me that, if ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε had been the original text, it would be most unlikely to be altered into the unmetrical reading of the MSS. Moreover in *Orac. Sibyll.* V 434 ff, which is obviously influenced by the language of Avircius, the line occurs οὔρεσιν ἐν χρυσείοις καὶ νάμασιν Εὐφρήταο.

5. MSS. πάντα καθορόωντας. Some change is necessary. The editors are agreed in reading πάντη καθορῶντας. Here again, as Prof. Bywater pointed out, the poetic form -ορόωντας is not likely to have been introduced, and πάντα to have been substituted against metre. The text probably was καὶ πάντα ὁρόωντας. The scribe omitted καὶ and added it

¹ See note on no. 364.

in margin or above the line; thus it came into the wrong place after πάντα, and produced καθορώωντας.

6. The word (or words) after ἐδίδαξε is uncertain. I inserted διδάσκων, on the advice of an Oxford scholar, Pitra, De Rossi have τὰ ζώης, Zahn and Schulze λόγους καί (so A. Souter independently). I have not been able, as yet, to gather any aid from the Armenian translation published by Mr. Conybeare in the *Classical Review* 1896. The line which he suggests ἀφθάρτους· οὗτός μ' ἐδίδαξε καὶ γράμματι πιστῶ is unworthy of this epitaph.

7. ΒΑΣ ΑΗ was on the stone distinct and certain in 1883 and 1888. In the course of transport by cart and train and steamer, and train again and cart or other conveyance, from the Pentapolis to Rome, the sharp edge of the stone has suffered¹, and the Η on the extreme edge has been obliterated. The Η was read by Sterrett and myself in 1883. We knew the importance of the inscr., and verified every letter repeatedly with the most scrupulous care²; and the letter Η is beyond question except on the view that we are unfit to copy an inscr. In 1888 I returned, in order to report to M. De Rossi (at his request) about the possibility of moving the stone. I took the opportunity of revising the text; and again read Η without hesitation. The copy made by Sterrett and myself is published in JHS 1883 p. 424 (compare p. 370), and accepted by most editors. Yet M. Duchesne prints βασιλ[ειαν], and in discussing the text does not even allude to our reading from the stone. The reading ΒΑΣΙΑΗ is undoubtedly inconvenient for his interpretation; but it is not a justifiable proceeding to pass in silence over adverse evidence³. Apart from these difficulties his reading would give a satisfactory sense. He takes βασιλειαν as 'kingly dignity,' *tout ce qui pour un provincial constituait le prestige de la cité reine*.

βασιλῇ ἀναθρῆσαι is read by Zahn, Schulze, and others; but I have every sympathy with M. Duchesne in rejecting it: it is a *monstrum informe*. βασιλῆαν ἀθρῆσαι must be accepted. The addition of ν to the

¹ I notice that the letters on the edge have suffered in other places also.

² I made an impression in 1883, which I sent for inspection by some person, whom I have forgotten and cannot trace after enquiring of many scholars with whom I have been in communication.

³ The most charitable supposition is that M. Duchesne wished to save himself the disagreeable duty of saying that our copy was not worthy of con-

sideration.

⁴ M. Duchesne quotes Clemens Rom. (*lequel s'est exprimé sur l'empire, sa hiérarchie, son armée, en termes enthousiastes, attendris même* § 37, 60, 61), and recalls the enthusiasm of the monk Fulgentius in 500 A. D. (but that was a Chr. Rome). It would be easier to get that sense by reading βασιλειαν 'the Queen Rome,' cp. ἡ βασιλὶς Πώμη in inscr., Kaibel 1819, CIG 2801, 5910, 5853, BCH 1885 p. 128, CIG 2595, Just. Mart. *Apol.* I 26, 56.

accusative of III Decl. nouns is a well-known phenomenon of later Greek, which has been treated elaborately by the grammarians, who discuss the relation of ancient to modern Greek. Examples occur among our inscr., ἐῶναν no. 445, ἐλπίδαν no. 382, ἐμέν in this epitaph l. 7 (CIG 3440)¹. Lightfoot has very ingeniously observed that, in the biography, the Saint is represented as having seen in Rome only the Empress and the Princess, while the Emperor was absent. We see, therefore, that the author of the biography either read incorrectly βασιλείαν, or interpreted βασιλῆαν as an equivalent spelling to βασιλείαν. The latter is a possible interpretation. The spelling η for ει is a well-known epigraphic phenomenon (commonest in the time of Augustus²).

Further, perhaps it is not wholly impossible that Avircius intended a double sense of βασιλῆαν esoterically as equivalent to βασιλείαν³, and exoterically equivalent to βασιλέα; but this seems improbable. I would take βασιλῆαν in the natural sense, accus. of βασιλεύς. There seems no insuperable difficulty in understanding that βασιλεύς may have had a mystical sense in early Chr. usage as well as βασιλεία or βασιλισσα. But it seems quite possible that Avircius meant βασιλῆαν as the Emperor, the centre and embodiment of the royal dignity and the greatness of Rome. The Christian Church was not disloyal in principle to the Empire. On the contrary it claimed to be entirely loyal to the Emperor and to all constituted authorities. The most simple and at the same time the most satisfactory interpretation seems to be that Avircius represented himself as going to Rome to see the 'King,' as the supreme head of the State, and the 'Queen,' exoterically the Empress, but esoterically the Church of Christ.

Again, in a poem of an allegorical and mystical character like this, with an esoteric sense carefully hidden under words that must be capable of a plain sense, it is absurd to expect that every word should have the fullest mystic sense. Some words suit only the exoteric interpretation: e.g. in l. 10, Νίσιβιν is mentioned without esoteric intention.

8. Basilissa was certainly intended in a double sense, exoterically the Empress, esoterically the Church of Christ. On χρυσοπέδιλος cp. *Passio S. Perpetuae*, where the deacon appears *vestitus discinctam candidam, habens multiplices Galliculas* (εἶχεν δὲ ποικίλα ὑποδήματα): afterwards

¹ Misconception of this added -ν has caused some errors: Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* rejects it. Leemans mistakes the phrase εἰλασάμεν (i. c. -ενοι) μητέραν Ἀνάειτον in his *Grieksche Opschr. uit Klein-Azie in Leiden* p. 10. I had at first explained -ν as due to the influence of the Phrygian language, in which

final ν was retained in such accusatives (like *m* in Latin); but Prof. Bywater proved to me that it is true of later Greek everywhere. See no. 395.

² S. Reinach *Epigr. Grecque* p. 263.

³ Accepting M. Duchesne's interpretation.

Perpetua saw a man of wondrous size *discinctatus purpuram inter duos clavos per medium pectus, habens Galliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas*¹. Compare *Orac. Sibyll.* V 434 Βαβυλῶν χρυσόστολε χρυσοπέδιλε.

10. Νίσιβιν, taken at the beginning of the hexameter, by the older editors, Halloix, Pitra, &c., must be the last word of the hexameter, and is so given for the first time in my publication JHS 1883 p. 425; this arrangement of the lines was taken up, and the length of the second syllable of Νίσιβιν justified, by Lightfoot *Ign. and Polyc.* I p. 481; and is universally accepted now.

11. Euphrates and οὐρεσιν occur together in *Orac. Sibyll.* V 437 (quoted on 4). At this point the stone has been injured. Formerly I thought it had been intentionally cut, from dislike of the name ΠΑΥΛΟΝ, which has been nearly obliterated; but in 1888 I found that at this point began a fracture which had detached the lower corner of the stone with all the following lines. This fragment was then quite separate, whereas in 1883 the two fragments were held together by surrounding masonry so tightly that I thought there was no fracture². The injury to the text would therefore be easily explicable by the fracture, which occurred, doubtless, when the stone was transported to be utilized in the building. But the fact that the text of MSS. is unusually bad here, ΕΠΟ[ΜΗΝ] being omitted and ΕΣΩ being read for ΕΧΩ, shows that the surface was already injured when the author copied the inscr.; still he was able to read ΠΑΥΛΟΝ and several other words, which have been injured by the fracture. Accidental injury to the surface (as in l. 2), therefore, was all that had occurred before A.D. 400.

The stone still has ΣΥΝΟ at end of 11, and the author copied something which appears in MSS. as the unmetrical and non-existent word *συνομηγύρους*. Before it the MSS. have πάντας δ' ἔσχον, which is either a corruption or a false reading by the author from the stone, which had πάνΤΗ. Probably the author read ΣΥΝΟΜΗ on the stone, and adapted the conclusion to suit πάντας, 'all gathered together.' We need then a final word adapted to πάντη; and the only two are *συνομήρεις* (*conjunctos*)

¹ Compare *Hermas Sim.* VIII 1, where a glorious angel of the Lord, exceedingly tall, gives rods to various persons (in Perpetua's vision the man held a green rod with golden apples). These suggest a mystic sense for βασιλῆαν.

² Decay of the masonry dislodged the fragment, which in 1888 was obviously in danger of being lost at any moment.

The stone was valueless to the peasantry; but its loss to science would have been serious; and I therefore carried it away. When the stone was brought to a safe place in Rome, the same principle, which prescribed that I should carry away the loose fragment in 1888, prescribed that I should now place it with the rest.

and συνομήθεις (*qui eisdem utuntur moribus*), of which the last gives the best sense (explained and justified, p. 711).

12. The reading ΕΠΟμην still seems to me the only possible text: the antithesis of ἐπόμην and προῆγε in the two corresponding positions in the hexameter is a familiar device. Παῦλον ἔχων is practically certain on the stone, and has caused much discussion¹. In an inscr. like this, the sudden unexplained reference to Paul, must be interpreted of some personage familiar to τῷ νοοῦντι (19), and that can only be the Apostle: 'Avircius with Paul followed, while Faith everywhere led the way.' After careful study of what Zahn, Harnack, Lightfoot, and others say on this point, my impression is deepened that these words prove Paul to have been the Apostle whom Avircius and οἱ νοοῦντες revered above all others, whom he had with him as an ideal before his mind, and as a teacher (by his writings) before his eyes and in his hands. Many read ἐπο[χον].

12. MSS. πιστις δὲ παντί. But there remains an upright stroke on the stone showing that Δ was not the letter. Probably δὲ was transposed to the second position in the line, as more usual; and then πάντη was changed to παντί on metrical grounds before προῆγε.

14. πανμεγέθη. 'Tertullian distinguishes the Chr. as *pisciculi* from ἰχθύς *noster* (*de Bapt.* 1); and in representations of the Last Supper in early Chr. art, the ἰχθύς that lies on the table is of extraordinary size' (Schulze).

17. The true form was corrupted in MSS. into the current late form Ἀβέρκιος, no. 672.

18. ἐβδ' μηκοστόν (with short vowel slurred in weak position before the secondary accent) was the pronunciation. Zahn is mistaken in taking ἐβδομηκ. as a dactyl.

19. The article is used in Avircius's usual, but unidiomatic style, cp. 1, 3. ὁ νοῶν, i.e. 'he that appreciates the real and esoteric sense of these words.' πᾶς ὁ συμφῶς, 'every one that agrees with my sentiments,' i.e. probably 'every anti-Montanist.' Many take it as 'every Chr.,' but ὁ νοῶν embraces every Chr., and συμφῶς defines more explicitly. Avircius did not desire the prayers of the Montanists.

ὕπερ Ἀβερκίου cannot have been the original text. (1) It gives the late form, which was not used in the second century, see no. 672. (2) It is violently unmetrical. Zahn supposes that Avircius Marcellus took an older line, and substituted unmetrically his own name for another; but

¹ Zahn thought I had miscopied X for Γ in l. 12; but the stone in Rome is clear. Other doubts have been expressed of my reading in other points; but the stone triumphantly justifies

every detail of the copy made by Sterrett and me, except where the edge has suffered in transit, and a mark has disappeared.

this epitaph bears the stamp of originality and considerable power of expression (especially when we remember the conditions by which its language was governed, pp. 501, 700); and this line (especially $\delta \nu\omega\omega\nu$) is obviously an integral part of the whole. It seems clear that 'Αβερκίου is a gloss explaining the pronoun used in the original text. Pitra and Lightfoot read ὑπέρ μου , but this leaves the metre almost as bad, while the sense would be so clear that no gloss would be necessary: the MS. text is far preferable. The pronoun used was one that seemed to a glossator to need an explanatory word; and all who familiarize themselves with Phrygian inscr. before commenting on this one, will recognize at once that αὐτοῦ was the word used. The variation between the use of first person and αὐτός (or ἐαυτοῦ) in inscr. is one of the most marked characteristics of Phrygian Greek, and especially in the Chr. epitaphs, cp. no. 238, 258, 310, 336, 355 f, 358, 360 ff, 364, 367 f, etc.¹ Now αὐτοῦ is not nearly so clear as μου , and in fact, any one reading the text to a class would certainly add, 'i. e. Avircius.'

21. The fine is payable to the treasury of the Romans, according to a common form. It is often difficult to determine whether the *tameion* to which fines are made payable in epitaphs is the Roman or the city treasury, but here the point is made clear: so also $[\text{ταμεῖω}] \text{ τοῦ δήμου 'Ρωμαίων}$ CIG 2834, $\text{εἰς τὸ ἐράριον δήμου 'Ρωμαίων}$ S.Reinach *Épigr. Gr.* p. 430.

The *consensus* of MSS. and no. 656 in this unmetrical line is certainly strong; yet I cannot believe that Avircius wrote thus: I think he wrote 'Ρωμαίοις θήσει (using an uncommon expression *metri causa*), and that this poetic expression was explained by the obvious equivalent 'Ρωμαίων ταμεῖω .

22. 'Ιεροπόλει is impossible metrically. It is shown in Ch. XVI § 3 that 'Ιεροπόλις was the usual local name in all places where Greek feeling had not been fully assimilated; but was rejected by Chr. feeling in later time. Both as a writer of some literary power, and as a leader anticipating the tendency of Chr. feeling, Avircius would use the form Hierapolis, as in MSS.; but Alexander in no. 656, naturally substituted the common local form. Had MSS. agreed, I should accept the local form; but, as the case stands, I must follow MSS. and metre and the Chr. feeling. 'Ιεράπολι must probably be taken as vocative: in *Orac. Sibyll. V*, which furnishes so many parallels to this inscr., we find a similar vocative $\text{καὶ 'Ιεράπολι γαῖα μόνη πλούτῳ μιχθείσα}$ (l. 318).

¹ In many of these cases there is a strong temptation to read αὐτοῦ (as formerly I sometimes did); but I now feel clear that in Phrygia αὐτός was used in the sense of 'self.'

658. CIG 9266 with bad restoration, Cumont 179¹.

(A). ΕΙΡΗΝΗΤΟΙΣΠΑΡΑΓΟ
ΥΣΙΝΠΑΣΙΝΑΠΟΤΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ
ΑΥΡΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
5 ΜΑΡΚΟΥΟΤΩΝΞΑ
ΝΕΟΥΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑ
ΕΙΝΙΚΑΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΟ
ΡΓΗΣΥΜΙΤΟΝΚΑ
ΛΛΟΥΣΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΑ
10 ΜΟΥΤΕΚΝΑΘΕΣ . .
ΤΕΙΜΗΤΑΕΝΙΡΗΝΗ
ΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΕΝΚΕΝΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥΣΕΤΗΣΑΤΗΝΕΙΤΙ
ΜΗΝΧΑΡΙΝΜΗΜΗC
15 ΕΥΓΕΝΙΗΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΕΛ
ΛΗΚΑΙΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ
ΚΕΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΕΝΟΝ
ΝΗΤΟΙCΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΙC
ΤΕΚΝΟΙC · ΤΟ · CΥΠΟΞΕΝΑ
20 ΚΕΡΟΝΘΗCΕΙCΙΝΤΟ
ΤΗCΖΩΗCΜΕΡΟC
ΟCΑΝΔΕΠ . . ΟCΚΟΨΙΞΕ
ΝΟCΤΩΤΥΝΒΩΤΟΥΤΩ
ΑΜ · ΑΤΕΚΝΑΧΩCΙ
(B). ΕΙCΤΗΝΔΕ
ΤΟΗΩΤΟ
ΝΚΟΙΝΟ
ΝΤΩΝΑ
5 ΔΕΛΙΩ
Ν

(A). Ειρήνη τοῖς παράγο-
υσιν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ
Θεοῦ
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος
Μάρκου ὁ τῶν Ξά-
ν[θ]ου ἀνέστησα
εἰνικα τῆς εἰστο-
ργῆς [κα]ὶ το[υ] κά-
λλους γλυκύτατα
μου τέκνα θε[ο]φιλα,
τειμητὰ ἐν ἱρήνῃ
τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔν[ε]κεν τού-
του [ἐσ]τήσα τὴν εἰ[σ]τ[ι]-
λλ[η]ν² χάριν μνήμης
Εὐγενίῃ καὶ Μαρκέλ-
λῃ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
κὲ Μακεδόνι κὲ Νόν-
νῃ τοῖς γλυκυτάτοις
τέκνοις, τοῖς ὑπὸ Ξε-
νῶν [δ]η[θ]εῖσιν τὸ
τῆς ζωῆς μέρος.
ὅς ἂν δὲ π[ρ]οσκόψῃ ξέ-
νος τῷ τύμβῳ τούτῳ,
ἀ[ωρ]α τέκνα [ἐ]χῶσι
(B). Εἰς τήνδε (οἱ εἰστὴν δὲ)
τὸ ἡ[ρ]ῶ[ι]ο-
ν κοινὸν
ν τῶν ἀ-
δελ[φ]ῶν
ν.

In the copy of Hamilton, II p. 475, on which the restoration depends, there is an unusual number of errors, showing that the letters must have been indistinct when he copied it³. It is therefore important to notice the kind of errors which are found in his copies of this and of other similar inscr.; and thus we may determine the probable restoration in difficult

¹ Mordtmann *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 p. 158 gives some notes on the readings, as does M. Cumont.

² Perhaps εἰ[σ]τ[ι]λλ[η]ν.

³ Comparison of the inscr. which he copied immediately before, pp. 470-475, shows how much worse this one is copied.

places. The original stone will probably be rediscovered hereafter; but both Hogarth and I searched and offered rewards in vain.

In the difficult l. 8, it seems allowable to take YM as an error for KA¹, and N for Y, and to read [κα]ῖ το[υ]². The only other serious difficulty is in l. 5-6. The text given above entails only the slight alteration of € into Θ, which is justified by the changes required in 13 and 20; but the result is not satisfactory. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Ξάν[θ]ου seems hardly comprehensible (possibly we may take it 'of the family from Xanthos,' or as a covert expression for 'the (bishop?) of them of Xanthus'). Now the alteration of ΝΞΑΝΘΟΥ into ΝΕΑΝΘΟΥ seems slight³: in that case ΟΤΩ might be taken for the genitive ΤΟΥ (transposition of T and O, as of € and C in l. 13) or else for a false genitive ΤΩ⁴: thus we should have a simple text Ἀλέξανδρος Μάρκου τῶ (or [τοῦ]) Ν[ε]άνθου. It is however safest to follow the copy as closely as possible⁵.

On the forms εἰστοργῆς and εἰ[σ]τ[ε]λλ[η]ν compare no. 267, 453: M for ΑΑ is a common error among copyists, and even among engravers (no. 41). These forms, with εἰνικα, the omission of article in l. 9, the construction δς . . . [ε]χ[ω]σι l. 24, show that the author was not a master of the Greek language, and suggest also that the engraver was unskilful. Hence it is not improbable that Θ for Ο, € for C or Θ, omission of letter in 12, 24, &c. may be the fault, not of Hamilton, but of the engraver. These facts justify Mordtmann's interpretation of (B) l. 1 εἰστίν for ἐστίν.

The salutation, unexampled at Eumeneia, is characteristic of the Pentapolis: no. 654-658, and 673. The word, *Pax* or εἰρήνη, is peculiarly characteristic of Christian inscriptions, for obvious reasons. But it is not peculiar to them: *Pax aeterna, Paci et quieti perpetuae* are known on pagan tombstones (Le Blant II p. 268). In *Inscr. Br. Mus.* 674 εἰρήνη is possibly pagan; though more probably Mr. Hicks is right in thinking it Chr.; but his restoration εἰρήνη σ[οι] μετὰ τῆ[ς] Ἀ[κροπό]λεως seems strange and unsatisfying.

It is in the last degree improbable that five children of a family should perish by any natural cause in one day. In a Gallic inscr. recording the burial of three children within twenty-seven days, M. Le Blant, 460 Δ,

¹ Y and K are often confused. M was read for by Hamilton in l. 14.

² ὕμ[ι]ν το[ι]ς καλλο[ι]ς Cumont, ὕμ[ι]ν Mordtmann.

³ One objection has prevented me from putting it in the text; €, not E, is the form in this inscr., but a mixture of forms is sometimes found; and even in this inscr. E is given by

Hamilton in l. 3.

⁴ O then must be taken as falsely inserted: but I find no parallel in Hamilton's copies.

⁵ I have hesitated for years between the two restorations: in *Expositor* VIII 1888 p. 411, I deleted from the proof sheets the one which I now print in the text, and substituted τοῦ Νεάνθου.

is reminded of the plague that devastated Gaul in the sixth century; and the same thought rises in his mind when 621 records the death of three sons within a year. But even a plague would hardly kill five children in one day. It is not a plague, but martyrdom, that was the cause of death, and the beginning of life¹, to the five mentioned here. Even in that case it is hardly probable that a father here makes the monument to five of his own children, who perished in one day. It is more probable that a leader in the Church (probably bishop) makes the grave of five members of the Church, whom he affectionately styles his children. Similarly in *Acta Carpi*, when Papylos at his trial was asked if he had any children (τέκνα ἔχεις); he answered that he had many in God (καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν θεόν); and Lightfoot argues that the reply proves him to have been bishop.

9-10, cp. Ignat. *Magn.* 6, 1, διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων. The open burial does not tell against the view that the five were martyrs. Rome did not war against the dead; and the remains of martyrs were allowed to be buried by their friends. In Diocletian's persecution this permission was refused, and for that and other reasons this epitaph must be placed earlier, perhaps under Decius, about 250². The curse at the end (which is not of a very Chr. spirit) is apparently directed against possible ill-will among pagans: *qui offenditur* cp. 1 *Peter* II 8.

The sepulchral formula ἀνέστησα with accus. of person buried, like ἐτίμησα with accus., is very common in E. Phrygia and Lycaonia: see Sterrett W. E. no. 18, 22, 26, 38, 39, &c. Both formulae occur in the Pentapolis. ἐκόσμησα is a similar form.

The name Nonna is interesting: it is said to be an Egyptian word for 'old woman,' applied to those women, virgins or widows, who professed chastity and became almost a special order in the Church.

(B), on another side of the stone, makes the tomb common to the brethren (cp. no. 654). Mordtmann interprets εἰστήν as a false form for ἐστίν, probably rightly. But the analogy of 380 might be adduced in favour of εἰς τήνδε, 'Up to this (stele), the heroön is common to the brethren.' I cannot sympathize with M. Cumont, who understands the brethren here as the five named above: the writer, who had just enumerated the five for whom he has made the tomb, would not add 'the tomb is common to the (five) brothers.' On the freedom in admitting to the grave among the Chr., see no. 280. The sentiment which led the early Chr. to esteem as a privilege and honour the opportunity of burial

¹ Martyrdom was regarded as the life, i.e. the true life, l. 19-20.

² This date is confirmed by no. 659 (see comm.).

near the grave of any distinguished saints or martyrs¹ is natural in itself, and is attested by numerous examples, and is formally approved by the authority of several of the Fathers. As time went on, this honour became reserved for persons of distinction; but originally it seems to have been allowed to all the brethren. It became after a time complicated by conflicting with another feeling, viz. the dislike for interment within the city. That healthy feeling was very strong in pre-Christian times, and was made a part of the public law in the XII Tables, and was formally renewed in a rescript of Hadrian², again by Diocletian, and in 290, and by several Christian Emperors³ in 381, &c. An exception however had occasionally been made in favour of great citizens under the Republic; and in Chr. times the remains of saints were received into cities as protectors and patrons. This led to a desire to be buried beside the saint, conflicting with that prejudice against burial within the city which was originally as strong among the Christians as among the pagans. Step by step the old prejudice yielded to the new desire, until at last most churches were filled and surrounded with graves.

659. (R. 1887). Koteh-Hissar. Incomplete in BCH 1893 p. 276⁴.
 Αὐρ. Ἀνδράγα|θος ζῶν ἐαυ|τῷ κὲ τῷ ὑφ᾽ Ὁα|λ[ά]μ[φ] κὲ τῇ γυναι|[ικ]ῇ Τ[ατία ?] τὸ
 κυμ|[ητήρι]ον κατεσκε|ύασεν μ. | χ. | εἰ δέ τις ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσι εἰς τὸ ταμίον
 δην. [· ·]

This and the following inscr. show the Eumenian formula affecting the Pentapolis. Now, as in Eumeneia the formula was at its strongest c. 255 A.D. (dates, p. 516), it is likely to have penetrated into the Pentapolis about that time; and no. 659 f are likely to date then or later. The date of no. 660 about A.D. 258 is evident on other grounds. No. 658 belongs to the older type, and should therefore not be later than 250.

660. (R. 1891). By the road-side near a bridge 3 miles from Maghajil on the road to Sandykli. Αὐρ. Ἀντώνιος ἐαυτῷ κὲ τῇ γλυ[κυ]τάτῃ συνβίῳ
 [μνή]μης χάριν. [οὐκ] ἐξδν εἶνε ἔ[τερόν] τινα ἐπε[νβά]λε, ἐπὶ (i. e. ἐπεὶ) αὐτ[ῷ]
 ἔστα|ι [π]ρὸς τὸν [θεό]ν.

The lettering of this inscr. is very like no. 643 (dated A.D. 256); but is not retrograde. See no. 659.

¹ *Sociatus sanctis martyribus, sociari sanctorum sepulcris, positus ad sanctos*, &c. The place of burial is defined *retro sanctos, ante Domna Emerita, at Ippolitu, ad Sanctum Martyre(m), Martyris ad laetam, ante pedes Martini*. See Le Blant I p. 81, 398, 471, II 219 &c. (who gives the facts here quoted). *Inter electos* has

a similar sense Le Blant I p. 163.

² *Dig.* 47, 12, 3, 5.

³ *Cod.* III 44, 12, *Cod. Theod.* IX 17, 6.

⁴ In BCH the words after χάριν are omitted (cp. no. 632); Ὁα[λ]φ is restored, but my copy shows Μ (though marked doubtful): and the name Τ[ατία ?] is omitted.

661. (R. 1891). Mentesh. On an altar. [Ὁ δεῖνα] | γυναικ[ι] | γλυκ[υ] | -τάτη μ. | χ. καὶ ἐ[αυ] | τῷ ζῶν' ἐνορκ[ι] | ζόμεν[ο] | τ[ὸ] δ[ν] | ¹ θεὸν μή τις σ[κ]υ[λ]ήσῃ ² τύνβον | σώματος ἡμε[τε]ρου.

The concluding formula is generally Chr.; they dreaded hurt or insult to the grave, the pagans' wrongful intrusion (a feeling which at first remained strong among the Chr.). Cp. ὀρκ(ῶ) σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος μηδένα αὐτὰς σκῦλέ ποτε [†] Kaibel 187: μή μου σκυλῆς τὸν βόθρον CIG 9473: εἴ τις τὰ ὀστᾶ μου σκυλεῖ, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπερχομένην ὀργήν CIG 9802: ὅς ἂν δὲ σκυλῇ τὸ μνήμα, δώσει 4077 (Ancyra). But CIG 6625 Kaibel 1901 with the dedication Θ. K. is probably pagan (ὅς δὲ ἂν σκυλῇ). Cp. also no. 219, 332, CIG 3757 (Nikaia Bith.).

It is difficult to distinguish between parts of the verbs σκύλλω *repro* and σκυλάω *spolio*: Kaibel and Kirchhoff seem to prefer the connexion with σκύλλω (necessary in σκῦλε aor. infin. for σκῦλαι). The accentuation is equally difficult: *Steph. Thes.* has μῆ—σκυλῆς, Kirchhoff CIG 9473 σκύλῆς; 9802 σκυλεῖ, Kaibel 1901 in text σκυλῇ and in index σκύλη, Böckh CIG 3757 and Franz CIG 4077 σκυλῇ. σκύλλω is a common Chr. word, and in Chr. inscr. probably we should read σκύλῆς, σκύλη.

With the use of ἐνορκίζομαι cp. Kaibel 187 (just quoted). Both are Chr. Compare also the Jewish Chr. epitaph CIG 9270, ἐνθα κεύτε ὀστέα τοῦ σώφρονος Παύλου διακόνου. ἐνορκίζομαι[ε]θ[α] τὸν παντ[ο]κράτο[ρ]α θ(εὸ)ν πα[—]. Compare also the following: (1) in museum of Bukarest ³, ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὑψιστον τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς (*Numbers* XVI 22) ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλφ φονεύσαντας τὴν ἄωρον Ἑρακλείαν ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύσασιν αὐτήν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν Κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ. (2) Egyptian papyrus ⁴, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν ἐν τῷ κενεῷ, πνεῦμα ἡ δεινὸν, ἀόρατον, παντοκράτορα θεὸν θεῶν.

662. Kara-Sandykli. A hasty sketch, the accuracy of which I cannot guarantee in details, is here reproduced. I was not at that time interested in Chr. antiquities, or I should have asked Mr. Blunt to make a careful drawing of this stone (see Ch. XVI § 4); but the effective character of the design induced me to make a rapid sketch in my notebook. The rarity of Chr. symbols in the published monuments of Phrygia lends interest to my rough drawing (p. 490). I have completed the arches conjecturally, assuming that they were semi-circular; but the

¹ ΟΠΟΙ in copy for ΟΙΤΟΙ.

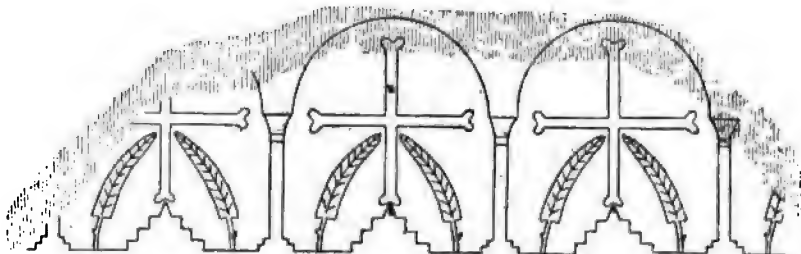
vol. 77, 1874, p. 404.

² Perhaps ο[υ]λήσει.

⁴ Wachsmuth in *Rh. Mus.*, N. F.,

³ OHirschfeld in *Wien. Sitzungsber.* XVIII p. 560.

parts thus added where fracture is indicated are not vouched for by any notes or indications in my sketch. The marble, which is broken on three sides, was perhaps part of a church.



663. (R. 1881). Kara-Sandykli [—] ΕΝΟΙΛΕΙΑΝ κὲ πᾶς τις ἄλλος τῶ[—τ]ὸν ἐνθάδε ταφέντα Βασήληον, ζήσαντα ἐν ἀμελίᾳ βίον +. Late lettering: on a stele ornamented in much coarser and later style than no. 662.

3. THE SYNNA DA DISTRICT.

664. (R. 1891). Oinan. [Κύρι]ε, or [Χριστ]έ, βοήθι Ἄργ... νος Πίου κ[αὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ?] Perhaps Ἀρ[τέμω]νος should be read. The inscr. is late. The earliest example of the formula Χρ. βοήθει is LW 2704, dated A.D. 331.

664 *bis*. (R. 1891). At Yiprak in the valley of Metropolis I found a late Chr. inscr. undecipherable.

665. (R. 1883). Aghzi-Kara. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 288 (incomplete), Cumont 187. + ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως Αὐξιντίου ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Ὑπα[τί]ας καὶ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Εὐσιβία[s]. καὶ εὐξάμενη τὴν εὐχὴν | ἐξ]ετέλεσαν +

The stone had suffered since I copied it, for the text in BCH is εὐξάμενην τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξ]ετέλε[σθη]. The spelling η for οι in εὐξάμενη is very unusual: υ for οι in nom. plur. occurs in the inscr. quoted no. 657 l. 7.

666. (R. 1884). Aghzi-Kara. A cross within a circle: under it Γριγόριος πρ(εσβύτερος).

667. Alayunt. MM. Legrand and Chamonard in BCH 1893 p. 287, Cumont 183. + ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσε|ος Ἑρμῆ Relief: Rose Μουσ-τρικοῦ. No. 667-670 '*pierres funéraires Chrét. en forme de chapiteaux*.'

668. *Ibidem*, Cumont 184. + ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς [—]s καὶ τῶν πεδίων
αὐτῆς | Μέδοντα[s] | καὶ Γανγίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Γανγίου καὶ | τῶν πεδίων
αὐτοῦ | Τροφίμου καὶ Ἐπιφάνου.

669. *Ibidem*, Cumont 185. ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Πολυ|χρονήου Φωλευτοῦ | καὶ τῆς
συνβήου αὐτοῦ | καὶ τῶν πεδίων αὐτῶν. Probably [B]ωλευτοῦ for βουλευτοῦ
is the form here intended.

670. *Ibidem*, Cumont 186. $\begin{array}{c} \phi \omega \\ \zeta \omega + \epsilon \\ \quad \quad \quad \eta \end{array}$

4. ARISTION AND PRYMNESSES.

671. (R. 1881). Geune (Aristion): CIG 3877 (unintelligibly). [Κύριε
βοήθει. περὶ εὐχῆς Εὐνομίου κ[αὶ] παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ . .] στρώ-
σε[ως?].

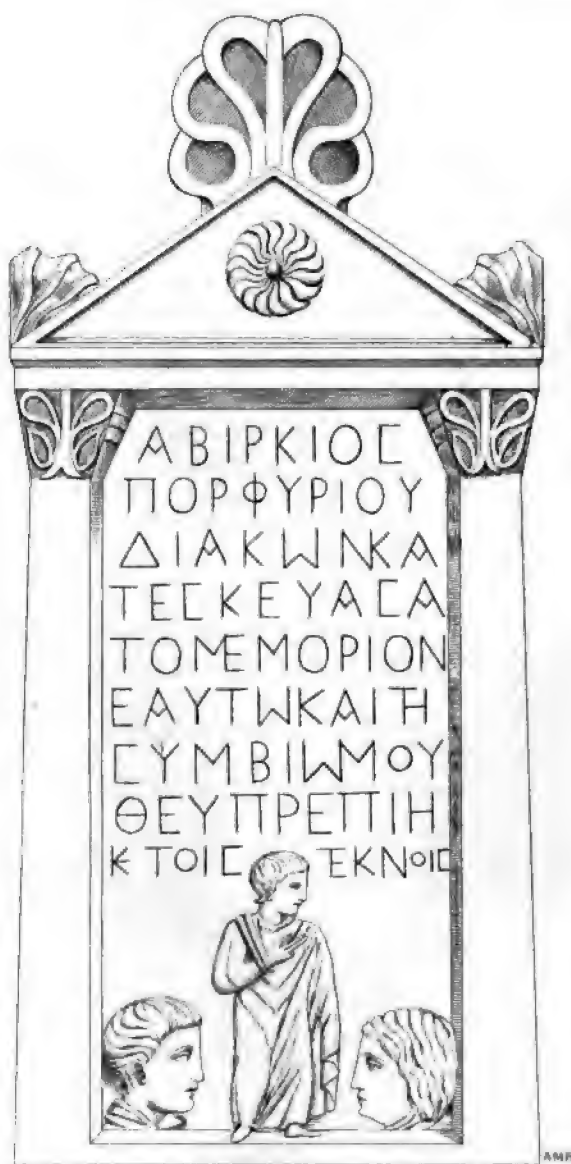
The work of paving a church or the approach to it was perhaps under-
taken as a pious duty by Eunomios.

671 *bis*. (R. 1881). I copied, at considerable risk, an inscr. on the upright
central dividing stone in the window of a ruined church near Sultan-Boyali
at E. end of Sitchanli-Ova. My copy is lost; but a future traveller may
easily find the inscr., and get help from the village to reach it.

672. (R. 1884). Seulun (Prymnessos). *Church in R. E.* p. 440. MM.
Legrand and Chamonard give the text in BCH 1893 p. 290 (without
noticing that it has been several times published), Cumont 190. Ἀβίρ-
κιος Πορφύριον διάκων κατεσκεύασα τὸ μεμόριον ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ μου
Θρευπρεπίῃ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις.

The accompanying drawing by Mrs. Ramsay shows the interesting
sculpture on this stone, one of the earliest representations of the Saviour
(who, as in other early sculptures, is represented as a youth). He stands
in the attitude of instructing or admonishing, raising the right hand
with thumb and two forefingers extended. He is shown facing to the
front, but the face is in profile, because the artist was used to represent
the face in that way. The figure has the squat proportions that mark
the declining art of the late third or the fourth century (e.g. on the arch
of Constantine at Thessalonica).

The heads of Abirkios and his wife are on a larger scale, one on each
side. That of Abirkios is of a conventional expressionless type; but
Theuprepia has individuality and beauty, beyond what appears in the
reproduction. The face is that of a matron, plump, with a slight ten-
dency to double chin, features graceful, dignified, wearing the placid
expression that indicates comfortable circumstances and a happy life.



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We observe the gradual degeneration of the name Avircius in the Greek language. It was an Italian name, CIL VI 12923-12925¹; and the Phrygian bishop is called by Eusebius 'Αουρίκιος. But towards the end of the second century, the use of β to represent Latin V began; and in the third century it became almost universal². Hence the name became 'Αβίρκιος, as we see it here in these fourth-century inscr., 672, 673. Alongside of Avircius or 'Αβίρκιος appears a form Avercius CIL XII 1052 (in Gaul), and 'Αβέρκιος³: these have the appearance of being provincial, degenerate, and later forms: 'Αβέρκιος is found in the fifth century⁴, in the tenth century⁵, and in all published MSS. of *Acta Abercii* (none of which are very early): 'Αβέλκιος occurs in no. 431, which may be of fifth century or later. Abourgios is a Cappadocian variation, due to the thick coarse pronunciation of Greek in that country⁶. See also no. 673.

Avircius, then, is the name which candid criticism must give the historical bishop; and it is a strange example of wrong method and wrong principle that so many writers insist on calling him Abercius, against which I record my continual protest.

Theodosius and Theodosia are very often written Theodosius and Theodosia in Latin⁷: Claudian *Bell. Gild.* 216 begins a hexameter with Theodosii (as it should be written, or at least must be scanned): cp. the epitaph of the Gallic martyr in Rome Theodosia, Le Blant II 655.

673. (R. 1881). Afion-Kara-Hissar, Cumont 191 (who wrongly quotes it from BCH).

	ΑΨΩ	A · Χρ[ιστός] · Ω ·
	ΥΡΔΩΡΟ	A]ύρ. Δωρό-
	ΘΕΟCABIP	θεος 'Αβιρ-
	ΥΙΟΥΚΑ	κ]λου κα-
5	ΨΕΚΚΕΥΑ	τεσκέυα-
	CΑΤΟΗΡΩΙ	σα τὸ ἡρώ-
	ΟΝΑΪΑΥΤΩ	ον αἰαυτῶ

¹ Aburcus in an old inscr. at Falerii may be connected. Deecke *Falisker* p. 214 conjectures [C]aburcus.

² See comm. on no. 577.

³ An enigmatical word occurs at Lagina BCH 1890 p. 366, *ιερεὺς Ἰάσων Ὀρθωσίου Κολιοργεὺς Ἀβέρσι*. M. Foucart says the last word is certain and probably complete; but he admits the possibility that Ἀβέρσις was intended,

as second name of Iason.

⁴ A. D. 451: Ch. XVI *App.* II.

⁵ Constantine Porph. *de Adm. Imp.* § 50.

⁶ Basil Caes. *Epist.* 33. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II 13 says *παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθες, ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ ξύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ μηκυνόμενα, καὶ μηκύνων τὰ βραχεία*.

⁷ Cp. Dittenberger *Syll.* 102 (A.S.).

	IT-M-TPI	καὶ τῇ μητρὶ
	MOYMAPKA	μου Μαρκελ-
10	AIN-KAITOIC	λήν καὶ τοῖς
	IDIOICMOY	ἰδίοις μου
	ITOICANE	καὶ τοῖς ἀνε-
	YIOICMOY	ψιοῖ μου.
	XAIPETEOI	χαίρετε οἱ
15	ΠΑΡΙΟΝ	παριόν-
	TEC ¹	τες

It is impossible to be certain as to the origin of the inscr. now at Afion-Kara-Hissar, unless they contain evidence in their contents. Stones are brought to a large trading centre like this from all sides, often from a great distance. A peasant, coming from a village to buy in the city, brings with him in an ox-wagon some thing that he can turn into money, usually produce of his ground; but the stone-cutters are ready to buy a good stone, and he can always make a small sum by bringing a marble: hence, in cities like Afion-Kara-Hissar or Ushak, the traveller should always visit the stone-cutters' yards. But this remark applies only to the great cities; and it would be mere perversity to argue that a stone found in a village is carried from a great distance (p. 583). Stones go *to* the great centres, not away *from* them, and the smaller the village the more nearly certain is it that the stones in it come from the neighbouring ancient site (for the villages, as a rule, do not stand actually on the old site, but near it). Exceptions may occur, and the conditions which may cause exceptions are stated on p. 366; but except where several ancient sites are very close together (as in the Pentapolis, Ch. XVI *App.* I), I have found no exception in my own experience. Only in the great centres (Attaleia, Kutaya, &c.) have I found travelled stones. In Afion-Kara-Hissar, stones from Dokimion are certain², and from other places (like Kidyessos) probable; but, where evidence is wanting, I assign them to Prymnessos, two miles distant (no. 678 f to Akroënos, the Byzantine fortress renamed Kara-Hissar by the Turks). No. 673 has names common both with 672 (Prymnessos) and 684 (Dokimion).

Aur. Dorotheos was son of Abirkios and Marcellina. The names of both parents suggest some connexion with Avircius Marcellus: either the connexion may be by blood, or admiration and respect may have

¹ In l. 4 the upper oblique stroke of the first [K] is shown in my copy: in 5 TE, in 6 HP, in 7 TW, in 12 NE, in 14 TE, *lids*. In 7 the *iota* is a small letter inserted as a correction.

² E.g. *Ath. Mitt.* 1882 p. 134 and a long series of blocks of Dokimian marble with no. 682.

spread the names among the Chr. of Central Phrygia (no. 672). A salutation is here added to the epitaph, as was customary in the Pentapolis, no. 654-658; and this fact favours the connexion of Dorotheos with Hieropolis. Salutations, addressed either to the spirit of the departed by the survivors, or by the spirit to the survivors or passers by, are common in pagan epigraphy; and were adopted by the early Christians, but were gradually disused by them. MM. De Rossi and Le Blant find their occurrence in Chr. epitaphs a sure proof of comparatively early date. In pagan epitaphs we find [εὐψύχῃ τεκοῦσα, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος Kaibel 1353, cp. 1531, 1536, 1806, 1832. εὐδαιμόνει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος 1743, εὐψύχῃ, παροδείρα Kaibel 1465; but more commonly, such encouragements are addressed to the spirit of the dead (Kaibel 1488 is very clear, cp. 1782). εὐψύχῃ with the name of deceased in vocative is very common (Kaibel 1314, 1400, 1554, 1555, 1594, 1633, 1699, &c.).

The monogram P is of later origin than X . As M. Le Blant points out X is used in Rome between A.D. 298 or 323¹ and 451 or 474, and in Gaul between 377 and 493², while P appears in Rome from 355 to 542-565 and in Gaul from c. 400 to 525-540. The monogram and symbols AXW occur in a Phoenician inscription bearing the date 625, which, if it is calculated by the Seleucid era, is A.D. 313³. The next dated eastern inscription with this monogram is of A.D. 399 (LW 2263). It occurs as late as A.D. 500 in an inscr. of the northern Hauran (along with the symbols $\text{XM}\Gamma$), Wright and Souter in *Pal. Expl. F. Quart. Statem.* 1895 p. 52⁴. An inscr. of Mauretania, dated A.D. 384, has the heading

D APW MS

Dates a little earlier are likely to rule in the East than in Rome, as a general survey of the facts presented in Ch. XII and XVII shows; but it is not probable that the present inscr. can be placed earlier than A.D. 330. At the same time none of the signs of lateness occur in it; and probably 350 is the latest date that can safely be suggested for it. The maker of the tomb is named first. Now in Roman inscr. the maker of the tomb ceases to be mentioned A.D. 408, in Gaulish 470. Salutations rarely occur in Chr. inscr. after Constantine; and in all respects except the symbols and a slightly elongated formation of the letters, this

¹ The first certain occurrence is in A.D. 323.

² De Rossi *Inscr. Christ.* no. 127; Le Blant *Inscr. Chrét.* no. 369, *Manual* p. 29.

³ Renan *Mission de Phénicie* p. 390; but M. Bayet (from whom I learn about

this inscription, see *Rev. Arch.* 1876 (Nov.) p. 289) thinks this date improbable. The further study of eastern Chr. inscr. has greatly diminished the improbability; and the date must be accepted.

⁴ Cp. *Mé. d'Arch.* 1895 p. 50.

inscr. has the ordinary third-century character. The date then is perhaps A.D. 330-350.

M. Duchesne dates several inscriptions at Seleuceia-Isauriae with the monogram ✠ about A.D. 350¹. That they belong to the fourth century is practically certain; some may probably be as early as the time of Constantine.

674. (R. 1881). Afion-Kara-Hissar. CIG 8935, LW 1711, Cumont 188. [Λου]σασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθαι, [ἀφ]έλεται τὰς πονηρί[ας ἀ]πὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, παύσασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρι[ῶν ὑμῶν], μάθεται καλὸν ποιεῖν, ἐγζητήσατε κρίσειν, ῥύ[σασθε ἀ]δικούμενον, κρίνατε ὀρφανῶ καὶ δικαιώσα[τε | χήραν] καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διελεγχθῶμεν, λέγει [κύριος, καὶ ?² ἐὰν] ὧσιν ὑμῶν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὡς φοινικοῦ[ν], ὡς χ[ύ]να | λευκ[ανῶ]· ἐὰν δὲ ὡς κόκκινον³, ὡς ἔριον λευκανῶ.

This quotation from *Isaiah* I 16-18 evidently formed part of the epigraphic adornment of an early Byzantine church⁴ (probably at Prymnessos). The church, apparently, contained a series of texts from *Isaiah*, another of which is preserved, no. 675. Eusebius in describing the great church at Antioch, *H. E.* X 4, makes a series of quotations from *Isaiah*; and it was evidently a custom from the fourth century to use quotations from *Isaiah* as the epigraphic equipment of a church. A third example occurs at Philomelion no. 676.

675. (R. 1883). Afion-Kara-Hissar. Πν(εῦμ)α Κυ(ρί)ου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὐ εἵνεκεν [ἐχρ]εισέν με· [ἀγαλλιόσθω] | ἡ [ψ]υχὴ μου ἐπὶ Κ(υρί)ῳ· ἐνέδυσεν γὰρ με εἰμ[άτιον σωτη]ρ[ί]ου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης· ὡς νυνφ[ί]ω περιέθη[κέ] μοι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύνφην κατεκόσ[μ]ησέν με κόσ[μ]ω. καὶ ποιήσιν ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς Κ(ύρι)ος Σαβαὼθ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. | ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο πείονται εὐφροσύ[νην, πείον]ται οἶνον, χρεῖσονται μύρον ἐν [τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ].

This is compounded of *Isaiah* LXI 1 and 10 and XXV 6. The words from ἀγαλλιόσθω to κόσμω occur in Eusebius's description of the Church at Antioch; and were evidently commonly employed to describe the adornment of architecture with which the Church is equipped. The first eight words are the opening of a quotation in *Luke* IV 18, the text of Jesus's sermon at Nazareth. It apparently broke off suddenly in this inscr.

¹ BCH 1880 pp. 196 f. In all, 24 Chr. epitaphs are there published: of these 5 or 6 mention the occupation of the deceased (which, as M. Le Blant points out) ceased at a comparatively early time to be mentioned), 1 or 2 of them being soldiers. Some of them have

✠ plain, and are perhaps about 350-400.

² Probably καὶ was not expressed: there seems no room for it.

³ So Pococke: Hamilton -ηνον.

⁴ Or the baptistery connected with it.

676. (R. 1883). Ak-Sheher (Philomelion). φωτείζου φωτείζου Ἱερου-
σαλήμ, ἥ[κει γάρ σου τὸ φῶς], | καὶ ἡ δόξα Κυρίου ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνατέταλκεν.
[ἰδοὺ σκότος καὶ] | γνόφος καλύψει γῆν ἐπὶ ἔθνη· ἐ[πὶ δὲ σὲ φανήσε]ται
Κύριος, καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ ἀφθῆ[σεται· καὶ πορεύ]ονται βασιλεῖς τῷ
φωτὶ σου, καὶ [ἔθνη τῇ λαμπρό]τητί σου. ΕΓ . . . ΓΟΙΚΡΙ . . . ΙΙΩΝ . . . Ν.

Isaiah LX 1-3 here appears in the commonest type of text (see the notes of Dr. Swete, who in his text gives σκότος καλ. γῆν, καὶ γν. ἐπ' ἔθνη). The inscription continues for at least 4 lines more (which I could not decipher); but does not continue this passage of Isaiah: the next word began with ΕΓ or ΕΓ (or ΕΠ?).

This inscr. is given out of proper local order, in order to illustrate the custom seen in no. 674 f.

677. Mikhail. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 289, Cumont 192. + ἐμὸν τὸ ζῆν Χριστός¹ καὶ τὸ ἀποθανῶν κέρδος. Ἀμάραντος | διάκων ἐλεεινὸς δοῦλος Κυρίου, ἐνβλέψας τὴν τοῦ προσκέρου βίον | ζοῆν πέντε μὲν δεκάδας τελέσας βουν[ο]ῖς (?) σὺν τῷ ἀδερφῷ Κυ[ρι]||ακῷ, εὐξαμένης τῆς μιτέρος αὐτῶν Σοφρονίης, ἐπύθησαν τὸ μνήμα | τοῦτο ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς συμβίους αὐτῶν Παππιανῆς καὶ Πανχαρίης καὶ τῶν | γλυκυτάτων πέδων Δόμνης καὶ πάντων τῶν [ἄλλων] τῶν κληρονομοῦντων τὸν πενιχρὸν βίον + βλέπε δὲ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ὅτι ὁ θάνατος πᾶσιν ἡγύμασθε. One line follows, which could not be deciphered. Compare *Phil.* I 21, *Matth.* XXIV 15 (A. Souter).

This inscr. is probably of the fourth century. The style represents a transition from the earlier forms: the salutations at the beginning (no. 658) and end (654-656) have become markedly Chr. in character; but still exist (no. 673), and the maker of the tomb is mentioned (no. 454). No. 455 *bis* seems to belong to the same stage of development¹; now, in Prymnessos, Christianity was established later than at Laodiceia; and the stages of development would naturally be a little later. Hence about 370 seems a probable date for this inscr. The editors doubt their own reading βουνοῖς. See no. 385, 399 *bis*.

678. (R. 1881). Afion-Kara-Hissar. R. in *Mitth. Ath.* 1882 p. 144, Cumont 189. On a small marble pillar which formed part of an Armenian church recently burned. It is said that this church was very old, and originally Greek. The second line runs completely round the pillar, so that the same cross is at the beginning and the end of it.

ἄγιος ὁ θεός, ἄγιος [ὁ θεός, ἄγιος ὁ θεός]

+ Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαήλ, ἐλέησον τὴν πόλιν σου κ[α]ὶ ῥύσῃ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ). Compare *Matth.* VI 13, *Luke* XI 4 (A. Souter).

¹ Compare τὸν πενιχρὸν βίον and τὸν βραχὴν βίον.

ῥύση for ῥύσαι, cp. no. 684, 692, and 359. The worship of Michael appears at Colossai pp. 214 ff, Temenothyrai no. 442, Motella no. 404, Gordium-Eudokias BCH 1883 p. 23¹, coast of the Bosphorus Sozomen II 3, Cedrenus II p. 210, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 157: see also above p. 31, *Church in R. E.* p. 477, *AA SS* 29 Sept. pp. 4 ff and pp. 32 f (on worship of angels). Mr. Conybeare thinks that Michael was selected above others because of *Daniel XII 1*.

679. (R. 1883, 1887). Afion-Kara-Hissar: very late fantastic lettering: accents marked as here given. Ἐν ταῦτα κείδε ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀπο|ατζῆς ἐκ κατὰ Φιλιππουπόλεως χορίου | Κλησούρας· καὶ ἀναπαύσει αὐτὸν | ὁ Κύριος ἐν κόλποις Ἀβράαμ.

Comparison of CIG 9276-9278 suggests that the very common initial formula belongs to cent. VI. M. Le Blant *Manuel* p. 85 says that the concluding formula is characteristic of Egypt and Sicily (usually with καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ). In I p. 95 *note* he quotes several examples from the West, Greek and Latin (*quiescenti in sinus Abr. et Is. et Iac., in gremio Abr.*).

The Kleisoura at Philippopolis is probably one of the passes over the Balkans.

5. DOKIMION.

680. Istcha-Kara-Hissar (usually printed Eski-K. H.), Dokimion. CIG 9267, LW 1714, Cumont 196.

Ποιμένος ἀρίστου τῶν θεορρήτων λόγων
ἦν, παροδίτα, μνημα τῆς μνήμης χάριν
Μαξειμίων ἔτευξε τοῦτο τοῖς πόνοις.
ἀλλ' εἰς μίωσιν ἦλθε τῷ χρόνῳ ποτέ,
ἥπερ συνυπάρχει τοῖς χρόνοις ὑπηρέτις.
ὁ δ' Εὐνόμιος καίνισας τὴν σύστασιν
ὥς σοφὸς ὑπάρχων λατρὸς καὶ γεννάδας
ἤγειρεν αὐτὸ προγονικῆς φήμης χάριν
αὐτὸς προθύμως κληρονομήσας ὥς πάλαι.

The tomb of an ancient bishop of Dokimion, erected by Maximion, had fallen into decay, and was restored by one of his descendants, Eunomios. As Waddington remarks, Maximion would probably not be named, unless he had been the bishop. He had prepared his own tomb, according to the usual custom of early centuries. Kirchhoff refers this inscr. to cent. VII (though his reasons only point to the conclusion that it cannot be later): I should take it as probably earlier.

¹ Read [τ]φ Ἀρχιστρατήγῳ ἐ[αυτὸν ?] παραδούς, ἐνθὺδε κ[εῖται ?] Σωτήριχος.

681. (R. 1881). Istcha-Kara-Hissar. Letters very faint and worn. Each senarius fills two lines on the stone.

+ νωνυμῆν φορέοντα, ἀτερπέα χῶρον (*Od.* λ 94, A.S.) ἐόντα,
 γουν[ὸν κ]εκμηῶτα [ἐ]οῖς κτεάττεσσιν (!) ἐγ[ρά]ς,
 Εὐνόμιος κόσμησε, Σατορνεί[νοιο] γενέθλη,
 4 εἰσορδ[ων] μετὰ πάντα πέλειν καὶ τοῦδ' ἀλε[ωρή]ν¹.

Eunomios, son of Saturninus, is evidently the same person as in no. 680. A piece of waste land was beautified by Eunomios, apparently to serve as a cemetery, l. 4. νωνυμία, ἀκλεια, ἀσάφεια Hesych. (A. Souter).

682. (R. 1881). Afion-Kara-Hissar : a fragment.

Μ[εστριανὸς] γενετῆρος ἐοῦ [με]τὰ νήματα Μοίρης +
 πύργον ἐμ[ὸν]² τεύχει [χ]ρήμασιν εὐ³ [πορίσας ?] +
 εἰσέτι που γουνοῖσιν —

This must have been brought from Dokimion, to which Mestrianos belonged, no. 683. Allusions to the Moirai are quite usual in Chr. epigrams, see p. 387 n. 4.

683. (R. 1881). Istcha-Kara-Hissar. Ornate letters of fair style.
 εἰς αἰῶνα τὸ μνημόσυνον | τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης | Μεστριανοῦ | καὶ τῆς
 τούτου | θυγατρὸς | Θεοσεβίης.

The fifth century is a probable date.

684. (R. 1883). Istcha-Kara-Hissar. Epigraphic text, p. 744.

παρθένου ὠκύμοραι λίριοι [πατέρος] δυστήνου,
 πολλοῖς ἀνδράσι θρήνοις πενθούμεναι αἰεὶ,
 ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς ἔθρεψα πρὸς γάμον [ἧδ' ἀτίτηλα·
 4 ὥρμησε]ν δὲ λήλαψ κ' ἐξεκόμισε, ὅπως μὴ
 ἀνδρεσσιν μερόπεσσι βίου τέλος εἰσαφίκοισθε.
 οἱ μ]έν γὰρ θνήσκουσιν ἐν ἀκ[μῇ] τοῦ βιότοιο
 κα]ὶ δόντες δοκιμὴν πίστε[ως] τῆς ἐν φρεσὶν οὐσης·
 8 ἀ]λλ' ἐν ὑμῖν κληῖρος ἀπ[οφθιμέναις] λάχεν ἄλλος.
 τῷ δὲ διερχομέν[ω] βίου εὖ, πενιχρόν περ ἐόντα,
 ἦ] με(ι)μημα δίκη[ς] ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι δέδεικται.
 Δορόθεος πρεσβ. Ἀ[πφίω] καὶ Τατιανῇ?
 12 τέκνοις ἀώρο[ις] τὴν στήλην μνήμης χάριν
 ἀνέθηκα· εἴ τις [δὲ] ἄλλος τῷ μνημεί-
 ω κακὴν χίρα προ[σοσενέγκη], ἔσται αὐτῷ προ-
 σ τὸν θεόν.

¹ Copy: COIC in l. 2, ΑΛΕΓ IN in 4.

² Copy: ION.

³ Copy: EYΓ.

A large part of the restoration is due to Mr. J. G. C. Anderson. In . 10 there seems no room for any letter at the beginning; but yet an



extra syllable is distinctly necessary. Dorotheos, presbyter of the church in Dokimion, prepared the tomb of his two young daughters. The persistence of the old pagan formula in l. 13, and the character of the formulae as a whole, prove the date to be not later than century IV, while it can hardly be placed so early as century III. The concluding formula has here spread far N.E. On λῆλαψ compare no. 678.

The winds (like the Harpies or the θύελλαι in Homer) had hurried away the maidens from the earth before their prime. Some people die at the acme of

their career, after giving proof of the faith that is in them; but they had a different lot. Yet he who lives his life well, however poor and short (no. 455 *bis*, 677), has shown himself a pattern to all men.

685. (R. 1881). Istcha-Kara-Hissar.

μνωόμενοι προγόνου . . . Β . . . τόδε γράμ' ὁμά[δε]λφοι ?
 Ζω[τι]κὸς ΕΞΦΕΤΕΡΟΥ 'Ιουλ' ἰα . . . ΕΥ ΟΕ¹ κληρονόμοι
 'Ερμολ[έ]ν[η]ς καὶ 'Εορτάσιος καὶ Παπίας.

4 τούτῳ μήτε γύη δοίη μήτ' οὐρανὸς εὐρύς,
 μήτε βυθὸς καρπού[ς], μήτε [χθ]ῶν [ἀγ]λαὰ δῶρα.

The gap in sense at the beginning of 4 implies an omission of some words by the engraver. Nothing but the obviously late date implies Chr. origin; it may be the epitaph of a fourth-century pagan.

686. (R. 1881). Istcha-Kara-Hissar.



ὑπὲρ Θεοδύρου : either for -ούλου or -ώρου.

¹ Perhaps [ῆ] σί[ζυ]ος (not σί[μυ]ος, as part of a letter T or Z remains).

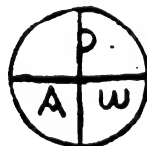
687. (R. 1884). Gebejiler, two miles S. of Dokimion. [ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Δωροθέου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἔκου [αὐτοῦ].

688. (R. 1884). Gebejiler. [—] τῆς ἀγίας δεσπίνης ὑμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ αἰ [— Very late.

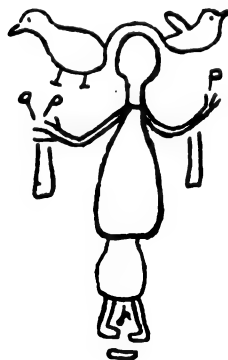
689. (R. 1881). Seidilar, near Dokimion. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 291, Cumont 198. ὁ [φ]θό[ν]ος | ἐστὶ κάκιστος, | ἔχει δ' ἀγαθόν | τι μέγιστον· | τήκει | τοὺς φθονεροὺς | ἐλέγχων τὴν κακίην, | ὧ φθονερεὶ τί φθονίς; | οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ τήκει ἑαυτόν (οἱ τήκει σεαυτόν). | Θεοῦ γὰρ ἐστὶ πάν[τ]α ὅσα φθον[ε]ῖς· | παρέχει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐλπίζουσιν εἰς αὐτόν· | σὺ δὲ λέγ', ὧ | φθονερέ, καὶ θέλων παρέχιν οὐ | δύνασε, καὶ φθονῶν εἰσχύεις οὐδὲν· | ἀνξή οὖν εἰς τὴν κακίαν | σου· | τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ | φθονεροὺς ὁ Θεὸς πάντοτε μισῶ.

'Les premières lignes reproduisent une épigramme de l'*Anthologie* XI 193, à peine altérée: ὁ φθόνος ἐστὶ κάκιστος, ἔχει δὲ τι καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίην. Ces vers se retrouvent dans une épitaphe de Lyon, Kaibel 2533' (Cumont). The column on which this inscr. is engraved may have been one of a series in a church, with moral maxims engraved on them.

690. (R. 1881). In the marble quarries near Dokimion, on the rock.
+ Κύριε, βοήθει τοῦ ποίσαντος αὐτήν + Μουσίωνος β' ὁ ναίων (?) τοῦ (?)

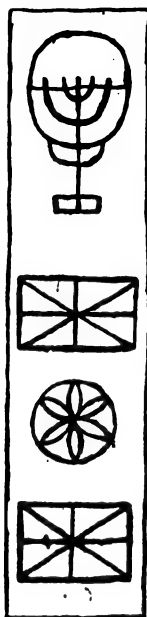


+ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟ
ΗΟΙΤΟΥΤΤΟΙ
ΣΑΝΤΟΣΑΝ
†ΤΗΝ+
ΜΟΥΣΙΩΝΟΣ
ΒΟΝΟΙΩΝΤΟΥ



αὐτήν is probably (τὴν εἰκόνα). The inscr. is perhaps an early stage in

the Iconodoulie movement, cp. no. 402. The symbolism of this exceedingly rude work is interesting.



691. (R. 1881). Seidilar. The seven-branched candlestick on this stone is the only remaining memorial of a Jewish colony at Dokimion. See no. 561.

692. (R. 1881). Istcha-Kara-Hissar. [ὕπὲρ εὐχῆς] | Τρύ[φ]ων[ο[ς] | ἐλαχίστου | πρεσβυτέρου] | καὶ τοῦ πε[δ]ίου αὐτοῦ κ[ε] ὑ[πὲρ] ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]ας καὶ ἀναπαύσε[ω]ς τῶν γυν[ε]ων αὐτοῦ.

Πηδῖον for παιδίον, see no. 678. The phrase ὑ[πὲρ] ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]ας seems a certain restoration; but I can quote no parallel.

CHAPTER XVIII

LINE OF THE TRADE-ROUTE TO THE EAST

§ 1. The Trade-Route to the East p. 747. § 2. Metropolitanus Campus p. 749.
§ 3. Euphorbium p. 750. § 4. Okoklia p. 751. § 5. Sibidounda p. 751. § 6. Lysias
p. 754. § 7. Oiniatai p. 755.

Appendix. Inscriptions p. 756.

§ 1. THE TRADE-ROUTE TO THE EAST. My intention was to describe the great Highway in this chapter. But the evidence is still very inadequate, and few points are fixed with certainty; and, as Mr. J. G. C. Anderson expects to explore the region very soon, it seems better to reserve the fuller discussion to the next volume, and give here only a few facts that seem fairly certain, and may guide further exploration.

The Eastern Highway, after traversing the valley of Aurokra (Dombai-Ova, 3400), crosses a mountain ridge (where its course is plainly visible to the traveller whose eyes are open), ascending from Akche-Keui and reaching a summit level of slightly over 4000 ft. At 19 miles from Apameia by railway survey (probably 12 in direct distance¹ by road), it enters Gungermes-Ova, a small glen among the hills, 3976 ft. over sea level; and about 22 miles it reaches the long level plain called Tchul-Ovasi or Turkmen-Ova, *Campus Metropolitanus*, stretching towards N.E., and entirely shut in by mountains, on the left Gumalar-Dagh (p. 677), and on the right Korru-Dagh (dividing it from the plain of Apollonia, Kara-Arslan Ova). At 31 miles it passes Okchular near Metropolis, the lowest point in the plain, 3770 ft., where the water of the valley collects in a marsh (in winter probably a small lake).

At 39 miles, the railway passes Gumulu, 4002 ft., and then crosses the Kiz-Kapan pass at no great elevation (41 miles), and enters another valley of irregular shape and considerable extent, called by

¹ The projected railway has great difficulty in rising first from Dineir-Ova 2850 to cross Djebel-Sultan (tunnel 3600), and thereafter from Dombai-Ova: it loses probably 7 miles in winding course.

various names, especially Oinan-Ova. At 50 miles, it passes (at a level of 3700 ft.) under the village Kara-Dil-li, high on the right, and, soon after, Oinan and Aresli, between which was the ancient Lysias. It then crosses (about 54 miles) another ridge, and enters the long valley, Karamyk-Ova, stretching towards N.E., whose water gathers in a lake and great marsh at the S.W. end beside Geneli, about 3300 ft. Towards the N.E. end is Karadja-Euren, near an ancient site (where formerly I wrongly placed Lysias), 74½ miles; and soon after the railway ascends a low gently sloping ridge past Bazar-Agatch (Holmoi), descends sharply into the great plain of Phrygia-Paroreios, and reaches Tchai, 3286 ft. (perhaps Julia-Ipsos), at 82 miles from Apameia (probably 71 by road).

This line is clearly marked by nature. It is hemmed in on the right side by a lofty ridge, which, under the names Kilij-Takhan, Korru, and Kara-Kush, extends from the knot of mountains near Ai-Doghmush on S.W. to join Sultan-Dagh (the great ridge bounding Paroreios on W.) on N.E. Trade by waggons could never cross this high and steep ridge; and hence the trade-route had to keep away round Korru- and Sultan-Dagh through a succession of valleys.

In the valleys along this great road, we should expect to find a series of cities; but evidence is very defective. In Karamyk-Ova, no proper explorations have ever been made: I traversed it once, in 1883, under unpropitious conditions¹; and (as I now know from longer experience) I went along the side on which Greek foundations need not be looked for, viz. the higher-lying side (see Ch. XVII § 1, 2). In that great valley more than one site must be discoverable. Kinnaborion is the only ancient name that can be assigned with any confidence to this valley; and it is more likely to be on the S. side than up near Karadja-Euren.

Gungermez-Ova is probably too small to have contained an ancient city; but both Tchul-Ova and Oinan-Ova are likely to have held each more than one.

Strabo's interesting account of this great road contains a serious error in one of the numbers. The stages are

- (1) Ephesos to Karoura—740 stadia.
- (2) Karoura by Apameia, Metropolis, Khelidonia, Holmoi—920 st.

¹ I was travelling with only one servant, making an experiment for economy's sake, which proved quite unsatisfactory. The weather was also bad and rainy; and, finally, my ser-

vant, a Turk, was afraid of the Circassians, who have a village in the finest part of the valley, and would not go near them.

- (3) Holmoi by Philomelion to Tyriaion—510 st.¹
- (4) Tyriaion by Koropassos to Garsaoura (Ak-Serai)—960 st.
- (5) Garsaoura by Soandos and Sadakora to Mazaka-Caesarea—680 st.
- (6) Mazaka by Herpha on Karmalas to Tomisa on Euphrates—1440 st.

It is obvious that the numbers in stages (2) and (6) are much underestimated², while stage (1) is perfectly accurate³, and the others seem very fair approximations. From Karoura to Metropolis is very near 117 M. P. or 936 stadia, and the total distance from Karoura to Holmoi must be about 161 M. P. or 1288 stadia.

§ 2. METROPOLITANUS CAMPUS. In his paper *über Kelainai-Apameia*, p. 22, published in 1875, Prof. G. Hirschfeld indicated his belief that Metropolis was situated in the Tchul-Ova; but in his *Reisebericht*, published in 1879, he retracted this opinion, and argued that *Metropolitanus Campus* was Kara-Arslan-Ova⁴. There is no perfectly conclusive proof of the position of Metropolis; but Strabo, p. 663, places it on the great Eastern Highway between Apameia and the Paroreios; and it must therefore have been situated in one of the three valleys just described. Further, the evidence quoted on inscr. 695 makes it in the highest degree probable that the city which struck coins with the legend ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · ΦΡΥ was not far from the village Horrou, which is about 4 miles W. from Okchular, on the edge of the Tchul-Ova. Those coins belong to a city in the *conventus* of Apameia⁵; and the Tchul-Ova is likely to have been included in that *conventus*.

The probable situation of Metropolis was near the middle of the valley, on a slight rising ground, Nemryk-Mezarlik, about midway between Haidarli and Tatarli. This low mound was evidently the site of an ancient city; and its inscriptions would naturally be carried to the villages around, Horrou, Okchular and Tatarli (no. 699). It is now quite deserted, and marked only by graves; the modern villages almost all lie on the edges of the plain, where springs are

¹ μικρὴ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων. I take Holmoi at Bazar-Agatch.

² Agathemeros in *Geog. Gr. Min.* II p. 476, gives the distances Ephesos to Mazaka 3990 st. and Mazaka to Euphrates 1950 st. Strabo's totals are 3810 and 1440. Pliny II 172, V 106, XVI 240, mentions this road, and gives the distances Ephesos to Mazaka 415

M.P. (3320 st.) and Mazaka to Euphrates 319 M.P. (2552 st., a ridiculous overestimate). To Strabo's numbers we must add 350 and 300 (read *ἑπτα-* for *τετρα-*κοσίων in 6).

³ Measurement proves this.

⁴ *Berl. Akad. Monatsber.* 1879 p. 319.

⁵ The formula with *παρά* is Apamean, no. 695 and p. 276: see also no. 307.

closer: the ancient city lay in the centre, and must have been supplied by an aqueduct (Ch. XVI § 2).

It is remarkable that Metropolis was detached from Phrygia, either by Diocletian or about A.D. 371, and attached to Pisidia. But it is evident that Metropolis was in close relations with Apollonia and Antioch; its inscr. and customs are more of the Pisidian than the Phrygian type (see no. 695); and the direct horse-road and foot-road to the East connected it closely with Antioch (pp. 579 ff). The later classification sprang naturally from its historical development.

The fact that Metropolis, which is so near the N.E. end of the valley, was in Pisidia under the Byzantine classification, proves that a city at Tatarli (if one existed¹ there) must certainly have been in Pisidia, and that a city at Ginik was probably in Pisidia (though possibly it might be attached to Phrygia Salutaris). This has an important bearing on topographical reasoning.

§ 3. EUPHORBIVM is mentioned only by Pliny, who names the Euphorbeni in the *conventus* of Apameia, and on the Peutinger Table, where it is placed on the road from Apameia to Synnada, XXVIII M. P. from each. Now the course of that road is quite certain: it coincided with the Eastern Highway as far as Metropolis. There it diverged, and went almost due north past the village of Ginik, across the mountains to Synnada. Near Ginik there is, on the edge of the plain, and near the line of the road, an ancient site, now deserted: this site is about XXVIII M. P. from Apameia, and XVIII from Synnada. With this slight correction, the Table may be quoted as evidence that Euphorbium was situated here.

If we have rightly placed these names, Metropolis must be taken as the trading city of later Greek and Roman times, while Euphorbium was the older foundation, retaining more of the purely native character. Hence the latter struck no coins, while in Metropolis the wealth and civilization of the valley were concentrated.

The hero Euphorbus played some considerable part in Phrygian legend. In Diogenes Laertius I 25 and Diodoros X 6, 4, there is quoted a passage of Callimachus relating to him². Euphorbus discovered the science of rectilinear geometry, and Thales advanced it³. At Aizanoi,

¹ See § 4.

² M. Th. Reinach proposes to restore it as follows ἐξεύρε Φρύξ Εὐφορβος, ὅστις ἀνθρώποις | τρίγωνα καὶ σκαληνὰ καὶ κύκλων μήκη | [πρῶτος μέτρησε καὶ] δίδαξε νηστεύειν | τῶν ἐμπνεόντων· οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ ὑπήκου-

σαν | πάντες. *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 p. 272.

³ οὗτος προήγαγεν ἐπὶ πλείστον, ἃ φησι Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις Εὐφορβον εὐρεῖν τὸν Φρύγα, οἶον σκαληνὰ καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ ὅσα γραμμικῆς ἔχεται θεωρίας *Diog. Laert.* I 1, 3 (25).

also, Euphorbus was a figure in old religious legend¹. The name therefore goes back to the primitive Phrygian period; and it has probably been modified in Greek, so as to be significant in that language.

§ 4. OKOKLIA. It is quite probable that there may have been a third ancient town in the Tchul-Ova. Inscribed stones are so numerous at Tatarli, that one feels inclined to regard it as an ancient site. In that case it would have to be distinguished from Metropolis. Now a city Okoklia is known from its coins, but is never mentioned by any ancient author or in any list of bishoprics. M. Imhoof-Blumer infers from its coins that it was situated beside Lysias². The situation of Tatarli would suit this condition well; and we might explain the silence of the ecclesiastical lists about Okoklia, because it was so near Metropolis that the two might well be classed in a single bishopric, *ὁ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Ὀκοκλείας*.

§ 5. SIBIDOUNDA³. The situation of this city on or near the direct road from Euphorbium to Synnada is made probable by the boundary stone, no. 693. The course of the road is determined by the plain traces of it which remain: cuttings were needed to secure easy gradients across the mountains that separate the Metropolitan valley from the Synnada valley, and the explorer can go along the road with perfect ease and confidence. In 1888 I started from Synnada with the intention of exploring this route completely. We ascended the hills by the village Baljik-Hissar, above which is an ancient site on a rounded hill⁴. Round the side of this hill, we for the first time caught the line of the Roman road; and for several miles we rode along 'a finely engineered path, the cuttings and curves of which' are quite clear⁵. I have seen no such instructive example of Roman engineering skill; and though I had previously not believed that a Roman road took this route, I was at once convinced that I was on the line of a Roman road (in 1891 this was confirmed by the *Termini* no. 693 at the side of the road further to S.).

At this stage we were high up on the mountains, and we reached a point whence we looked down towards the left into a great deep

¹ See Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀζανοί and the chapter on the city.

² *Rev. Suisse Numism.* 1895, zur Münzk. Kleinas. p. 4.

³ On the name see pp. 753 f, 144, 169 n., 435 n.

⁴ Being eager to examine the road, I unfortunately accepted the evidence

of the villagers that no inscribed stones, but only wells, remained on this site; and did not go up to explore it thoroughly. I now see that Sibidonda was probably situated there; and bitterly regret that I did not satisfy myself about its character.

⁵ *Hist. Geogr.* p. 170.

cleft, between two spurs, at the mouth of which lay the village Atly-Hissar. It was obviously impossible that a road suited for traffic could have been engineered up the steep sides of the cleft; and the view from that point showed me how skilfully the road along which we had been rising by a gentle, continuous slope had been chosen by the Roman engineers¹. The discovery of this road caused me to discard the view which I had previously held, derived from my journeys of 1881, 1883, and 1884—a view which is expressed in CB (map and § xxxv)²—that the Roman road followed the line of the modern waggon-road between Synnada and Metropolis, going round by Oinan-Ova. In 1881 we traversed that road; and rejected the direct road across the mountains as impossible³. But I now can see no reason for such a carefully engineered road as that which passes by Baljik-Hissar, unless it were made by the Romans to carry at least the lighter trade from Dokimion and Synnada to Metropolis.

I was eager to verify this view by going the whole way to the Metropolitan valley along this road. But, unhappily, shortly after passing out of sight of Atly-Hissar, I was tempted away from the road towards the right up the mountains to see a reported inscr.; and, after wasting much time among trackless rocks at a great elevation, we descended to the Metropolitan valley by a different route. The reported inscr. could not be found; but I now recognize from the description that it was probably a boundary stone similar to no. 693. This unfortunate detour spoiled my exploration, and leaves the road uncertain. M. Radet (*En Phrygie* p. 123) has recently returned to my first view that the Roman road went through Oinan-Ova⁴; and the line must remain a matter for a future explorer to determine certainly. It may well be that my first view was right; and if M. Radet had examined the evidence for both routes, and then preferred one, I should accept his conclusion; but, as he has traversed only one, and has given an erroneous and exaggerated account of the other, drawn from a lively fancy and not from actual experience, the difficulties

¹ Below Baljik-Hissar, the road has been washed away or covered up by soil from above.

² JHS 1887 p. 481.

³ JHS l. c. 'No straight road is possible from . . . Metropolis to Synnada: only a difficult mountain path leads from Metropolis to Atly-Hissar.' But, as I have now found, there is this levelled and built road by Baljik-Hissar.

⁴ His map distinguishes his road, which goes past a '*Fontaine*,' from mine, which goes by Uzun-Bunar. The error is with M. Radet: his *Fontaine* is identical with Uzun-Bunar. The road passes a little N. of Atly-Hissar. Kiepert places Uzun-Bunar and Gazuk-Keui wrong. [For clearness I use in this section the customary name Baljik-Hissar; but Bagheche-Hissar is the true form.]

which caused me to abandon my first view remain unsolved. His valuable discovery of a milestone at Atly-Hissar certainly tells rather in favour of the Oinan-Ova line; but it is not conclusive, for the stone lies away from both roads (see M. Radet's route map), and might readily have been carried from either.

But it seems not impossible that there were two roads, alike in ancient as in modern time; and that, just as we have recognized both a trade-route and a horse-road from Ephesos to the east, so we should recognize a double road between Metropolis and Synnada. It would in that case remain uncertain on which of the two roads Melissa lay; but, perhaps, probability would incline to place it on the horse-road and at Baljik-Hissar. Alcibiades was slain there, and he was likely to be travelling by the direct road. Similarly, Hadrian, who built at Melissa a monument to Alcibiades, was likely to prefer the direct path from desire to see the place where the famous Athenian perished.

In that case the ancient site at Bedesh on the road between Synnada and Baljik-Hissar, whose existence is determined by M. Radet, would be the city Sibidonda; and the marbles of Dokimion would be carried from Synnada through Sibidonda round by the west end of Oinan-Ova to Metropolis. As to Sibidonda, the only choice seems to lie between Baljik-Hissar and Bedesh: future exploration will decide the question, but at present probability leans to the latter site. See Note, p. 755.

Sibidonda is mentioned at the council of Chalcedon, where Mirus *Bilandensis*¹ was present among the bishops of Phrygia Salutaris (read [Si]bidandensis, where Δ has been corrupted to Λ). M. Radet has rightly recognized that the Debalikia² of Hierocles is a corruption of Sibidonda: here we have a clear case where Σ has passed by a copyist's error into Δ, and Δ into Λ. The order Sibidonda, Lysias, Synnada, is natural, when we recognize that Lysias was in Oinan-Ova, and that thus the three cities were closely connected by a line of road. The order in all *Notitiae*, Prymnessos, Meros, Sibidonda, Phyteia, is not good³. The strange name Sibidonda, or Sibidounda,

¹ The variety of forms is puzzling: *Εὐλάνδρων*, *Eulandrae*, *Eulandrorum*, also occur. In the classified list in *Actio* XV, it is placed in Salutaris; and in the other lists it usually comes before Ipsos and Lysias. Elias of Blaundos in Lydia was also present. On the whole these forms are most easily explicable by the theory that Δ has been corrupted

to Λ, and that the form should be [Si]bidandensis; with the intrusion of ρ compare Ptolemy's *Βλέανδρος* for *Βλαῦνδος*.

² I wrongly took Debalik-ia as a corruption of two names Beudos, Kinna-borion.

³ If Phyteia be Beudos, as I formerly suggested, it was near Sibidonda (being

was exposed to many corruptions, Sebindos, Sibildos, Sinbindos, Sibindos, and Siknodos (where B has passed into K by corruption).

§ 6. *LYSIAS*. This city is hardly ever alluded to in literature. Strabo mentions it in an enumeration so vague as to be of little value, if it is not corrupt¹; but his words show that he placed Lysias, neither in Pisidian Phrygia, nor in Paroreios, nor in the region of Amorion and Akmonia and Synnada, but in the remaining district of S. and S.W. Phrygia, lying round Apameia and Laodiceia; and he names Lysias as an outlying city of this group towards E.² We gather from Strabo, then, that Lysias was E. from Apameia, S. from the line Amorion-Synnada, W. from Paroreios, and N. from the line Apollonia-Antioch. Hence I formerly placed it on the road from Metropolis to Julia-Ipsos, near the point where that road enters Paroreios.

That situation however was too far E. The order of the *Notitiae* connects Lysias with Eukarpia, Augustopolis (W. of Afion-Kara-Hissar), and Brouzos. Hierocles connects it with Sibidonda and Synnada. Ptolemy mentions it between Konne (N. of Afion-Kara-Hissar) and the unknown (perhaps corrupt) Kerkopia. Combining these indications with the evidence of Strabo, we are brought nearer to Metropolis and Sibidonda, S. or S.E. from Synnada³, while we are absolutely debarred from placing it in the Synnada valley⁴ by the classification of Strabo.

I am indebted to Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., for the following important passage, which is almost conclusive: in the *Acta S. Abercii*⁵ it is stated that in the country of the Pentapolis there was a lofty mountain, which is defined as 'opposite the city of Lysias.' Now considering

only five miles N. from Synnada); and Meros might be a transposed name, leaving a good order.

¹ Quoted and emended Ch. XIV *App.* III; the emendation does not affect the reasoning of this paragraph.

² His enumeration Peltai, Tabai, Eukarpia, Lysias, seems to move eastwards (I regard Tabai as a corruption, for Strabo distinctly considers Tabai as a city of Pisidia p. 570).

³ There is no possible situation S.W. from Synnada without getting into the Pentapolis.

⁴ As M. Radet does; he places it at Effe-Keui, six or seven miles N.N.E. from Synnada.

⁵ *Bibl. Nat. Paris Cod. 1540 fol. 150 v*: the text of this unpublished MS. is as follows: περιῆγεν οὖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν θεραπεύων τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλουμένων. συνέβη οὖν αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν γενέσθαι εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως Λυσίας· καὶ διψήσαντος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, κλίνας τὰ γόνατα προσήξυτο καὶ ἀνέβλυσεν πηγὴ καθαροῦ νάματος. καὶ πάντες οἱ διψῶντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκορέσθησαν. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ καιροῦ Γονυκλισία ἐπεκλήθη. The form Λυσία is used here, in one MS. of Hierocles, and perhaps at the Council of A.D. 347 *Theagenes episcopus a Lyzia* (taken by Le Quien as Lysias, probably rightly).

(1) the geographical situation of the Pentapolis, as described Ch. XVI § 1, (2) the results we have already reached about Lysias, we cannot doubt that this lofty mountain was part of the chain bounding the Pentapolis on E. Further, the mountain direct E. from Sandykli lies over Synnada, and it is clear that the author distinguishes the 'mountain opposite Lysias' from the Synnada range, which was alluded to in describing the journey of the Magistrianoi from Synnada to Hieropolis (Ch. XVII § 2). This mountain opposite Lysias was evidently south from the Synnada range; and the sacred fountain and place of Knee-bending (Ch. XVII § 2) ought to be discoverable. In 1891 we ascended from Karghyn, but bad weather and dense mist rendered exploration impossible. We came down on Yiprak at N. end of *Campus Metropolitanus*. Now Lysias cannot be placed in that valley (see § 2 and 4), while the mountain on our left, as we crossed the ridge, is naturally defined as opposite Oinan¹: therefore we conclude that Lysias was the city whose ruins are seen on a mound between Oinan and Aresli.

§ 7. OINIATAI, a people mentioned only in the Tekmorian lists found near the N. end of Bey-Sheher lake², seem to have been the Phrygian tribe that inhabited Oinan-Ova. In their territory, on the great road, Lysias, a general of Antiochus the Great, founded the Greek city Lysias, during the last struggle for Seleucid domination over Asia Minor, near 200 B.C. A village of the Oiniatai seems to have been called Deiaga, no. 708; and near the West end of Oinan-Ova, evidently, was situated Dinia (or Khelidonia³), which Manlius traversed between Metropolis and Synnada.

¹ Oinan is far enough away to be 'opposite' the mountain and not 'under' it.

² *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 411 ff.

³ *Hist. Geogr.* p. 171: so M. Radet *En Phrygie* (map). Can Dinia be Oinia?

NOTE 1. It is noteworthy that a characteristic Pisidian type, Helena between the Dioskouroi, occurs at Sibidounda; and I bought two coins of Sibidounda on the Pisidian frontier near Olbasa.

NOTE 2. Okoklia is indicated (perhaps rightly) as the city of the tribe Lykaones in my *Church in R. E.*, map: that would explain why it is so rarely mentioned. It was corrupted into Ptolemy's Kerkopia between Lysias and Eukarpia (V 2, 23).

APPENDIX.

INSCRIPTIONS.

1. METROPOLITANUS CAMPUS.

693. (R. 1891). On the surface of a rock projecting a little above the level of the hillside, about 80 yds. left (west) of the Roman and modern road leading from the plain of Metropolis to Synnada, on the brow of the hill, about an hour N. of Ginik: letters very slightly cut on the rough rock surface. Termini positi ab Irenaeo Aug. [i]ib. proc. i[n]ter Sib[id]ind[.] et? E . . . orcenos?.

TERMINI
POSITI
AB IRENEO
AUG. INTER
SIBIDIND
ET E . . .
ORCENOS

This important inscr. is very difficult; and I had an unlucky day, dark and rainy. The next day was sunny and I rode back to take advantage of the bright light (which often reveals hidden symbols, when light and shade are made to alternate on the surface); but, as we were looking for the stone, the rain began, and the day proved worse than the preceding. A future traveller may have better luck. The stone is very hard to find, and few of the peasants know of it. A man from Yiprak was our guide. If no guide can be found, the traveller will find, well

up the rather steep slope out of the plain, a place near the brow where the low rocks¹ form a sort of gate through which the road passes. Here he should turn left at right angles to the line of the road, and, when he comes near the edge of the ravine, he will find the *Termini* near him. This description will be clearer to him on the spot, though at a distance it seems vague.

The two local names are doubtful. The second ends almost certainly *-orcenos* or *-orgenos*: I tried to make the word *Euphorbenos*; but that was not on the stone. There was however nothing on the stone inconsistent with the reading *E[uph]orgenos*, if such a variant be possible. The first name also escaped me, when copying the inscr. I did not then think of *Sibidonda* or *Sibindos*; but shortly afterwards the suitability of the copy to that name occurred to me. The first letter I had taken as C; but *Σ* (with tail below the line) seems a probable form.

The name of *Irenaeus*, in all probability, belongs to a freedman and procurator of Trajan, known from two inscriptions on two blocks of *Synnada* marble, found in Rome, and published by P. Bruzza *Bullett. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 150 no. 258 f (and given below in the chapter on *Synnada*). In A.D. 137 he was evidently procurator of Phrygia (see no. 641); and the two Roman inscr. were probably cut in *Synnada* on blocks destined for Rome (*rationis urticae*). During his office he apparently regulated the frontiers around *Synnada*, where his centre of administration was.

In the position of the inscr., it is clear that *Sibidonda* lay towards N., and the E . . . *orcenis* S. That makes it practically certain that the site of *Sibidonda* was either at *Baljik-Hissar* or at *Bedesh*, on the S. edge of the *Synnada* valley.

694. (R. 1881). Tatarli. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτέλεισε Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Καρικοῦ Μεννέου ἐνδόξως νεικήσαντα [Πυ]θικῶν πανκράτιον ἀγῶνα θέμεως Μεννεαυῆς πρώτης δοθείσης τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ².

The giver of the first *Themis Menneane* was, of course, *Menneas*. His son was named *Karikos*, and his grandson *Alexander* won the *Pankration* at the first *Themis*. In a *Themis* (or ἀγὼν θεματικός) the prizes given to victors were not mere garlands (ἀγῶνες στεφανίται), but objects of value, sums of money, &c. (see LW 1209, BCH 1879 p. 341): the gen. θέμεως here used is rare and wrong. *Themides* were commonly

¹ Rising about 2 or 3 feet above the surface.

² MM. Legrand and Chamonard in 1891 copied several (or all) of the inscr. which I copied in 1881 and published in JHS 1883 pp. 58 ff (see BCH 1893

pp. 251 ff); they do not mention any corrections. It is always useful to mention formally the re-copying of an inscr. and to state whether or not it confirms the published copy.

named after the wealthy citizen who paid for them (and thus became a *klistes*): cp. Εὐαρεστῆιοι at Oinoanda CIG 4380 m, Καλλιππιανεῖος at Sagalassos CIG 4369, Τουησιανεῖος at Side CIG 4352, Προκλημανεῖος at Telmessos CIG 4198, and many others (e.g. LW 1209f, 1223, 1257, above no. 73). The custom was characteristic of Pisidia and Pamphylia, and is rare in Phrygia proper: it has spread to Metropolis from Apollonia, as the two towns were in easy communication¹. The founder was often ἀγωνοθέτης διὰ βίου (CIG 4198, 4352).

προτρέπεσθαι expresses the authorization by the city: cp. τοῦ συλλόγου προτρεψαμένου Μουσ. Sm. no. σλα' (Teira).

695. (R. 1881). Horrou. ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Μεννέας, θέμεως ἀγωνοθέτης, Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρου Τί[ε]ίου, προτρεψαμένης τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδό[ξ]ως ἀγωνισά[μ]ενον Πυθικῶν πανκράτιον.

Aur. Menneas is, in all probability, the founder of the Themis Menneane, mentioned in no. 694, 698. As he does not mention that the Themis was second or third, we may infer that it was the first. Alexander Tieiou, who won the Pankration at this first Themis, was therefore the same as Alexander, son of Karikos, mentioned in no. 694. Tieiou then is not a patronymic, but an indeclinable personal name (see p. 169 n. 1).

The letters are faint on the stone², and I read on it only ΤΙΣΙΟΥ (understanding him as son of Tisias); but M. Waddington recognized the correction needed by comparison with coins in his collection.

(1) Obv. ΑΥΤ · Κ · Γ · Μ · Κ · ΤΡΑΔΕΚΙΝΣΕ. Radiated head of Decius rt.

Rev. Cybele in tetrastyle temple, seated $\frac{3}{4}$ left, holding out patera r.: l. rested on tympanum: lion at each side. ΠΑΡ · ΑΛΕΞ · ΤΙΣΙΟΥ · ΑΡΧ · ΠΡ · ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · ΦΡΥ. Mionnet, size 10.

(2) Obv. ΕΡΕΝΝΙΑΝ ΕΤΡΟΥΣΚΙΛΛΑΝ.

Rev. ΠΑΡ · ΑΛΕΞ · ΤΙΣΙΟΥ · ΠΡΩ · ΑΡ · ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · Φ. Fortune. Mionnet, size 8.

To these Mr. Lawson adds two others from his collection:

(3) Rev. ΠΑ · ΑΛΕ · ΤΙΣΙΟΥ · ΠΡ · ΑΡ · ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · ΦΡΥ. Simulacrum resembling that of Artemis Ephesia (here Tauropolos, no. 701). Mionnet, size 6 (Decius).

(4) Rev. [Π]Α · ΑΛΕ · ΤΙΣΙΟΥ · ΠΡ · ΑΡ · ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · ΦΡΥ. Men standing by slightly turned to r., wearing high Phrygian cap and short tunic, crescent on shoulders, spear in r., patera in l. Mionnet, size 6 (Decius).

¹ Some other S. Phrygian cities had *καὶ ἀνδριαντεία*.

the custom, no. 73 Antioch Mae. (cp. no. 70 Attoudda Νε[ρῶνια? στεφανῶ] τὰ

² The scene at its disinterment is described in JHS l. c.

It is therefore clear that about A.D. 250, Alexander Tieiou was a leading citizen in Metropolis. If he were then aged 48, his victory in the Pan-kration at the first Themis took place about 225. But the style of lettering of no. 695 ff would rather point to a later date; and the most suitable dates for Alexander are, birth *c.* 220, victory *c.* 240. It is quite possible that no. 694 was erected later, when Alexander was a distinguished citizen, and his townsmen were heaping honours on him. The fact that an inscription or a statue in honour of a victor may be erected long after the event, and that it is unsafe to assume without proof that the erection follows immediately on the victory, is very clearly attested by an inscription of Attoudda, where a statue of M. Aurelius Apellas is erected in honour of his victory in a boys' stadion by his grandson according to a public promise¹. In the present instance the occurrence of *πρώτης* perhaps (but not necessarily) points to the later date, after other Themides Menneanai had been held.

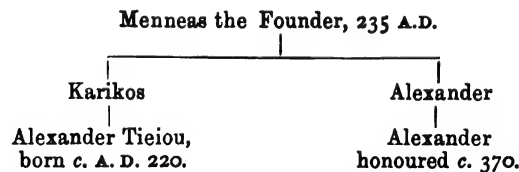
696. Tatarli. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 252. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτείμῃσεν Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον [—]ου Γρίου [— καθὼς τὰ δοθέντα] αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖ ψηφίσματα.

The editors remark that *Τιείου* should perhaps be read for *Γρίου*: the stone is much worn. If so, the restoration [*Ἀλεξάνδρου*] [*Τιείου*] would be needed, as they recognize in the victor a son of Alexander Tieiou.

697. (R. 1881). Tatarli. Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀλεξάνδρου δις Αὐρ. [*Ἀλέξανδρος*] Μεννέου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐγγονον.

The lettering is late, marking the date as 260–290 A.D.

Alexander, son of Menneas, had a grandson Alexander: the grandson's father had the epithet *δῖς*, and must therefore have been called Alexander also (if the inscr. is regular). Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρον *τρίς* would have the same sense. Probably Menneas, the father of the first Alexander here, was the founder of the Themis Menneane; and the first Alexander was brother of Karikos no. 694. The *stemma*, in that case, is



¹ BCH 1890, p. 239 M. Αὐρ. Ἀπελλᾶν, Ἀδράστου Λοκρ[ίου] υἱόν, ἐνδόξως [ἀ]γωνισάμενον παίδων στάδιο[ν] τὴν ἀνάστασιν πησαμένον τοῦ ἀνδριάντο[ς] M. Αὐρ.

Ἀπελλᾶ Εὐτ[υ]χίωνος ἀνδρὸς ἀξιολόγου βουλευτοῦ καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ ἐγγόνου καθ' ἡ ὑπέσχετο τῇ πατρίδι.

698. (R. 1881). Tatarli. An additional line from MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 253. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ.] ἐτείμησαν Αὐρ. Σέλευκον Βιάνορος Πούδεντος τὸν καὶ Ζωτικὸν νεικήσαντα ἐνδόξως ἀνδρῶν πανκράτιον θέμ[ιν] Μεννεανὴν δευτέραν.

Seleucus Zoticus, son of Bianor, grandson of Pudens (or son of Bianor Pudens, a man with Greek and Latin name, no. 630), won the Pankration at the second Themis Menneane, c. A. D. 244.

699. (R. 1883). Site midway between Tatarli and Haidarli¹: letters very faint and worn. [ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ?] ἐτείμησαν Ἀρτεμίδωρον Σωσθένους τοῦ Ἀρτεμίδ[ω]ρου σχολαστικοῦ, ἀνδρα ἐπίσημον καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς χρήσιμον γεγονότα τῇ πατρίδι, δόντα καὶ ἀργύριον εἰς ἀγῶνος διάθεσιν, καθὼς τὸ δοθεὶς αὐτῷ ψήφισμα μαρτυρεῖ].

'Le sens du mot *scholasticus* a été parfaitement déterminé par Godefroy (*ad Cod. Theodos. VIII 10, 2*); il est synonyme d'*advocatus*, et s'applique spécialement aux hommes de loi chargés des intérêts d'une ville, d'un temple ou d'une église' (Waddington, no. 594).

700. Tatarli. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 252. ἡ β. καὶ ὁ δ. ἐτείμησεν Αὐρ. Δημήτριον Ἀμύντου Δομνίωνα, ἀνδρα ἐνάρετον καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς χρήσιμον τῇ πατρίδι δ[ι]α² καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην, καθὼς τὸ δοθ[έν] αὐτῷ ψήφισμα μαρτυρεῖ.

701. (R. 1881). Tatarli. Imperfect in Hirschfeld *über Kelainai-Ararnieia Berl. Abhandl.* 1875 p. 23. ὁ δ. ἐτείμησεν Ἀφρίαν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀττάλου Λουκίσκου, ἱερασμένην ἐπιφανῶς θεᾶς [Ἀρτέ]μιδος Τ[α]υρ[ο]πόλου.

Artemis Tauropolos is represented of the Ephesian type on coin (3) quoted on no. 695. She is doubtless the Mother-Goddess, from whom the city was named. At Iconium (CIG 4000) the epithets Demeter Achaia (suitable to the Mother-Goddess) and δεκάμαχος (suitable to the Ephesian type) are applied to the goddess of this type.

702. (R. 1881). Tatarli. ὁ δ. ἐτείμησε Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμ[ω]να β' [—].

703. (R. 1881). Horrou. τὸν γῆς καὶ θ[αλάσσης] δεσπότην αὐτοκρά[το]ρα καίσαρα [Λ. Σεπτίμ]ιον ΣεVήρον Περτ[ί]νακα Αὐγουστον [ἀνίκητον ?] Εὐσεβῆ [Εὐτυχῆ ? Ἀδιαβη]νικὸν [Παρθικὸν ? μέγιστον³ σωτῆρα [πάσης] τῆς οἰκο[υμένης] ἐκ τ[ῶν] ἀναλωμά[των] συνόλ[ω]ς⁴ Αὐρ. Ζωσ[ίμου].

¹ Haidar, lion, a Persian word, common in the Anatolian nomenclature (see p. 404).

² ἀλλὰ καὶ BCH, perhaps rightly.

³ YOYTON doubtfully in copy.

⁴ ΛΩΓ in copy.

The letters are faint and worn; and the restoration is not certain, as the titles are not quite regular. The date is between 199 (*Parth.*) and 210 (*Brit.* omitted). The Roman letter V is here adopted in the name of Severus.

704. Tatarli. MM. Legrand and Chamonard BCH 1893 p. 253. I copied the second half in 1883, confirming M. Homolle's readings.

[ἄνδρ]α σοφὸν κε[δ]νήν [τ'] ἄλ[ο]χον τόδε σῆμα [κε]κευθεν,
αἰδοίους ἐς [γ]ῆρας, ὁμόφρονα[s] ἐγ νεότητος,
Μάξιμον, δὲ Πόντου περικαλλῆς [θ]ρ[ε]ψ[ε] Σευνώπη,
καὶ χαριτοβλέφαρον Σκρειβωνίαν· οὗς πόλις ἦδε
εἵνεκεν εὐσεβείης ἀγανοφροσύνης τε ἐφίλησεν,
ὧν τε [θ]εοῖς ἔργων τεύξαν δῆμόν τε ἀγάπησαν.

705. A long inscription in 5 columns on the rock about 1½ hours from Yiprak towards NW. remains to be read. I tried in vain to reach it with a hastily improvised rope-ladder in 1891: some weeks later MM. Legrand and Chamonard ascended with the aid of mechanical appliances placed at their service by Mr. J. Walker of the O. R.; but they could only read τὴν ἀνείκητον θεάν. I thought I read Διτ from below. A powerful glass might be useful.

706. (R. 1881). Okchular. CIL III 7053. A fragmentary Latin epitaph, of no interest except *pos ovi[um]* for *post obitum*.

A second undecipherable Latin inscr. and several Greek fragments were copied by me in 1881 in this and other villages.

2. OINIA AND LYSIAS.

707. (R. 1891). In a fountain between Gumulu and Kara-Dil-li, ¼ hour from the foot of the slope ascending to the latter. [M]άνδρος ἱερεὺς | [ἀν]έθηκεν.

Defaced relief, or garland, under the inscr. The name Μάνδρων at Tralleis BCH 1881 p. 345.

In a fountain at the foot of the slope up to Kara-Dil-li is an inscr. in the Phrygian language (carefully defaced), which will be published with the other Phrygian inscr. in a later chapter.

708. (R. 1891). Oinan. Worn and faint letters. [— πατήρ καὶ Διουν?]σὶς μήτηρ Δειαγηνὸς ἰδ[ι]φ τέκν[ω] μ. χ. 'Α[τ]τ[ά]λ[ω] τέκν[ω]. Αἰ[φ]ιδία γυνή [καὶ?] Ζωτικὸς υἱός [—] ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν.

The conclusion might perhaps be ἀνέ[σ]τησαν μνείας] ξυ[ε]κα, but there is hardly room.

709. (R. 1886, 1891). Aresli. Defaced and hardly legible. Τίβιος Ἀσκληᾶδος | Ἑρμοκλῆς Εὐτύχου | Μελίτων Δάδωντος | Ἴμαν Σισίνου. The letters are often uncertain, but the names are all practically certain, except the first (possibly ΤΙΣΙΟΣ) and the sixth (probably Λάδωντος: Λάδωνος usual gen., but Λάδωντος is quoted from Corinna. The stone is complete, but only one face is exposed to view.

710. (R. 1886). Aresli: in a fountain. Viereck *Sermo Graecus* p. 51 (whose restoration is followed).

οὕτως
ἐν διορθώ-

[σατο] ἐγένετο πρό-
[τερον]ος ταῦτα κύρια μέ-
[νειν] δόγμα συνκλήτου.
[Περὶ ὧν Κόϊντος Φάβιος — υἱὸς Μάξιμος Γ]άιος Λικίνιος Ποπλίου
[υἱὸς Γέτας ὕπατοι λόγους ἐποίησαν]το, περὶ τούτου πράγματος οὐ-
[τως ἔδοξε· ὅσα βασιλεὺς Μιθραδάτης ἔγραψεν ἢ ἔδωκεν τισιν ἢ ἀφεί-
[λετο, ἵνα ταῦτα κύρια μένῃ οὕτω καθὼς] ἔδωρήσατο εἰς ἐσχάτην ἡμέραν,
[περὶ τε τῶν λοιπῶν ἵνα κρίνωσιν οἱ δέκα] πρεσβευταὶ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβάντες.

The Senatus Consultum quoted at the end of this inscr. is dated by the consuls of 116 B.C. Phrygia Magna had been given to Mithridates V by the Romans; and was on his death in 120 probably placed in a state of semi-dependence on the province Asia (see pp. 341, 423). Ten *legati* were sent to Asia to regulate affairs; and the opening lines seem to be part of a letter addressed perhaps by them¹ to the city of Lysias, quoting the decree under which they were authorized to act. The general principle laid down was to confirm all the acts of Mithridates. Probably Lysias had something to gain by this confirmation; and therefore recorded the decree and letter. The letters are small and good, and probably the inscr. dates shortly after 116.

¹ Viereck however considers that the letter is from the consuls (addressed in that case, I presume, to the ambassadors, and laying down a rule for their guidance). But in that case we should have to suppose that a letter from the ambassadors to Lysias also formed part of the inscr. when complete.

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By A. SOUTER, CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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CORRECTIONS OF VIEWS IN PART I.

Pp. 35 f. In a well-weighed review of Part I in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1896 p. 465, Dr. Partsch objects to my apportioning of the river names; and I think he has ground for his objection. My identification of the Laodicean rivers depended on two fundamental assumptions: (1) that the Kadmos has been rightly identified by Arundel, Hamilton, and A. H. Smith with Geuk-Bunar-Su (the reason being that Strabo describes a *Duden* in the former, and there is a *Duden* in the latter): (2) that Pliny's account may be set aside as inexact, because it does not originate from an eye-witness (ASP p. 5).

But, after realizing how accurate Pliny's account of the Maeander, its course, and its tributaries is (pp. 398, 411, 452, cp. 236), I see that I was wrong in disregarding his account of the Laodicean streams. Let us, then, provisionally accept his statement, and see where it will lead us. Laodiceia, as he says, V 105, *imposita est Lyco flumini, latera adluentibus Asopo et Capro*. The two streams that wash the sides of the city are Gumush-Tchai and Geuk-Bunar-Su¹; and these must be the Asopos and Kapros. But which is which? To answer this question, we turn to Strabo. He says *καὶ ὁ Κάπρος καὶ ὁ Λύκος συμβάλλει τῷ Μαϊάνδρῳ ποταμῷ, ποταμὸς εὐμεγέθης, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Λύκῳ Λαοδίκεια λέγεται*. The form of this sentence is remarkable, and I think Strabo would have expressed himself very differently, if he had meant that the Kapros was a small stream, like Gumush-Tchai, flowing into the Lycos, and that the

¹ The plan indicates a stream (Bashli-Tchai) nearer Laodiceia than Geuk-Bunar-Su, which is two kilometres from the line of fortifications. But Bashli-Tchai is a poor stream, and, moreover, the city clearly extended far beyond the narrow limits of the walls. Laodiceia was originally small; but it grew great under Roman government (p. 38), and spread chiefly on the eastern

side (owing to the character of the locality). Bashli-Tchai then flowed through the city (or, rather, its water was doubtless entirely utilized for the city), while Geuk-Bunar-Su literally washed one side of Laodiceia. Finally, Bashli-Tchai is a mere branch of Geuk-Bunar-Su; and does not run direct into the Lycos.

Lycos joined the Maeander. He seems here to indicate that Kapros and Lycos, two streams, join the Maeander in a common channel, forming together a large stream, which is called Lycos and on which Laodiceia is situated¹. Now that is the actual fact. There are two important streams, Tchuruk-Su and Geuk-Bunar-Su; both are so important, that each has some claim to be called the main river; and the name Lyko-kapros used in a late document perhaps points to this union of two equally important streams in a river². The union of Lycos and Kapros, Tchuruk-Su and Geuk-Bunar-Su, forms the river which gives its name to Laodiceia. Geuk-Bunar-Su then must be the Kapros.

If this be so, the Kadmos must be, not Geuk-Bunar-Su, but one of the other streams which flow out of Mt. Kadmos; and if a Duden could be found on one of them, the case would be complete. At present, however, the fact that a Duden is known only on Geuk-Bunar-Su supports the view taken in pp. 35 f; and this piece of evidence formerly seemed to me so strong that I wrongly took the case as proved, and never devoted any time to thorough exploration of the valley, considering its topography to be settled. In fact there are many districts of Phrygia, which I know much better than the Lycos valley, though I have passed across the valley no less than 14 times. Kiepert distinguishes Geuk-Bunar-Su from the long Tchuruk-Keui-Su; but I believe they are the same stream (Kapros).

Further, on the view to which Pliny has guided us, the coin described on p. 35 would indicate merely that Lycos and Kapros were the two chief rivers of the Laodicean territory, and not that they bounded the state on two sides. The Eleinos, p. 36, would be a stream near the Kapros; and the stone on which the Khôros of the Eleinokapritai is mentioned stands between Geuk-Bunar-Su and Colossai (though it is certainly not in its original position).

P. 786 App. II. Add 3 *bis* Theophilos, date unknown, mentioned in *Martyrol. Syr.*, 27th July: see p. 494. 5 On Eugenios see pp. 513, 543 ff. 6 Nounechios was at *Concil. Ancy.* A.D. 314 (Ruge).

P. 140. Professor Sayce rightly points out that the sheep appears in the hieroglyphics.

P. 190, no. 73 can be confidently assigned to Antiocheia Mae., by comparison of an inscr. found there by Sterrett *E. J.* no. 5.

¹ I formerly understood the passage thus: καὶ ὁ Κάπρος (συμβάλλει τῷ Μ.), καὶ ὁ Λύκος συμβ. τῷ Μ., ποταμὸς εἰμεγέθης.

² M. Radet has observed the bearing

of this name, but draws from it what seems to me a wrong inference. *Rev. Univ. Midi* 1896 p. 22. He identifies Bashli-Tchai with Kapros.

P. 212, n. 2, and p. 111, n. 3 on *Ephedarch* see p. 444.

Pp. 223 ff. Justinianopolis and Oikokome must be placed elsewhere, pp. 574 f, 578 f. The village near Tchandir and Sungurlu must be called simply Vicus, and the fortress above Khoma simply Soublaion or Khoma. (This returns to my view in CB part I, and approximates to M. Radet's view.)

P. 239. Delete the remarks about Keramon-Agora, and see p. 595. This returns very nearly to my view in CB part II and *Hist. Geogr.*, and agrees with M. Radet.

P. 295. Aristides *Or.* XXIII vol. I p. 451 (490) mentions τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Μιλύα. Is this the *hieron* of the Milyadic or Kyllanian Estates?

In a scholarly review of Part I in *Petermanns Mitt.* 1896 *Heft* 11 no. 705, Dr. Ruge blames me for omitting 4 bishops, Elpidius of Laodiceia A. D. 394, Faustus of Lysinia 381, Eunepios of Maximianopolis 431, Basil of Palaeopolis 451. He has been misled by names: Elpidius was bishop of Laodiceia of Syria, Eunepios of Maximianopolis of Thrace, Basil of Palaeopolis of Asia, while Faustus belonged to Limnai of Pisidia (the marginal reading *Liminenses* is right, *Hist. Geogr.* Table facing p. 388): Ruge fails to observe that Faustus was a Pisidian Bishop, but Lysinia was in Pamphylia II.

NOTES ON PART II.

(Dec. 2, 1896).



1. On p. 538 the belief is expressed that the date in no. 399 has been miscopied, and should be read $\tau\lambda\delta'$, instead of $\nu\lambda\delta'$; the reasoning throughout Ch. XII points to this correction, which would strengthen my case; but I did not venture to insert the conjecture in the text. At the last moment, Mr. J. G. C. Anderson writes from Apameia, that $\tau\lambda\delta'$ is indubitable on the stone. When the emendation is thus confirmed, the contrasted numbers of Chr. inscr. before A.D. 300 and after 325, stated on pp. 510 and 716, need correction, and become an even more striking proof of the argument in Ch. XII. Mr. Anderson reads also $\mu\eta[\nu\sigma\varsigma]$, and says that the last two lines have been erased, but are partially legible $\kappa\epsilon\ \theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ [$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\nu$] ϕ [$\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$] $\delta\eta\nu$ [$\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$] $\alpha\ \phi$ (N everywhere for N).

Mr. Anderson has also found a duplicate of no. 305, confirming my reading $\delta\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ against $\delta\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (as given in BCH 1893 p. 247); this duplicate has $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ and $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

Further, he thinks CIBI . . . LOS probable in no. 693, confirming my reading C, not S, as first letter of the name.

2. Ch. XII and XVII were sent to press before Dietrich's ingenious pamphlet *die Grabschrift des Aberkios*, 1896, reached me early in November. He in no way alters my view, for he violates the fundamental conditions of the problem.

(1) Any competent epigraphist, who has had some first-hand acquaintance with Phrygian epigraphy, will recognize beyond doubt after seeing the two stones, that no. 657 is distinctly earlier than no. 656; but no. 656 is dated A.D. 216, whereas Dietrich's theory demands for no. 657 a date about 220.

(2) The reading $N\eta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ was certainly not on the stone. As I have said from the beginning, the reading $\Pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ is not certain (except in the last four letters); but N was distinctly impossible. I had the stone under my eyes on many occasions from 1883 onwards¹.

¹ Dietrich casts doubt on my reading here, but accepts my authority for $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta\nu$: some of the Catholics, like the Abbé Duchesne and (as I gather from Dietrich) Monsignor Wilpert, in his *Fractio Panis* p. 111, cast doubt on

(3) As is shown in Ch. XII, it is natural and necessary that a Chr. inscr. about A. D. 200, which was intended to be public, should be so expressed as not to offend the sense of the pagans, i. e. it must be capable of being read by the ordinary observer without its Chr. origin being obvious. But it is unnatural and without parallel that a pagan inscr. about A. D. 220 should be expressed in language which could be understood to express the deepest facts and inmost mysteries of the Chr. religion by scholars of such high training and such diverse character as Pitra, Lightfoot, De Rossi, Zahn, Duchesne, and a host of others. Dietrich does not even attempt to face this insuperable difficulty, or to defend it by any analogy¹. A pagan of that period, when the opposition to Christianity was strongly accentuated, would never have written in such terms that his religion might readily be taken as Chr.; whereas it was the recognized duty of a Chr. to use carefully veiled language. The double character and relations of the inscr. are unintelligible on the one theory, but natural on the other².

(4) Our conception of the character of paganism c. 200–220 must be revolutionized in many respects, if Dietrich were right: see p. 711 on Ficker's kindred but less ingenious theory.

(5) According to Dietrich a leader of a strange pagan sect, named Aberkios, flourished in Hieropolis about A. D. 150–220, while a leading Christian named Avircius Marcellus, co-presbyter with Zoticus of Otrous, flourished in the same district about 190. Thereafter the western name Abirkios or Aberkios or Abelkios became common among the Christians of Central Phrygia, as is shown on no. 672, 673. These facts are strange on Dietrich's theory, but natural on our view.

βασιλῆαν, but accept πίστis. This is unscientific. As I have pointed out on p. 725, Sterrett and I, knowing its immense importance, copied the stone with scrupulous and jealous care in 1883, when its edges were more perfect than they are now. My copies of numerous inscr. stand before the world, most of them taken under difficulties, hastily, at a brief halt in a fatiguing journey, often in bad light and unfavourable position (e.g. with the letters upside down): they are the guarantee of my power to copy correctly at full leisure and on more than one occasion an inscr. which, as I knew, would be regarded by the world as the most important that I had ever found. To use Dietrich's words, '*ist es wahrschein-*

lich, dass gerade da ein "fatales Versehen" Ramsays vorliege?' (p. 22).

¹ He merely says that the inscr. reveals a sect of pagans from which the Christians borrowed the idea that the Fish was a symbol of the Saviour, also apparently the use of bread and wine in the Sacrament, and the other ideas of lines 13–16! Dietrich's own words rise to the mind of his reader, '*dass ein so vortrefflicher Philologe wie*' Dietrich '*für möglich halten kann u. s. w., gehört für mich zu den Rätseeln des Menschenlebens,*' p. 49.

² Prof. A. Harnack saw clearly this double relationship, and framed his theory so as to explain it; and no theory which does not explain it has any claim to be called scientific.

(6) How did the Christians of the district come to regard the grave of the leader of a pagan sect as that of one of the apostles of Christianity in the district? The subsequent history of the Aberkios-legend, with its growth in the popular mind and its elaboration, are a riddle on Dietrich's theory, but natural on our view.

I may add that Dietrich on p. 11 makes much of Robert's remark (*Hermes* 1894 pp. 424 ff) that lines 1-6 occupied one side, 7-19 a second side, 20-22 a third¹. I pointed out years ago (*Expositor* April 1889 p. 263) the inference that naturally follows from the size &c. of the stone as to the distribution, viz. 1-6, 7-17, and 18-22, on three successive sides. Wilpert *Fractio Panis* p. 123 seems (I can judge only from Dietrich's vague words) to come to the same conclusion as I. Robert's distribution is entirely improbable; and Dietrich's reasons in its favour have no weight to those who have seen many such Phrygian stones. Dietrich on p. 11 rightly rejects Robert's idea that the lines of the second side were later than the rest; but on p. 18 *n* he introduces it as a subsidiary argument.

3. P. 566. No. 467-469. Epitynchanos the elder is known also from an epigram, which I copied at Doghan-Arslan in the country of the Praipennisais in 1881, and which is recalled to my memory since Mr. A. Souter has prepared it for publication in the *Classical Review*, 1897. We see Epitynchanos in this document as an astrologer, astronomer, and diviner, widely respected, honoured with the citizenship of many cities (including Akmonia, no. 467), and leaving sons who were equally skilled in his arts. The date is evidently late third century (to judge from style and lettering); and no. 467 may be a little later, being dated 315.

10 τῆς² δὲ μαθημοσύνης Ἐπιτύνχανον ἴδριν ἰόντα,
πνοιῆς ἀ[π]λάνκτους εἰδότα μαντοσύνας,
θέσφατά τ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἀληθέα φημίζοντα
όντων μελλόντων ἔσσομένων πρότερόν.

14 ἄστεσι δ' ἐν πολλοῖσιν ἰθαγενέων λάχε τειμὰς,
λείψας κὲ κούρους οὐδὲν ἀφαιροτέρους.

This inscr. gives us a clearer conception of the character of Epitynchanos and his successors, confirming and completing the remarks on pp. 506 f, 567 f. Epitynchanos must have flourished about 260 to 310,

¹ The middle part was much the longest; cp. no. 232, where the distribution is 1-8, 9-22, 23-30.

² Viz., astrology, described in lines 1-9. The name E. is in accusative, without proper government, on the

analogy of many honorary inscriptions. In 14 the construction changes, and E. is nominative. Again in 16 the construction changes, and E. speaks in the first person (see p. 729, line 11 f).



COINS: PLATE I

1, 2, 3, APAMEIA; 3, 4, LAODICEA





1



2



3



4



5



6



7

COINS: PLATE II

1, 2, APAMEIA ; 3, BROUZOS ; 4, 6, 7, AKMONIA ; 5, ALIA

ERRATA IN PART I.

(See also the slip facing p. 1.)

- Page 15 n. 1, l. 5, *read* Ch. VI § 4.
36 l. 27, „ no. 92.
37 l. 4, „ inscr. 12.
78 App. II 4, *for* 12th April, *read* 8th Oct.
105 n. 2, l. 5, *delete comma after* χαλκεῖς.
141 l. 15, *read* Gurgum.
179 l. 2, *for* or, *read* of.
230 l. 8, *read* Appa.
236 l. 6, *insert comma after* Siblia.
276 l. 24, *read* Ch. V § 4.
314 l. 14, „ θῶς (*the comparison with* δῆος *is disputed*).
319 l. 26, „ Obizenen.
331 no. 142, *read* 1884.
343 l. 12, 13, „ Alabanda.
351 l. 16, „ *menologion*.
-

ERRATUM IN PART II.

Page 563 l. 20. *The reference to Josephus is wrong; but I fail to find the proper correction.*

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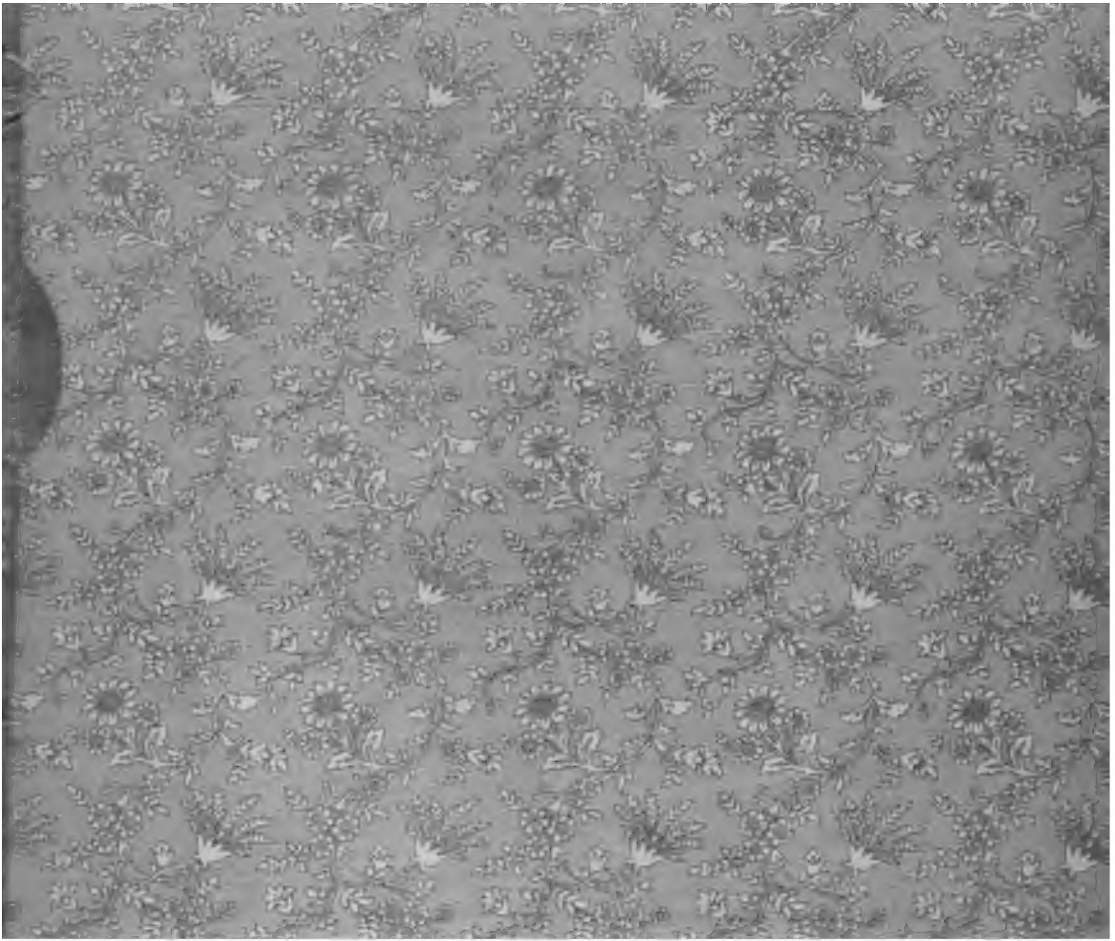
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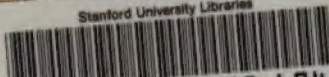
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